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ROMAN SCENES

OF

THE TIME OF AUGUSTUS.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

CHARICLES: or, Illustrations of the Private Life of the Ancient Greeks. With Notes and Excursuses. With 29 Illustrations. Translated by the Rev. FREDERICK METCALFE, B.D. Crown 8vo, 3*s.* 6*d.*

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GALLUS

OR

ROMAN SCENES

OF

THE TIME OF AUGUSTUS.

WITH NOTES AND EXCURSUSES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE ROMANS.

BY PROFESSOR W. A. BECKER.

TRANSLATED BY THE

REV. FREDERICK METCALFE, B.D.

FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD,
AND LATE HEAD MASTER OF BRIGHTON COLLEGE.

NEW EDITION.

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
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1898

GALLUS ET HESPERIIS ET GALLUS NOTUS EOIS
ET SUA CUM GALLO NOTA LYCORIS ERAT.

(*Ovid.*)

ADVERTISEMENT

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

SINCE the appearance of the first edition of *Gallus* in an English form, its learned author, as well as the veteran Hermann of Leipsic, to whom he dedicated his *Charicles*, have been numbered with the dead, while the irreparable loss thus sustained by the literary world was heightened by the decease, soon after, of Orelli at Zurich.

At the period of his too early removal, Professor Becker was engaged in collecting the materials for a second improved and enlarged edition of *Gallus:* the task of completing which was consigned to Professor Rein of Eisenach, and the deceased's papers placed at his disposal. Besides interweaving in the work these posthumous notes, the new editor has likewise added very much valuable matter of his own, correcting errors where they occurred, throwing new light on obscure points of criticism or antiquarian knowledge, and, where the explanations were too brief, giving them greater development.

He has further adopted the plan of the English editor, whereby the Excursuses were thrown together at the end, so as not to interfere with the even tenor of the narrative; and the woodcuts removed from the end to their proper place in the body of the text. Much matter has also been extracted from the notes and embodied in the Appendix. These changes have given a unity, con-

secutiveness, and completeness to the work which must materially enhance its literary value. Indeed, so great have been the alterations and additions, and there has been so much transposition and remodelling, that this English edition has required nearly as much time and labour as the preceding one.

By the advice of friends many of the citations have now been given at length.

The Excursus on the *Buhlerinnen* has been entirely omitted.

It may be added, that the first edition having been for some time exhausted, in order to lose as little time as possible, the proof-sheets were, by the kindness of the German publisher, forwarded to this country as they issued from the press. The editor may be permitted to observe, in conclusion, that he is glad to find from the extensive circulation of *Gallus* in this country and America, as well as from the opinions of the press, that the praise he ventured to bestow on the work has been fully borne out.

BRIGHTON: *May*, 1849.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

GALLUS oder Römische Scenen aus der Zeit Augusts—such is the German title of Professor Becker's work—was published at Leipsic in 1838. The novelty of its conception, the comparatively fresh ground it broke in the field of Roman Antiquities, and the exceeding erudition brought to bear on the subject, at once arrested the attention of German scholars, and it has ever since been considered, what its author ventured to hope it would be, 'a desirable repertory of whatever is most worth knowing about the private life of the Romans.' Soon after its publication, a very lengthened and eulogistic critique appeared in the *Times* London newspaper; and as it seldom happens that that Journal can find space in its columns for notices of this description, no little weight was attached to the circumstance, and a proportionate interest created in the work. Proposals were immediately made for publishing it in an English dress, and the book was advertised accordingly; but unforeseen difficulties intervened, arising from the peculiar nature of the work, and the plan was ultimately abandoned.

In fact, in order to render the book successful in England, it was absolutely necessary that it should be somehow divested of its very German appearance, which, how palatable soever it might be to the author's own

countrymen, would have been caviare to the generality of English readers. For instance, instead of following each other uninterruptedly, the Scenes were separated by a profound gulf of Notes and Excursuses, which, if plunged into, was quite sufficient to drown the interest of the tale. The present translator was advised to attempt certain alterations, and he was encouraged to proceed with the task by the very favourable opinion which some of our most distinguished scholars entertained of the original, and their desire that it should be introduced into this country. The notes have been accordingly transported from their intercalary position, and set at the foot of the pages in the narrative to which they refer. The Scenes therefore succeed each other uninterruptedly, so that the thread of the story is rendered continuous, and disentangled from the maze of learning with which the Excursuses abound. These, in their turn, have been thrown together in an Appendix, and will doubtless prove a very substantial *caput cœnæ* to those who shall have first discussed the lighter portion of the repast. In addition to these changes, which it is hoped will meet with approbation, much curtailment has been resorted to, and the two volumes of the original compressed into one. In order to effect this, the numerous passages from Roman and Greek authors have, in many instances, been only referred to, and not given at length; matters of minor importance have been occasionally omitted, and more abstruse points of disquisition not entered into. Those who may feel an interest in further inquiry, are referred to the Professor's work, in four volumes, on Roman Antiquities, now in course of publication in Germany. At the same time, care has been taken not to leave out any essential fact.

The narrative, in spite of the author's modest estimate of this section of his labours, is really very interesting, nay, wonderfully so, considering the narrow limits he had prescribed for himself, and his careful avoidance of anything not founded on fact, or bearing the semblance of fiction.

The idea of making an interesting story the basis of his exposition, and of thus 'strewing with flowers the path of dry antiquity,' is most judicious. We have here a flesh and blood picture of the Roman, as he lived and moved, thought and acted, worth more a thousand times than the *disjecta membra*, the dry skeleton, to be found in such books as Adam's *Roman Antiquities*, and others of the same nature, which, however erudite, are vastly uninviting.

In conclusion, the translator will be abundantly satisfied if, by his poor instrumentality, the English student shall have become acquainted with a most instructive work, and thus his mind stimulated to the further investigation of a subject fraught with peculiar fascination—the domestic habits and manners of the most remarkable people of antiquity.

LONDON: *May*, 1844.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THERE was once a period, when no portion of classic lore was more zealously cultivated than the study of Antiquities, by which is meant everything appertaining to the political institutions, worship, and houses, of the ancients. Though the two former of these are the most important, in an historical point of view, yet objects of domestic antiquity excited still greater attention; and as it was evident that on the understanding of them depended the correct interpretation of ancient authors, the smallest minutiæ were deemed worthy of investigation.

The greatest philologists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such men as Lipsius, Casaubonus, and Salmasius, took great delight in this particular branch of archæology. The last-mentioned scholar has, in his *Exercitt. ad Solinum,* in the notes to the *Scriptt. Hist. Augustæ,* and *Tertullian. De Pallio,* as well as elsewhere, displayed his usual acumen and erudition. And although more recent discoveries have often set him right in the explanation of manners and customs, still his must always be considered as a rich compilation of most judiciously chosen materials.

It however soon became apparent that written accounts were frequently insufficient; and, as monuments were gradually brought to light from amidst the rubbish

that hid them, their importance grew more and more manifest. These witnesses of departed grandeur and magnificence, of early habits and customs, were canvassed with increasing animation; and, in Italy, a great number of works appeared descriptive of them; which, however, often evinced rather an ostentation of extensive learning than real depth and penetration. The Italians possessed the advantage of having the monuments before their eyes, and moreover, the Dutch and German scholars contented themselves with throwing together a quantity of loose and unconnected observations, without bestowing much investigation on their relevancy. But it was after the conclusion of the seventeenth century, that this fault reached its height, and the writings became exceedingly unpalatable, from the tasteless fashion of jumbling ancient with modern, and Christian with heathen customs.

Even up to the present time not much has been done in explanation of this particular branch of archæology, and little as such works as Pignorius *De Servis*, Ferrarius *De re Vestiaria*, Mercurialis *De Arte Gymnastica*, Ciaconius *De Triclinio*, Paschalius *De Coronis*, &c., are calculated to give satisfaction, they still continue to be cited as authorities. Whilst the political institutions have been subjected to profound investigation, the private life of the Romans has been quite neglected, or nearly so; and the hand-books, which could not well be entirely silent on this head, have merely presented us hasty notices, taken from the older writers.

The works of Maternus, Cilano, and Nitsch, may have been useful in their day, but they are now quite obsolete. Meierotto, who undertook to describe the customs and habits of the Romans, has confined himself to

making a compilation of a quantity of anecdotes, culled from the old authors, and deducing some general characteristics from them. Couture has also written three essays, entitled, *De la Vie Privée des Romains* in the *Mém. de l'Acad. d. Inscr.* i.

The most important work that has been written, at least upon one part of Roman life, is Böttiger's *Sabina*, as it is the result of actual personal investigation. This deservedly famed archæologist succeeded in imparting an interest even to less important points, and combining therewith manifold instruction, notwithstanding his tediousness, and the numerous instances of haste and lack of critical acumen. We must not omit to mention Mazois' *Palace of Scaurus.* The work has merits, though its worth has been much increased by translation, and it is a pity that the editors did not produce an original work on the subject, instead of appending their notes to a text which, though written with talent, is hurried and uncritical. Dézobry's *Rome du Siècle d'Auguste* may also prove agreeable reading to those who are satisfied with light description, void alike of depth, precision, and scientific value. It would be still more futile to seek for instruction in Mirbach's *Roman Letters.* In the second edition of Creuzer's *Abriss. der Römischen Antiquitaten*, Professor Bähr has given a very valuable treatise on the objects connected with the meals and funerals. It is the most complete thing of the kind that has appeared, though, the work being only in the form of an abstract, a more detailed account was inadmissible.

In the total absence of any work, satisfactorily explaining the more important points of the domestic life of the ancients, the author determined to write on this

subject, and was engaged during several years in collecting materials for the purpose. His original intention was to produce a systematic hand-book; but finding that this would lead to too much brevity and curtailment, and exclude entirely several minor traits, which, although not admitting of classification, were highly necessary to a complete portrait of Roman life, he was induced to imitate the example of Böttiger and Mazois, and produce a continuous story, with explanatory notes on each chapter. Those topics which required more elaborate investigation have been handled at length in Excursuses.

The next question was, whether a fictitious character, or some historical personage, should be selected for the hero. The latter was chosen, although objections may be raised against this method; as, after all, a mixture of fiction must be resorted to in order to introduce several details which, strictly speaking, may perhaps not be historical. Still there were preponderant advantages in making some historical fact the basis of the work, particularly if the person selected was such as to admit of the introduction of various phases of life, in the course of his biography. A personage of this sort presented itself in Cornelius Gallus, a man whose fortunate rise from obscurity to splendour and honour, intimacy with Augustus, love of Lycoris, and poetical talents, render him not a little remarkable. It is only from the higher grades of society that we can obtain the materials for a portraiture of Roman manners; of the lower orders but little is known. The Augustan age is decidedly the happiest time to select. Indeed, little is known of the domestic habits of the previous period, as Varro's work, *De Vita Populi Romani*, the fragments of which are valuable enough to make

us deplore its loss, has unluckily not come down to us. The rest of the earlier writers, with the exception of the comedians, whose accounts we must receive with caution, throw but little light on this side of life in their times, inasmuch as domestic relations sunk then into insignificance, compared with the momentous transactions of public life; a remark partially applicable to the age of Augustus also. The succeeding writers are the first to dwell with peculiar complacency on the various objects of domestic luxury and comfort, which, now that their minds were dead to nobler aims, had become the most important ends of existence.

Hence it is, that apart from the numerous antique monuments which have been dug up, and placed in museums (e. g. the *Museum Borbonicum*), our most valuable authorities on Roman private life are the later poets, as Juvenal, Martial, Statius; then Petronius, Seneca, Suetonius, the two Plinies, Cicero's speeches and letters, the elegiac poets, and especially Horace. Next come the grammarians and the digests; while the Greek authors, as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch, Dio. Cassius, Lucian, Athenæus, and the lexicographers, as Pollux, still further enlighten us. The author has made it a rule never to quote these last as authorities, except when they expressly refer to Roman customs, or when these correspond with the Grecian. He has also confined himself to a citation of the best authorities, and such as he had actually consulted in person. Their number might have been considerably increased from Fabricius, Bünau's *Catalogue*, and other works of the kind.

In dividing the work into twelve scenes, the author disclaims all intention of writing a romance. This would,

no doubt, have been a far easier task than the tedious combination of a multitude of isolated facts into a single picture; an operation allowing but very little scope to the imagination. It was, in fact, not unlike putting together a picture in mosaic, for which purpose are supplied a certain number of pieces of divers colours. What the author has interpolated, to connect the whole together, is no more than the colourless bits, indispensable to form the ground-work of the picture, and bring it clearly before the eye. His eagerness to avoid anything like romance may possibly have rather prejudiced the narrative, but, even as it is, more fiction perhaps is admitted than is strictly compatible with the earnestness of literary inquiry.

The character of Gallus may seem to have been drawn too pure and noble; but the author does not fear any censure on this score. His crime has been here supposed to be that mentioned by Ovid, *linguam nimio non tenuisse mero;* and indeed the most authentic writers nowhere lay any very grave offence to his charge. Possibly, the reader may have been surprised that Gallus has not been introduced in more intellectual company, since his position towards Augustus, and friendship with Virgil—very probably with Propertius also—would have yielded a fine opportunity for so doing. But, apart from the hardihood of an attempt to describe the sayings and doings of men like these, nothing would have been gained for our purpose, while their very intellectual greatness would have prevented the author from dwelling so much on the mere externals of life. Moreover, it is by no means certain that the early friendship between Virgil and Gallus

continued to the close of the latter's career, after he had fallen into disfavour with Augustus. Such persons as are here portrayed, abounded in Rome, as we learn from Juvenal and Martial.

In describing Gallus as *cœlebs*, the author wished to institute an inquiry into those points of domestic life which had hitherto been little attended to, or imperfectly investigated. As far as the customs, occupations, requirements, &c., of the fair sex were concerned, Böttiger has given very satisfactory information in his *Sabina;* so that the introduction of a matron into Gallus' family might have led to a repetition of matters which that writer has already discussed. In that case the author must also have entirely omitted Lycoris — a personage affording an excellent opportunity of introducing several topics of interest relating to the sex. The relations of marriage, so far as they form the basis of the household, could not be passed over in silence; but it is only in this point of view that the Excursus on Marriage must be considered, as it makes no pretensions to survey the matter in its whole extent, either as a religious or civil institution.

The author was desirous to have introduced an account of the public shows, theatre, amphitheatre, and circus, but they required such a lengthy preamble, that the subject was omitted entirely, as being too bulky for the plan of the work.

In treating of matters so various, it is quite possible that the author may have occasionally offered erroneous opinions; nor can it be denied that some chapters have been elaborated with more inclination than others; all he

wishes the reader to believe of him is, that he has never shunned the labour of earnest personal investigation; and he hopes that a work has been composed, which may serve as a desirable repertory of whatever is most worth knowing about the private life of the Romans.

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GALLUS.

SCENE THE FIRST.

NOCTURNAL RETURN HOME.

THE third watch of the night was drawing to a close, and the mighty city lay buried in the deepest silence, unbroken, save by the occasional tramp of the Nocturnal Triumviri[1], as they passed on their rounds to

[1] The nightly superintendence of Rome soon became one of the duties of the *triumviri* or *tresviri*, *treviri capitales*, who had to preserve the peace and security of the city, and especially to provide against fires. Liv. xxix. 14: *Triumviris capitalibus mandatum est, ut vigilias disponerent per urbem servarentque, ne qui nocturni cœtus fierent; utque ab incendiis caveretur, adjutores triumviris quinqueviri uti cis Tiberim tunc quique regionis ædificiis præessent.* Val. Max. viii. 1, 5. *M. Malvius, Cn. Lollius, L. Sextilius, triumviri, quod ad incendium in sacra via ortum extinguendum tardius venerant, a trib. pl. die dicta ad populum damnati sunt.* They were also called *triumviri nocturni*, Liv. ix. 46; Val. Max. viii. 1, 8. *P. Villius triumvir nocturnus a P. Aquilio, trib. pl. accusatus—quia vigilias negligentius circumierat.* The timorous Sosias alludes to them, *Amphitryo* Plauti, i. 1, 3:

Quid faciam nunc, si tresviri me in carcerem compegerint?

because they arrested those whom they found in the street late at night; and we find the *vigiles* discharging the same function. *Itaque vigiles, qui custodiebant vicinam regionem, rati ardere Trimalchionis domum effregerunt januam subito et cum aqua securibusque tumultuari suo jure cœperunt.* Cf. Seneca, *Epist.* 64. When Petrandus speaks of water, we must suppose that the watch were provided with fire-buckets; we can scarcely assume that engines (*siphones*) are alluded to, although Beckmann points out, with much probability, that one of the means of extinguishing fire in the time of Trajan was referred to in Pliny, *Ep.* x. 42, and Apollodorus *in Vett. Mathem.* Opp. p. 32. V. also Isidor. xx. 6; Schneider, *Eclog. Phys.* i. 225, ii. 117; Colum. iii. 10; denique Nat. ii. 16. Buckets (*hama*, Plin. x. 42; Juv. xiv. 305) and hatchets (*dolabra*, *Dig.* i. 15, 3) were part of the apparatus for extinguishing fires. Petronii *Satiræ*, c. 78. Augustus remodelled this nightly watch, forming seven cohorts, headed by a prefect, called *Præfectus Vigilum*. Suet. *Aug.* 30; Paul. *Dig.* i. 15. In spite

see that the fire-watchmen were at their posts, or perhaps by the footstep of one lounging homewards from a late debauch[2]. The last streak of the waning moon faintly illumined the temples of the Capitol and the Quadrigæ, and shot a feeble gleam over the fanes and palaces of the Alta Sēmita, whose roofs, clad with verdant shrubs and flowers, diffused their spicy odours through the warm night-air, and, while indicating the abode of luxury and joy, gave no sign of the dismal proximity of the Campus Scelerātus.

In the midst of this general stillness, the door of one of the handsomest houses creaked upon its hinges; its vestibule[3] ornamented with masterpieces of Grecian sculpture, its walls overlaid with costly foreign marble, and its doors and doorposts richly decorated with tortoise-shell and

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of these precautions, fires frequently occurred; and although the Romans possessed no fire-insurance offices, yet such munificent contributions were made for the sufferers' relief, that suspicion sometimes arose of the owners of houses having themselves set them on fire. So says Martial, iii. 52:

Empta domus fuerat tibi, Tongiliane, ducentis;
Abstulit hanc nimium casus in urbe frequens;
Cellatum est decies; rogo, non potes ipse videri
Incendisse tuam, Tongiliane, domum?

Juvenal describes the zeal of those who, not content with rendering pecuniary relief to the sufferers, also made them presents of statues, pictures, books, and so forth. *Sat.* iii. 215:

meliora et plura reponit
Persicus orborum lautissimus, et merito jam
Suspectus, tanquam ipse suas incenderit ædes.

On the method of extinguishing fires, see also Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiii. 7, 12: *Acetum quoque quod exstinguendi incendii causa paratur, item centones, siphones, perticas quoque et scalas.*

[2] Probably like Propertius, when he had the pleasant vision, described in ii. 29. Morning would frequently surprise the drinkers. Mart. i. 29, *Bibere in lucem;* vii. 10, 5, *cœnare in lucem.* The debauched life of those who, inverting the order of nature, slept all day and rioted all night, is well sketched by Seneca, *Ep.* 122. *Turpis, qui alto sole semisomnis jacet, et cujus vigilia medio die incipit. Et adhuc multis hoc antelucanum est. Sunt qui officia lucis noctisque pervertunt, nec ante diducunt oculos hesterna graves crapula, quam appetere non cœpit.* He terms them Antipodes, who, according to a saying of Cato, *Nec orientem unquam solem nec occidentem viderunt.* Cf. Colum. *Præf.* 16.

[3] For a description of the different parts of the house, accompanied by illustrations, see the Excursus on *The Roman House.*

precious metals, sufficiently proclaimed the wealth of its owner. The *ostiārius*, rattling the chain that served as a safeguard against nocturnal depredators, opened the unbolted door, disclosing as he did so the prospect into the entrance-hall, where a few of the numerous lamps were still burning on two lofty marble candēlābra,—a proof that the inmates had not yet retired for the night. At the same time, there stalked through the hall a freedman, whose imperious mien, and disregard of the surly porter, even more than the attending *vicārius*, at once pointed him out as one possessing much of the confidence of the lord of the mansion. He strode musingly across the threshold and vestibule towards the street, and after looking anxiously on all sides, through the dim light and the shadows of the lofty *ātria*, turned to his attendant and said, 'It is not his wont, Leonidas; and what possible reason can he have for concealing from us where he tarries at this late hour? He never used to go unattended, whether to the abode of Lycōris, or to enjoy the stolen pleasures of the Subūra. Why then did he dismiss the slaves to-day, and hide from us so mysteriously the place of his destination?'

'Lydus tells me,' answered the *vicārius*, 'that Gallus left the palace in evil mood, and when the slave who was putting on his sandals enquired whence he should escort him on his return, he bade him await him at home, and then hastened, clad in his coloured *synthesis*, in the direction of the Via Sacra. Not long before his departure, Pomponius had left the house; and Lydus, impelled partly by curiosity, and partly by anxiety at the unusual excitement of his master, followed at a distance, and saw the two meet near the Temple of Freedom, after which they disappeared in the Via a Cyprio.'

'Pomponius!' returned the freedman, 'the friend and confidant of Largus! No company he for an open and frank disposition, and still less at a jolly carousal, where the tongue is unfettered by copious goblets of pure Setinian wine, and of which the Sicilian proverb too often holds

good the next morning, "Cursed be he who remembers at the banquet[4]." I don't know, Leonidas,' continued he, after a moment's reflection, 'what dismal foreboding it is that has for some time been pursuing me. The gods are, I fear, wroth with our house; they hate too sudden prosperity, we are told. There was too, methinks, more tranquillity in the small lodging[5] near the Tiber than in this magnificent palace: more fidelity, when the whole household consisted of few besides ourselves, than is to be found in this extensive mansion, filled with many *decuriæ* of dearly-purchased slaves, whom their lord hardly knows by sight, ministers of his splendour, but not of his comfort. Above all, there was more cordiality among those who used to climb the steep stairs, to partake of his simple fare, than in the whole troop of visitors who daily throng the vestibule and *ātrium* to pay the customary morning greeting.'

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[4] Μισέω μνάμονα συμπόταν. Plut. *Sympos.* i. 1. The sense in which Martial, i. 28, applies this proverb to Procillus, is certainly the only correct one. Lucian, *Symp.* iii. p. 420.

[5] The Roman of wealth and distinction occupied, with his family, the whole of his extensive mansion; the less affluent rented, in proportion to their requirements and means, either an entire house, or a section of some larger *insula*, the name by which all hired houses went—and the poorer classes took a small *cœnaculum* in an upper story, though at a somewhat extravagant price, *pensio cellæ*. Mart. iii. 30, 3. The poet himself occupied a *cœnaculum* of this description in the third story, i. 118, 7, *Scalis habito tribus, sed altis;* and he says of the miserly Sanctra, who used to take half his *cœna* home with him, vii. 20, 20, *Hæc per ducentas domum tuit scalas.* As in an *insula* of this description the lodgers might be very different persons, the stairs to their private apartments often led upwards from the street outside; an arrangement also to be found in the private houses. The *cœnaculum* assigned to Hispala, for her security after she had discovered the monstrosities of the Bacchanalia, was of this description. Liv. xxxix.: *Consul rogat socrum, ut aliquam partem ædium vacuam faceret, quo Hispala immigraret. Cœnaculum super ædes datum est, scalis ferentibus in publicum obseratis, aditu in ædes verso.* We learn from Cicero, *pro Cœlio*, c. 7, that lodgings could be let even as high as 30,000 sesterces. Cœlius, however, only went to the expense of 10,000, i. e. £80.

The Kalends of July were the usual, though perhaps not the only, period for changing lodgings. Mart. xii. 32, humorously describes the moving of a *familia sordida* amounting to four persons, who managed to transfer all their goods and chattels at one journey. See the Excursus on *The Roman House*.

'Alas! thou art right, Chresimus,' replied the slave; 'this is no longer a place for comfort, and the gods have already given us more than one warning sign. It was not without an object that the bust of the great Cornelius fell down, and destroyed the new pavement inlaid with the image of Isis. Moreover, the beech at the villa, on the bark of which Lycoris carved the name[6] of our master, has not put out leaves this spring; thrice too have I heard in the stillness of night the ominous hooting of the owl.'

Conversing thus, they had again reached the vestibule, without perceiving a man who approached with somewhat uncertain gait, from the Temple of Flora. Over his undergarment he wore a festive robe of a bright red colour, such as those in which Roman elegants of the day used to appear at state-banquets. His sandals were fastened with thongs of the same dye; while a chaplet of young myrtle and Milesian roses hung negligently down on the left brow, and appeared to be gliding from his perfumed locks[7]; in short, everything indicated that he was returning from some joyous carousal, where the *amphoræ* had not been spared.

Not till he had gained the vestibule did Chresimus become aware of his approach. 'There he is at last,' exclaimed the faithful freedman, with a lightened heart. 'All hail! my lord. Anxiety for you brought us out of doors; we are unused to find you abroad at so late an hour.'

'I was with true friends,' answered the master, 'and the hours vanish gaily and swiftly over the wine-cup, in familiar converse: Pomponius, too, was my companion nearly all the way home.' At this closing remark the visage of the freedman again became clouded; he went

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[6] Propert. i. 18, 21.

Ah, quoties teneras resonant mea verba sub umbras,
Scribitur et vestris Cynthia corticibus.

[7] Ovid, *Amor.* i. 6, 37.

Ergo amor et modicum circa mea tempora vinum
Mecum est et madidis lapsa corona comis.

Mart. xi. 8, 10; *divitibus lapsa corona comis;* cf. iii. 65, 8.

silently towards the door, and having opened it, he and Leonidas followed their lord into the house. While the *ostiārius* was engaged in bolting the door, Chresimus proceeded to light a wax-candle at one of the lamps, and led the way, through saloons and colonnades, to the sleeping apartment of his lord. Having arrived in the ante-room, the slave of the toilet, who was in waiting, received the *synthesis* and sandals, whilst the *cubiculārius* threw open the door and drew back the many-coloured tapestry of Alexandria which served as a curtain. Then, after having again smoothed the purple coverlet that nearly concealed the ivory bedstead, and remained till his master had reposed his head on the variegated feather tapestry covering the pillow stuffed with the softest wool, he quitted the apartment.

He who returned home thus late and lonely, without the usual accompaniment of slaves, was CORNELIUS GALLUS[8],

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[8] The scanty accounts we possess respecting the personal history of Gallus, are to be found in Dio Cassius, Strabo, Suetonius, Virgil, Propertius, and Ovid. The few fragments of his poems, even if authentic, afford us no further information. Gallus was of obscure, at least poor, ancestors, but that did not prevent his obtaining the favour of Octavianus, and being included in the select circle of his friends. In the war against Antony he was general of a division of the army, and Dio Cassius, li. 9, commemorates his skilful conquest and defence of the port of Parætonium. After the subjugation of Egypt, Octavianus appointed him Prefect of that country. Dio Cass. c. 17. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὴν δὲ Αἴγυπτον ὑποτελῆ ἐποίησε, καὶ τῷ Γάλλῳ τῷ Κορνηλίῳ ἐπέτρεψε. πρός τε γὰρ τὸ πολύανδρον καὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ προς τὸ ῥᾴδιον τὸ τε κοῦφον τῶν τροπων αὐτῶν, τήν τε σιτοπομπείαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα οὐδενὶ βουλευτῇ οὐχ ὅπως ἐγχειρίσαι αὐτὴν ἐτολμήσεν, κ. τ. λ. We have no further account of him till on the occasion of his unfortunate end. Dio Cass. liii. 23. ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάλλος Κορνήλιος καὶ ἐξύβρισεν ὑπὸ τῆς τιμῆς. Πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ μάταια ἐς τὸν Αὔγουστον ἀπελήρει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπαιτια παρέπραττε. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ εἰκόνας ἑαυτοῦ ἐν ὅλῃ, ὡς εἰ εἶν, τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἔστησε, καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὅσα ἐπεποίηκει ἐς τὰς πυραμίδας ἐσέγραψε. It was probably his expedition against the rebellious cities of Heroopolis and Thebes, which caused his downfall. Strabo thus speaks of his end: Γάλλος μέν γε Κορνήλιος, ὁ πρῶτος κατασταθεὶς ἔπαρχος τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τήν τε Ἡρώων πόλιν ἀποστᾶσαν ἐπελθὼν δι' ὀλιγων εἷλε, στάσιν τε γενηθεῖσαν ἐν τῇ Θηβαΐδι διὰ τοὺς φόρους ἐν βραχεῖ κατέλυσεν. At all events Valerius Largus, formerly the confidential friend of Gallus, made these suspicious circumstances the ground of an accusa-

a man received and envied in the higher circles of the Roman world as the friend and favourite of Augustus, but secretly hated by them; for though not ashamed of slavishly cringing to the mighty despot, they looked haughtily on the exalted plebeian. He was, however, among the friends of the soberer as well as brighter Muses, universally prized as a man of much learning, and celebrated as a graceful

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tion against him, and in consequence Augustus forbad Gallus visiting his house, or remaining in his provinces. (Suet. *Aug.* 47, *Claud.* 23.) Immediately after his disgrace, numerous other accusers appeared, who succeeded in getting him exiled and his property confiscated. Gallus could not endure his fall, and killed himself with his sword. This account agrees with that of Suet. *Aug.* 66. *Neque enim temere ex omni numero in amicitia ejus afflicti reperientur, præter Salvidienum Rufum, quem ad consulatum usque, et Cornelium Gallum, quem ad præfecturam Ægypti, ex infima utrumque fortuna provexerat. Quorum alterum res novas molientem damnandum senatui tradidit, alteri ob ingratum et malevolum animum domum et provinciis suis interdixit. Sed Gallo quoque et accusatorum denunciationibus et senatus-consultis ad necem compulso laudavit quidem pietatem tantopere pro se indignantium: cæterum et illacrimavit et vicem suam conquestus est, quod sibi soli non liceret amicis, quatenus vellet, irasci.*

That his highly treasonable speeches against Augustus were the principal cause of his condemnation is proved by Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 445:

Nec fuit opprobrio celebrâsse Lycorida Gallo,
Sed linguam nimio non tenuisse mero;

and *Amor.* iii. 9, 63:

Tu quoque, si falsam est temerati crimen amici,
Sanguinis atque animæ, prodige Galle, tuæ.

Ammian. Marc. xvii. 4, brings a more severe charge against him: *Longe autem postea Corn. Gallus, Octaviano res tenente Romanas, Ægypti procurator, exhausit civitatem* (Thebas) *plurimis interceptis, reversusque cum furtorum accusaretur et populatæ provinciæ, stricto incubuit ferro.* But it is mentioned neither by Suetonius, Dio Cassius, nor Ovid, as the cause of his disgrace; and that Gallus ten years before, at least, was neither a violent nor a dishonest man, the friendship of Virgil, who inscribed his tenth Eclogue to him, testifies:

Pauca meo Gallo, sed quæ legat ipsa Lycoris,
Carmina sunt dicenda: neget quis carmina Gallo?

The contempt too with which Largus was treated, and the regret of Augustus, show that he had not deserved such a fate. Donat. relates, *Vit. Virg.* x. 39, *Verum usque adeo hunc Gallum Virgilius amarat, ut quartus Georgicorum a medio usque ad finem ejus laudem contineret. Quem postea, jubente Augusto, in Aristæi fabulam commutavit.* But this proves less the guilt of Gallus, than that the recollection of his end was painful to Augustus. His passion for Lycoris arose about nine or ten years before his death, and the circumstance of his renewing the connection with her, after her infidelity, is, like other incidents, imaginary.

and elegant poet; while in the more select convivial circle he was beloved as a cheerful companion, who always said the best of good things, and whose presence gave to the banquet more animation than dancers and *choraulæ*. Notwithstanding the renowned name he had taken, he had in reality no claim to the glorious family reminiscences which it suggested. The trophies indicative of former triumphs which decked the door and door-posts[9] of his mansion, were the unalienable adjuncts of the house itself; earnest mementos of a glorious past, and serving as an admonition to each occupier, what his aim must be, would he avoid the humiliating feeling of living undistinguished in the habitation of renown. His grandfather had arrived a stranger in Rome, a little before the reign of terror, when Caius Marius and L. Cornelius Cinna profited by the absence of the most powerful man of the time, to effect a reaction, the ephemeral success of which only served to prepare more securely the way to fame for the ambitious Sylla. It was through Cinna himself that Gallus obtained the right of a citizen, and in conformity with the custom of the period he adopted the Cornelian name, along with the surname[10] which denoted his extraction. But the horrors of Sylla's proscriptions drove him from Rome, and he returned to Gaul, where he had since been residing in

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[9] The Triumphator was permitted to suspend the spolia at his door. Liv. x. 7, xxxviii. 43. These marks of valour achieved, remained as the unalienable property of the house which they had first rendered illustrious, and could not, even in case of sale, be taken down. Plin. xxxv. 2; *Aliæ foris et circa limina animorum ingentium imagines erant, affixis hostium spoliis, quæ nec emtori refigere liceret; triumphabantque etiam dominis mutatis ipsæ domus, et erat hæc stimulatio ingens, exprobantibus tectis, quotidie imbellem dominum intrare in alienum triumphum.* Cic. *Phil.* ii. 28.

[10] The custom by which the stranger assumed the name of him through whom he obtained the right of a citizen, is generally known. Cic. *ad Fam.* xiii. 36. *Cum Demetrio Mega mihi vetustum hospitium est; familiaritas autem tanta, quanta cum Siculo nullo. Ei* (Cornelius) *Dolabella rogatu meo civitatem a Cæsare impetravit, qua in re ego interfui. Itaque nunc P. Cornelius vocatur.*

ignoble obscurity at Forum Julii. There Gallus passed the first years of his childhood, under the careful auspices of his father, who saw in the happy disposition and lofty spirit of his boy the harbingers of no ordinary future. Therefore, although he could not be accounted wealthy, he determined to make every sacrifice in order to give his son such an education as usually fell to the lot of the sons of senators and knights.

When the boy had been instructed in the first elements of knowledge by an accomplished Greek tutor, his father set out with Gallus for Rome, and after carefully searching for a suitable person, placed him under the tuition of a grammarian of great repute. Gallus subsequently attended the school of a celebrated rhetorician, and also took lessons in Latin elocution, which had lately become somewhat fashionable; nor was he allowed to intermit those studies even after he had passed the threshold of boyhood and put on the *toga*, the symbol of riper years. At the age of twenty he was sent to Athens, even at this period the nurse of all the profound and elegant sciences, in order to give a finish to his education, and to combine in him Attic elegance with Roman solidity.

Gallus was still at Athens, when the faithful Chresimus brought him the news of the death of his father, who after accomplishing his grand object, the education of his son, had returned to Forum Julii. He wept tears of love and gratitude with the true-hearted Chresimus, and left Athens to take possession of the small patrimony bequeathed him by his father, and which he found much more insignificant than he had supposed. There was just enough for him to live on with tolerable comfort in a provincial town, but it would only keep him like a beggar in Rome; nevertheless he resolved to seek his fortune in the focus of the world, and a year later returned to Rome, a powerful, resolute, and highly-educated man.

There the terrific scenes of the second triumvirate were not long over, and the republicans, driven from Italy

were preparing beyond the sea for the final struggle. There were only two parties to choose from, and Gallus did not long hesitate which to espouse. It was not any particular inclination to the ambiguous Octavianus, still less to either of the other potentates, that determined him to take up arms for the cause of the triumvirate. He was convinced that the time had arrived, when the crumbling edifice of the republic must be annihilated, and the ambition of a selfish aristocracy kept down by the mighty energies of one supreme ruler. Perhaps, too, he was actuated by the hope that his merits were more likely to be appreciated, and meet with proper acknowledgment from one raised above the petty consideration of rivalry, than from the haughty patricians, who were accustomed to look down upon merit striving to emerge from obscurity.

He first took part in the campaign against Sextus Pompeius, under the command of Salvidienus. His gallantry and fortitude at the unlucky sea-fight, which took place not far from the destructive rocks of Scylla, did not fail to attract the eye of Octavianus, whom he soon after followed to the decisive battle of Philippi. There, too, his warlike deeds were adorned with fresh laurels, and in returning with the victor back to Italy, his social qualities soon made him the agreeable companion, and before long, the intimate friend, of Octavianus,—a friendship which he had tact enough to keep up. The proper hours of relaxation he spent in familiar intercourse with Virgil, the younger Propertius, and other congenially-minded friends of the Muses; but he by no means neglected the more grave occupations to which his distinguished oratorical powers called him.

The war against Antony and Cleopatra summoned him again into the field, and now commenced the most brilliant period of his life. The able manner in which he took and held the important seaport, Parætonium, the destruction of the hostile fleet, and many other spirited exploits, raised him so high in the estimation of Octavianus, that when

Antony and Cleopatra atoned for their long intoxication of pleasure and folly by voluntary death, and Egypt was enrolled among the number of Roman provinces, he, being in the undivided possession of the supreme authority, made Gallus governor of the new province, under the title of Prefect. The command of so rich a province could, Octavianus doubtless thought, with more safety be entrusted to him than to a senator.

Was it wonderful, then, that when Gallus found himself suddenly placed at so great an elevation, his sanguine and fiery disposition carried him occasionally beyond the bounds of moderation, and that,—after severely chastising the rebellious cities, especially the wondrous Thebes,—he caused statues of himself to be erected, and the record of his deeds to be engraved on the pyramids? Was there anything unusual in his carrying off the treasures and valuables of the subjugated cities, as a fit recompense for his exertions?

Octavianus, who had now assumed the more noble name of Augustus, heard the report of these acts with a concern, which the enemies, whom the good fortune of Gallus had raised up against him, did not fail to foment. So without being actually angered with his former friend, he recalled him to Rome, and nominated Petronius, a man by no means well disposed towards him, as his successor.

Gallus was not pleased with his recall, although it had been made in such a manner, as in a great measure to efface its unpleasantness. The riches which had followed him from Egypt to Rome, enabled him to live with a magnificence hitherto quite unknown to him, and in the superabundance of such enjoyments as served to heighten the pleasures of life. Still accounted the favourite of Augustus, and always admitted as a welcome guest to the select circle that had access to the table of this mighty sovereign, he now saw people, who, ten years before, would scarcely have deigned to acknowledge his salutation, vying with each other to gain his friendship.

Although Gallus was advancing to that period of life when the Roman was considered no longer a youth, he had not yet prevailed upon himself to throw constraint on the freedom of his existence, by entering the bonds of matrimony. Indeed the stricter forms of marriage began generally to be less liked; and no law inflicting a penalty on celibacy had at that time been passed. At an earlier period of his life, the narrowness of his circumstances had led him to look with shyness on marriage, in consequence of the expenses attendant on such an increased establishment as the grand notions of the Roman ladies would have rendered unavoidable. He also even more dreaded the state of dependence into which he would have been thrown, if he had married a person of fortune; and being at the same time averse to concubinage, had preferred contracting an intimacy of a less durable nature with certain accomplished *Hetairai*, who were capable not only of admitting, but also of returning his passion.

Thus, after his return, he continued to pursue an unfettered course of life, regulated by his own inclinations alone; a life which others much envied, and which would have been a happy one, had it not been for his impetuous and passionately excitable temperament, and unsparing freedom of speech, especially in his cups. These causes were beginning to throw a cloud over his future prospects; for, although raised by Augustus from the depths of poverty to honour and wealth, he had nevertheless too much straightforwardness not to express frequently his loud disapprobation of many arbitrary proceedings and secret cruelties, perpetrated by his benefactor. Clandestine envy, which was busy about him, had dexterously profited by these speeches, and there was even talk of a complaint secretly lodged against him by his former friend and confidant, Largus, on the score of misgovernment in Egypt. At all events, Gallus could not conceal from himself, that for some time past a coolness had pervaded

Augustus' manner towards him, and that his former intimate familiarity had been succeeded by a tone of haughty and suspicious reserve.

But although his present position would have enabled Gallus to regard this alteration with indifference, still his estimation among the higher circles of Rome depended too much on the favour of Augustus for him to neglect using all his endeavours to remain, at any rate in outward appearance, in possession of the emperor's good graces. It was for this reason that he had this evening been supping at the imperial board, without invitation, as he had always been accustomed to do; but he had found Augustus in a worse humour than ever, and among the company his bitter enemy, Largus. Some caustic remarks touching the fate of Thebes, drew forth from the irritable Gallus an acrimonious retort, which Augustus replied to with still greater severity. As soon therefore as the latter had withdrawn[11], according to his custom, Gallus also departed, to spend the evening more agreeably in the company of Pomponius and other friends.

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[11] Suet. *Aug.* 74. *Convivia nonnunquam et serius inibat et maturius relinquebat, cum convivæ et cœnare inciperent, priusquam ille discumberet, et permanerent digresso eo.*

SCENE THE SECOND.

THE MORNING.

THE city hills were as yet unillumined by the beams of the morning sun, and the uncertain twilight, which the saffron streaks in the east spread as harbingers of the coming day, was diffused but sparingly through the windows and courts into the apartments of the mansion. Gallus still lay buried in heavy sleep in his quiet chamber, the carefully chosen position of which both protected him against all disturbing noises, and prevented the early salute of the morning light from too soon breaking his repose[1]. But around all was life and activity. From the cells and chambers below, and the apartments on the upper floor, there poured a swarming multitude of slaves, who presently pervaded every corner of the house, hurrying to and fro, and cleaning and arranging with such busy alacrity, that one unacquainted with these customary movements, would have supposed that some grand festivity was at hand. A whole *decuria* of house-slaves, armed with besoms and sponges, under the superintendence of the *atriensis*, began to clean the entrance rooms. Some inspected the *vestibulum*, to see whether any bold spider had spun its net during the night on the capital of the pillars, or groups of statuary; and rubbed the gold and tortoise-shell ornaments of the folding-doors and posts at

[1] One thing that the Romans especially kept in view in planning their sleeping-apartments, was that their situation should be removed from all noise. Pliny, *Ep.* ii. 17, boasts of these qualities being possessed by a bed-chamber at his villa. *Junctum est cubiculum noctis et somni. Non illud voces servulorum, non maris murmur, non tempestatum motus, non fulgurum lumen, ac ne diem quidem sentit, nisi fenestris apertis. Tam alti abditique secreti illa ratio, quod interjacens andron parietem cubiculi hortique distinguit, atque ita omnem sonum media inanitate consumit.*

the entrance, and cleaned the dust of the previous day from the marble pavement. Others again were busy in the *atrium* and its adjacent halls, carefully traversing the mosaic floor, and the paintings on the walls, with soft Lycian sponges, lest any dust might have settled on the wax-varnish with which they were covered[2]. They also looked closely whether any spot appeared blackened by the smoke of the lamps; and then decked with fresh garlands[3] the busts and shields which supplied the place of the *imagines majorum*[4], or waxen masks of departed ancestors.

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[2] Many of the colours used by the ancients for wall-painting, as, for instance, the *minium*, could not stand the effects of the light and atmosphere, and, to make them durable, a varnish of Punic wax, mixed with a little oil, was laid on the wall, when dry, with a paint-brush of bristles. See Vitruv. vii. 9, and Plin. xxxiii. 7, 40.

[3] Although the *stemmata*, which constituted the ancestral tree, could find no application here, still it was not unusual to crown with chaplets, even the portraits of strangers. Mart. x. 32:

Hæc mihi quæ colitur violis pictura rosisque,
Quos referat vultus, Cæditiane, rogas?

[4] The beautiful custom of olden time of placing the *imagines majorum* in the *atria* or their *alæ*, must have lost more and more in significancy, and even grown obsolete, after so many who had neither *majores*, in that sense, nor any title whatever to such distinction—some of them being persons of the lowest class, and others even slaves—became very wealthy, assumed high-sounding names, and lived in magnificent edifices. And again, many who were entitled to *imagines*, found them, perhaps, too insignificant in appearance to consort with the magnificence of the rest of their dwelling. These *imagines* were waxen masks, formed after the life, *ceræ*, which those only had the right of setting up, who had borne a curule office, viz. from that of *ædile* upwards. Polyb. vi. 53. On the manner of arranging them, Vitruv. says, vi. 5, *Imagines item alte cum suis ornamentis ad latitudinem alarum sint constitutæ.* The *ornamenta* are clearly designated by Seneca, *De Benef.* iii. 28, *Qui imagines in atrio exponunt et nomina familiæ suæ longo ordine ac multis stemmatum illigata flexuris in parte prima ædium collocant, noti magis quam nobiles sunt.* Still more so by Plin. xxxv. 2, 2, *Expressi cera vultus singulis disponebantur armariis.—Stemmata vero lineis discurrebant ad imagines pictas.* Polyb. vi. 53: Ξύλινα ναΐδια περιτιθέντες: and, ταύτας δὴ τὰς εἰκόνας ἐν ταῖς δημοτελέσι θυσίαις ἀνοίγοντες κοσμοῦσι φιλότιμως: lastly, Auct. *Eleg. ad Mess.* 30, *Quid quaque index sub imagine dicat.* The masks were kept in little presses, placed up against the wall, under which stood the name of the deceased, his honours and merits, *tituli*, Ovid. *Fast.* i. 591. [The several *imagines* were connected with each other by garlands; for

In the *cavum ædium* or interior court, and the larger *peristylium*, more were engaged in rubbing with coarse linen cloths the polished pillars of Tenarian and Numidian marble[6], which formed a most pleasing contrast to the intervening statues and the fresh green verdure of the vacant space within. The Tricliniarch and his subordinates were equally occupied in the larger saloons: where stood the costly tables of cedar-wood, with pillars of ivory supporting their massive orbs, which had, at an immense

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Pliny's words, *stemmata lineis discurrebant ad imagines pictas*, do not seem capable of any other than the literal meaning; and so likewise the *stemmatum flexuræ* of Seneca.] On festive days, when these *armaria* were opened, the *imagines* received fresh crowns of laurel. It is evident from Pliny, that, at a later period, instead of the masks, *clypeatæ imagines*, as they were called, and busts were substituted. *Imaginum quidem pictura, qua maxime similes in ævum propagabantur figuræ, in totum exolevit. Ærei ponuntur clypei, argentæ facies surdo figurarum discrimine.* Again: *Aliter apud majores in atriis hæc erant quæ spectarentur, non signa externorum artificum, nec æra nec marmora; expressi cera vultus*, &c. Those persons who had no images to boast of in their own family, and yet wished some such ornament for their *atrium*, had no course left but *alienas effigies colere.*

[3] The most valuable species of white marbles were the *Parian*, the *Pentelican*, and the *Hymettian;* which latter two Böttiger mistakes for the same. Strabo expressly says μαρμάρου δ' ἐστὶ τῆς τε Ὑμηττίας καὶ τῆς Πεντελικῆς κάλλιστα μέταλλα πλησίον τῆς πόλεως. Hom. Od. ii. 18, 3; Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 3. If it be correctly supposed, as was first imagined from Pausanias, that *Pentelicus* was in early times comprehended under the name *Hymettus*, we must understand *Pentelican* marble by the *Hymettiis columnis trabibus* so frequently mentioned, especially by the poets. Besides these there was that of Luna in Italy, now called Carrara marble.

Variegated marbles (*marmor maculosum*, Plin. H. N. xxxvi. 5; *ingentium maculæ columnarum*, Sen. *Ep.* 115), brought not only from Greece, but even from Asia and Africa, became afterwards more fashionable. The most precious sorts were the golden-yellow, *Numidian;* that with red streaks, *Phrygian, Synnadic*, or *Mygdonian;* the *Tænarian*, or *Laconian*, or *verde antico*, a kind of green porphyry; and the *Carystian* (from Eubœa) with green veins. But even this natural variety was not sufficient for the demands of taste. In Nero's time veins and spots were artificially let into the coloured marble. So says Pliny, xxxv. 1: *Neronis* (principatu inventum) *maculas, quæ non essent, crustis inserendo unitatem variare, ut ovatus esset Numidicus, ut purpura distingueretur Synnadicus, qualiter illos nasci aptarent deliciæ.*

expense, been conveyed to Rome from the primeval woods of Atlas. In one the wood was like the beautifully dappled coat of a panther, in another the spots, being more regular and close, imitated the tail of the peacock, a third resembled the luxuriant and tangled leaves of the *apium*, each of them more beautiful and valuable than the other; and many a lover of splendour would have bartered an estate for any one of the three. The *tricliniarii* cautiously lifted up their purple covers, and then whisked them over with the shaggy *gausape*, in order to remove any little dust that might have penetrated through. Next came the side-boards, several of which stood against the walls in each saloon, for the purpose of displaying the gold and silver plate and other valuables. Some of them were slabs of marble, supported by silver or gilded ram's feet, or by the tips of the wings of two griffins looking in opposite directions. There was also one of artificial marble, which had been sawn out of the wall of a Grecian temple, while the slabs of the rest were of precious metal. The costly articles displayed on each were so selected as to be in keeping with the architectural designs of the apartment. In the *tetrastylus*, the simplest saloon, stood smooth silver vessels unadorned by the *ars toreutica*, except that the rims of most of the larger bowls were of gold. Between these were smaller vessels of amber, and two of great rarity; in one of which a bee, and in the other an ant, had found its transparent tomb. On another side stood beakers of antique form, to which the names of their former possessors gave their value, and an historical importance[6].

[6] The passion for collecting objects curious on account of their antiquity, or from having belonged to some illustrious person, had become prevalent in the time of Galius; V. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 21; 64. p. 3, 90; at all events it was not far off. This mania became still more ridiculous, when ignorance credited the grossest falsehoods and historical impossibilites. The instances we have mentioned are really recounted by Martial, viii. 6, who ridicules these *argenti fumosa stemmata*. The *archetypa* of Trimalchio are still more laughable. Petr. 52.

There was, for instance, a double cup, which Priam had inherited from Laomedon; another that had belonged to Nestor, unquestionably the same from which Hecamede had pledged the old man in Pramnian wine before Troy: the doves which formed the handles[7] were much worn, —of course by Nestor's hand. Another again was the gift of Dido to Æneas, and in the centre stood an immense bowl, which Theseus had hurled against the face of Eurytus. But the most remarkable of all was a relic of the keel of the Argo[8]; it was indeed only a chip, but who could look on and touch this portion of the most ancient of ships—on which perhaps even Minerva herself had placed her hand—without being transported in feeling back to the days of old. Gallus himself was far too enlightened to believe in the truth of these legends, but every one was not so free from prejudice as he; it was moreover the most recent fashion to collect such antiquities.

On the other hand, in the Corinthian saloon stood vessels of precious Corinthian bronze, whose worn handles and peculiar smell sufficiently announced their antiquity, together with two large golden drinking cups, on one of which were engraved scenes from the Iliad, on the other from the Odyssey[9]. Besides these there were smaller

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Habeo scyphos urnales plus minus, quemadmodum Cassandra occidit filios suos, et pueri mortui jacent sicuti vere putes. Habeo capidem quam reliquit Patroclo Prometheus, ubi Dædalus Niobem in equum Trojanum includit. V. Lucian. *Philop.* 19.

[7] *Iliad*, xi. 632, seq. Martial, or the possessor of the goblet, no doubt had in his eye the passage of Homer which runs: Δοιαὶ δὲ πελειάδες ἀμφὶς ἕκαστον χρύσειαι νεμέθοντο: and the Roman poet says: *Pollice de Pylio trita columba nitet.*

[8] The ancients also had their relics, and looked with veneration on a chip of the Argo. Martial, who is so fond of ridiculing folly and credulous simplicity, speaks quite seriously (vii. 19) on the subject:

Fragmentum quod vile putas et inutile lignum,
Hæc fuit ignoti prima carina maris.—
Sæcula vicerunt; sed quamvis cesserit annis,
Sanctior est salva parva tabella rate.

But perhaps this valuable relic belonged to Domitian himself, or to some other patron of distinction, and the poet for this reason affected to credit the story. The ancients used also to collect natural specimens and other rarities.

[9] The Corinthian brass, as it was called, was used in the manufacture

beakers and bowls composed of precious stones, either made of one piece only and adorned with reliefs, or of several cameos united by settings of gold. Genuine Murrhina vases also,—even at that time a riddle, and according to report imported from the recesses of Parthia,—were not wanting.

The Egyptian saloon, however, surpassed the rest in magnificence. Every silver or golden vessel which it contained was made by the most celebrated *toreutæ*, and possessed a higher value from the beauty of its workmanship than even from the costliness of its material[10]. There was a cup by the hand of Phidias, ornamented with fishes that seemed only to want water to enable them to swim; on another was a lizard by Mentor, and so exact a copy of nature, that the hand almost started back on touching it. Then came a broad bowl, the handle of which was a ram with a golden fleece, more beautiful than that brought by Phryxus to Colchis, and upon it

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of vessels which were sold for high prices. Respecting the composition of it, a secret which was lost even in the time of the ancients, see O. Müller's *Archæology*, translated by Leitch; and Plin. xxxiv. 2, 3, and Petron. 50, jokingly. Connoisseurs detected its genuineness by the peculiar odour it acquired by oxydation. Mart. ix. 60, 11. *Consulerit nares, an olerent æra Corinthon.* Beckmann even affirms that the money-changers had recourse to their noses to judge of the genuineness of the coins, as Arrian, in Epict. i. 20, ὁ ἀργυρογνώμων προσχρῆται κατὰ δοκιμασίαν τοῦ νομίσματος τῇ ὄψει, τῇ ἁφῇ, τῇ ὀσφρασίᾳ (but ἀργυρογνώμων is not a money-changer). The marks moreover of having been long in use, were not unobserved. Mart. ix. 58:

Nil est tristius Hedyli lacernis:
Non ansæ veterum Corinthiorum.

Mys, Myron, Mentor, and even Phidias, had often to lend their names to the relievos cut on the vessels, though not always with any good reason for so doing. Mart.:

iii. 35. Artis Phidiacæ toreuma clarum,
Pisces adspicis: adde aquam, natabunt.

iii. 41. Inserta phialæ Mentoris manu ducta
Lacerta vivit, et timetur argentum.

vi. 92. Cælatus serpens in patera Myronis arte.

viii. 51. Quis labor in phiala? docti Myos, anne Myronis?
Mentoris hæc manus est? an, Polyclete, tua?
Stat caper Æolio Thebani vellere Phryxi
Cultus: ab hoc mallet vecta fuisse soror.

Goblets by Mentor, who also imitated in metal the *pocula Thericlea*, were very highly esteemed. Plin. xxxiii. 11, 12.

[10] The most celebrated Toreutæ,

a dainty Cupid. The name of the artist who executed it was unknown, but all were unanimous in thinking that Mys and Myron, Mentor and Polycletus, had equal claims to the honour. No less worthy of admiration were the ingenious works in glass, from Alexandria; beakers and saucers of superb moulding, and imitating so naturally the tints of the amethyst and ruby, as completely to deceive the beholder; others shone like onyxes, and were cut in relief; but superior to all were some of the purest crystal, and uncoloured. Still there was one object which, on account of its ingenious construction, attracted more than anything else the eyes of all spectators. This was a bowl of the colour of opal, surrounded at the distance of a fourth part of an inch by an azure network, carved out of the same piece as the vessel, and only connected with it by a few fine slips that had been left. Beneath the edge of the cup was written the following inscription; the letters were green, and projected in a similar manner, supported only by some delicate props: *Bibe, vivas multis annis.* How many disappointments must the artist have experienced before he accomplished the labour of making such a vessel, and what a price must Gallus have paid for it!

In the Cyzicenian saloon no such ornaments were to be seen; but the slaves had more work in cleaning the windows and window-frames which reached to the ground, and in preventing the view from being obscured by dull spots in the glass.

Whilst the mansion was being thus cleansed and adorned throughout, whilst the *dispensator* was busied in recasting the account of the receipts and expenditure during the last month, to be ready for his master's inspection, and the *cellarius* was reviewing his stock, and considering how much would supply the exigencies of the day, and the superior slaves were engaged, each with his allotted task—the *vestibulum* had already begun to be filled with a multitude of visitors, who came to

pay their customary morning salutation to their patron. The persons who presented themselves differed not only in their grades, but also in the motives of their attendance[11]. Citizens of the inferior class, who received support from the hand of Gallus; young men of family, who expected to make their fortunes through the favourite of Augustus; poor poets and idlers, who looked to a compensation for these early attentions, by a place at the board of Gallus, or contented themselves with a share of the diurnal *sportula;* a few friends really attached to him by gratitude or affection. Amongst the number were, no doubt, some vain fellows, who felt so flattered at having admission to a house of distinction, that they disregarded the inconvenience of dancing attendance thus early before the door of their *dominus* or *rex,* and waited impatiently for the moment when they were to be admitted. For this was not the only visit of the kind they intended to pay this morning; and there were some even with whom this made the second or third door visited already. As soon therefore as the *ostiarius* let them in, each one pressed forward to the *atrium,* or became lost to view in the colonnades, beguiling the interval with gazing about them, and conversing with one another.

Meanwhile Gallus had risen from his couch, though later than he usually did: he was not however inclined to receive the crowd of visitors, about whom he was perfectly indifferent. Accordingly the *nomenclator,* who had already arranged the order of those who were to be introduced, was instructed to say that his lord was indisposed, and would not make his appearance to-day. At the same time he was ordered, if Pomponius, or any other intimate friends should call, to admit them into the *cubiculum*; but all other visits were to be declined.

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[11] On the subjects of *Salutatio* and *Sportula,* see the fourth Excursus on the First Scene.

The throng had long taken its departure, when towards the end of the second hour of the day Pomponius arrived. He was a man near upon forty: his hollow but gleaming eye, his pale and sunken cheeks, the half sensual, half scornful expression about his mouth, as well as the negligent folds of his voluminous *toga*, at once pointed him out as one of those dissipated men, who are accustomed to riot all night in wild revelry and forbidden gambling, or in the orgies of the Suburra. Although of distinguished parentage, and left heir to a fortune of nearly two millions of *sesterces*, usurers and harlots had long since sung the dirge of his patrimony[12]. Instead of his parental mansion, he now inhabited a lodging near the Tiber, hired for three thousand *sesterces*, while his attendants were limited to a few shabby slaves. Household stores he had none: his bread, and wine fresh from the vat, were brought from the nearest tavern[13]. Notwithstanding, however, he possessed sufficient wit and intelligence to make him welcome even in the best circles. An adept in every kind of amusement, ever ready to enter into any jovial scheme, and fully acquainted with the ways and means of insuring its success; unequalled, besides, as a director of a feast, and a perfect connoisseur in wines and dishes, he managed to make people forget the less recommendatory points in his character, and (which was an enigma to many) was not excluded from the table even of Augustus. He had, in like manner, by his pleasantry and merry disposition, and by a thousand little kindnesses, and, as it seemed too, by some more important tokens of genuine friendship, contrived to become indispensable to the free-living Gallus. It is true that the cautious Chresimus was not the only

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[12] Thus Plautus, *Truc.* ii. 1, 3, says: *Huic homini amanti mea hera apud nos dixit nœniam de bonis.*

[13] The description is borrowed from Cic. *in Pis.* 27. 3000 *HS.* or 24*l.* was the rent paid also by Sulla, before he arrived at wealth and power. Plut. *Sulla*, 1. For more about the price of hired lodgings, and the houses themselves, see Meierotto, ii. p. 104, seqq.

one who shook his head at this: and some affirmed, that before the recall of Gallus to Rome, Pomponius had lived in familiar intercourse with Lycoris, and that he had sworn to effect the downfall of the former in revenge for being supplanted by him. It was certain that he had of late been a most intimate associate of Largus, from whom it was surmised that he received considerable pecuniary aid. On the other hand, Pomponius had himself concerted measures with Gallus for gaining the confidence of his most dangerous foe, and thus becoming apprised of any peril that might threaten him, and had moreover frequently warned him about the other's plans. How then could Gallus consider the cautions which reached him as anything else than empty fears and calumnies?

Two other men had entered at the same time as Pomponius, so different in manner, thoughts, and actions, that it required all the versatility with which their companion was gifted to fill up the chasm between them. Lentulus, young, vain, and wealthy, was the exact prototype of those well-dressed, self-sufficient, shallow young men of our own day, so graphically described by a modern French author, as being *belles bourses d'étalage: qu'y a-t-il au fond? du vide*[14]. No one dressed with more care or arranged his hair in more elegant locks, or diffused around him such a scent of cassia and stakte, nard and balsam. No one was better acquainted with the latest news of the city:—who were betrothed yesterday, who was Caius' newest mistress, why Titus had procured a divorce, on whom Neæra had closed her doors. The whole business of his day consisted in philandering about the toilets of the ladies, or strolling through the colonnades of Pompeius, or the almost completed Septa, humming Alexandrian or Gaditanian songs, or, at most, in reading or writing a love epistle: in short, he was a complete specimen of what the

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[14] L. Desnoyers, *Les Béotiens de Paris*, Livre des Cent et un, iii. p. 61.

Romans contemptuously called *bellus homo*[15]. It can be easily imagined that Gallus was not very anxious for the society of such a person; but Pomponius saw only that Lentulus was rich, that few gave better dinners, and besides, he liked his folly, which often served as a butt for his own wit and sarcasms.

What a strong contrast to this smooth coxcomb was Calpurnius! whose lofty stature and manly bearing, free alike from stiffness and negligence, commanded respect; while the simple throw and scanty gatherings of his *toga*, in the highly drawn up *sinus* of which his right arm rested, reminded one of the orators of the republic. In his dark eyes, overshadowed by lofty brows, there glowed a tranquil fire, and if you watched at the same time the earnest folds of his forehead and the bitter curl of his lips, you almost believed that you saw before you one who had fallen out with fate, or meditated revenge.

'Welcome, friends!' cried Gallus, as they entered the peristyle, where according to custom he was enjoying the fresh morning air. 'And you too, Lentulus? What, are you not afraid lest the dampness of the morning air should destroy the ingenious edifice of your locks?'

'Joke away!' replied Lentulus, 'who knows whether I live not happier under it than ye do in many a new state fabric, built only in your thoughts? But enough of that. I will leave you directly to your momentous consultations, and only come now to propose that we should not breakfast with you to-day, as we agreed yes-

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[15] Such a *bellus homo* Martial admirably describes, iii. 63:

Bellus homo est, flexos qui digerit ordine crines:
Balsama qui semper, cinnama semper olet.
Cantica qui Nili, qui Gaditana susurrat;
Qui movet in varios brachia vulsa modos.
Inter fœmineas tota qui luce cathedras
Desidet, atque aliqua semper in aure sonat.
Qui legit hinc illinc missas, scribitque tabellas.
Pallia vicini qui refugit cubiti.
Qui scit quam quis amet; qui per convivia currit;
Hirpini veteres qui bene novit avos.

Well may we say, after casting a glance upon the *bellus homo* of our own day, 'Men are now as men ever were.'

terday, but that you come instead to my house. Not merely for the sake of the excellent oysters that I received this morning from the Lucrine lake, and the splendid *rhombus* sent me yesterday from Ravenna—these would at most be an attraction for Pomponius alone—but for the purpose of admiring a work of art of surpassing grace and beauty. You know Issa, Terentia's lap-dog[16]? I have had the little imp painted, sweetly reposing upon a soft cushion: it was only finished yesterday, and the illusion is, I assure you, complete. Place it by the side of the delicate little animal, and you will think either that both are painted, or both alive.' Gallus laughed loudly at this enthusiasm about a lap-dog, and even on the visage of Calpurnius a smile gradually got the better of his habitual scowl. 'I believe you, my Lentulus,' replied the first; 'and it grieves me to be able neither to make acquaintance with the Lucrine and Ravennan strangers, nor to enjoy the high artistic treat. Cogent reasons induce me to spend a few weeks in the country, and I have just determined to set off this morning.'

'Into the country? To the villa?' cried Pomponius and Calpurnius, in astonishment, whilst Lentulus affectedly supported his chin with his left hand.—'So it is,' said Gallus; 'and I had already ordered my slave to make my apologies for not breakfasting with you, and to invite you to my villa instead.'

'Well, well, if such be the case,' said Lentulus, 'I have nothing to do, but wish you a pleasant journey thither. But I make one condition, that you take your

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[16] The *deliciæ* of the Roman ladies are known through the *passer* of Lesbia, and the parrot of Corinna. The *Issa* here mentioned belongs, it is true, to a later period, and to no lady, but to the painter Publius, who had painted her for himself, Mart. i. 110. The same poet, vii. 87, names as such favourite objects, *bubo*, *catella*, *cercopithecos ichneumon*, *pica*, *draco*, *luscinia*. The lap-dog of the lady was naturally an object of tender blandishment to the lover. Indeed this is enjoined by Clæreta,—Plaut. *Asin.* i. 3, 32. Cf. Mart. xiv. 198; Juv. vi. 654; Petron. 64, 71; Plin. *Ep.* iv. 2.

first meal at my house after your return. I am only sorry that you will not see Issa, for this very day will Terentia receive this proof of my affection.' Having thus said, he sped away through the halls and *atrium*, carefully avoiding the busy slaves, lest they should soil the snowy whiteness of his garments, and hastened to arrange the breakfast: since Pomponius, at all events, would not forget the Lucrine oysters and the *rhombus*.

'So to Capua, then?' said Pomponius, musingly, after the departure of Lentulus, and appearing at the same time to be occupied with other thoughts than the recent invitation.

'Into the lap of enjoyment and idleness!' put in Calpurnius gloomily.

'And Lycoris?' asked Pomponius inquiringly, whilst he involuntarily held his nether lip between his teeth.

'Will grant my request, I hope, and spend these weeks in Baiæ.'

'And the fine plans of yesterday?' interrupted Calpurnius: 'are we children that we swear death to the tyrant, and within twelve hours afterwards quietly repose on the soft pillow of pleasure and voluptuousness?'

'Calpurnius,' said Gallus earnestly, 'the incautious expressions cajoled from the tongue by the Setinian wine must not be interpreted too literally the next morning. I have, it is true, been grievously insulted, and by the very man from whose hand I received all my fortune; but I will never forget what is due to gratitude, and for the same reason, that I feel how easily I can be provoked, I will withdraw into the retirement of the country for a while. Virgil and Propertius have already left Rome to enjoy the charms of nature, and I too pine for a more simple way of life.'

'Gallus is right,' cried Pomponius, as if awaking from a dream, 'he is right;'—while Calpurnius, turning away his head, bit his lip. 'He will thus best show that he has no desire to take part in any movement that may

be made, and he leaves true friends behind him to avert any danger that may threaten him in his absence. But since the hour of departure is so near, his time must be precious, Calpurnius. Let us therefore now depart. Farewell, Gallus! happy omen be thy speed!' With this he went, forcing the silent Calpurnius away.

SCENE THE THIRD.

STUDIES AND LETTERS.

GALLUS had for some time past kept as much as possible aloof from the disquieting labours of public life, and had been accustomed to divide his time between the pleasures of the table and of love, the society of friends, and the pursuit of his studies, serious as well as cheerful[1]. On the present occasion also, after his friends had departed, he withdrew into the chamber, where he used daily to spend the later hours of the morning, in converse with the great spirits of ancient Greece—a pursuit animating and refreshing alike to heart and soul—or to yield himself up to the sport of his own muse. For this reason, this apartment lay far removed from the noisy din of the street, so that neither the rattling of the creaking wains and the stimulating cry of the mule-driver, the clarions and dirge of the pompous funeral, nor the brawlings of the slaves[2] hurrying busily along, could penetrate it. A lofty

[1] In this description of the mode of life to which Gallus, after a long continuance of active exertion, had resigned himself, reference has been principally had to Cic. *Fam.* ix. 20. *Omnem nostram de republica curam, cogitationem de dicenda in senatu sententia, commentationem causarum abjecimus. In Epicuri nos adversarii nostri castra conjecimus.* No doubt this Epicurism would assume a different form in Gallus from that of Cicero, yet the latter's account of his morning occupations might very well be transferred to Gallus: *Hæc igitur est nunc vita nostra. Mane salutatus domi et bonos viros multos, sed tristes, et hos lætos victores, qui me quidem perofficiose et peramanter observant. Ubi salutatio defluxit, literis me involvo; aut scribo, aut lego.* In the retirement of country-life (Plin. *Ep.* ix. 9, 36), there was, no doubt, more likelihood of such quiet enjoyment than amid the numberless interruptions of the bustling metropolis, which Pliny describes, *Ep.* i. 9: *Si quem interroges: Hodie quid egisti? respondeat: Officio togæ virilis interfui, sponsalia aut nuptias frequentavi: ille me ad signandum testamentum, ille in advocationem, ille in consilium rogavit.* So also Hor. *Epist.* ii. 2, 65. Even at the country house many were subjected to the solicitations of their neighbours. Plin. *Ep.* ix. 15.

[2] The characteristic bustle of the slaves, as they ran along the street, is

window, through which shone the light of the early morning sun, pleasantly illuminated from above the moderate-sized apartment, the walls of which were adorned with elegant arabesques in light colours, whilst between them, on darker grounds, the luxurious forms of attractive dancing girls were seen sweeping spirit-like along. A neat couch, faced with tortoise-shell and hung with Babylonian tapestry of various colours—by the side of which was the *scrinium* containing the poet's elegies, which were as yet unknown to the majority of the public, and a small table of cedar-wood, on goat's-feet of bronze, comprised the whole of the *supellex.*

Immediately adjoining this apartment was the library, full of the most precious treasures acquired by Gallus, chiefly in Alexandria. There, in presses of cedar-wood, placed round the walls, lay the rolls, partly of parchment, and partly of the finest Egyptian *papyrus*, each supplied with a label, on which was seen, in bright red letters, the name of the author and title of the book. Above these again were ranged the busts, in bronze or marble, of the most renowned writers, an entirely novel ornament for libraries, first introduced into Rome by Asinius Pollio, who perhaps had only copied it from the libraries of Pergamus and Alexandria. True, only the chief representatives of each separate branch of literature were to be found in the narrow space available for them; but to compensate for this, there were several rolls which contained the portraits of seven hundred remarkable men. These were the hebdomades or peplography of Varro, who, by means of a new and much-valued invention[3], was enabled

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well known from comic writers, and *currentes* is their peculiar epithet. Terence, *Eun. Prol.* 36; *Heaut. Prol.* 31. Examples occur in almost every one of the comedies of Plautus. So hasty a pace was not, however, becoming to a respectable free-man. Plautus, *Pœn.* iii. 1, 19.

Liberos homines per urbem modico magis
par est gradu
Ire; servuli esse dico, festinantem currere.

[3] The question as to what was the *benignissimum Varronis inventum*, has been lately revived. The chief passage in Pliny, xxxv. 2, bearing on the matter is certainly in a tone of

in an easy manner to multiply the collection of his portraits, and so to spread copies of them, with short biographical notices of the men, through the whole learned world.

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admiration. *Imaginum amore flagrasse quondam testes sunt Atticus ille Ciceronis, edito de his volumine, et Marcus Varro benignissimo invento insertis voluminum suorum fœcunditati non nominibus tantum septingentorum illustrium, sed et aliquo modo imaginibus, non passus intercidere figuras, aut vestustatem ævi contra homines valere, inventor muneris etiam Diis invidiosi, quando immortalitatem non solum dedit, verum etiam in omnes terras misit, ut præsentes esse ubique et claudi* (?) *possent.* It was an Iconography (consisting of one hundred rolls and sheets, each one of which contained seven pictures, with short biographies, *epigramma*, Gell. iii. 11; *epigrammatum adjectione*, or *elegiis*, Symmach. *Ep.* i. 2. 4), unquestionably the same book that Cicero, *ad Attic.* xvi. 11, calls Πεπλογραφίαν Varonis, and that bore the name *Hebdomades* (Gell. iii. 10, *qui inscribuntur* (libri) *hebdomades s. de imaginibus*); but opinions are divided as to wherein consisted its novelty and remarkableness. Brotier and Falconnet suppose that they were drawings on parchment or canvas. Visconti calls them *des portraits peints sans doute sur parchemin.*

On the other hand, De Pauw believed that it was an invention for the multiplication of the portraits, and that it was copper-plate engraving, which Ottfr. Müller considers most probably to have been the case. Quatremère de Quincy sets up a similar hypothesis, which, however, rests on a very insecure basis. Raoul-Rochette gives the following account of it: 'M. Quatremère de Quincy n'est point occupé de cette discussion préliminaire. Fidèle à sa méthode de traiter les questions d'antiquité d'après les seules textes antiques, sans avoir égard aux opinions des critiques modernes, qui ont pu s'exercer sur les mêmes sujets, l'illustre auteur n'a fait aucune mention des idées de Brotier, de Falconnet et de Pauw. Encore moins aurait-il pu citer l'explication d'un autre savant, laquelle rentre pourtant à peu près dans la sienne, mais qui se trouve en quelque sorte cachée dans un ouvrage d'archéologie chrétienne, où l'on ne s'aviserait pas d'aller la chercher. Je veux parler de l'idée de Münter, qui rappelant, au début de ses recherches sur l'iconographie chrétienne, l'invention de Varron, suppose qu'elle consistait en portraits gravés aux traits sur des planches de bois, et imprimés sur parchemin, tout en repoussant l'opinion, que ces portraits, ainsi imprimés, aient pu être coloriés ou enluminés en pinceau, de la main de Lala, comme on pourrait le croire d'après un autre passage de Pline (xxxv. 11, 40): *Lala Cyzicena — Marci Varronis inventa Romæ et penicillo pinxit* (*et cestro in ebore*). Le docte antiquaire Danois n'admet pas, en effet, dans le texte de Pline, la leçon *inventa*, qu'il suppose une correction de quelque critique moderne, au lieu de *juventa*, qui lui paraît la leçon originale. Mais il se trompe certainement en ce point; les mots: *M. Varronis inventa*, de ce passage de Pline, s'accordent trop bien avec le *Varronis benignissimum*

On the other side of the library was a larger room, in which a number of learned slaves were occupied in transcribing, with nimble hand, the works of illustrious Greek

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inventum de l'autre texte, pour qu'il y ait le moindre lieu de douter, qu'ils n'expriment l'un et l'autre la pensée de Pline, et qu'ils ne se rapportent l'un et l'autre un procédé de Varron; la leçon *inventa* est d'ailleurs celle des meilleurs éditions, compris l'édition princeps de 1469. Cela posé, l'hypothèse de M. Quatremère de Quincy acquiert le plus haut degré de probabilité; il suppose, que Varron fit exécuter au *cestre sur ivoire*, par la main de Lala, les portraits de son iconographie, dont elle avait peint les modèles au pinceau; et que ces portraits, *imprimés sur toile*, se multipliaient au moyen d'une pression mécanique, dont le procédé était trop simple et trop facile à trouver pour qu'il ait pu offrir le moindre embarras à l'industrie Romaine de cette âge.'

The chief points of this hypothesis, with which Raoul-Rochette coincides, are, that the *inventum Varronis* was a means of multiplying portraits; that Lala of Cyzikos furnished the designs, and engraved them on ivory; and that tinted engravings of them were made on canvas, by means of several plates; but the last assumption rests on a pure misapprehension. Cicero names the work Πεπλογραφία, analogously to the *Panathenaic Peplos:* of which Suidas under Πέπλος says: Πέπλον ἐποίησαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ καὶ ἐνέγραψαν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐν αὐτῷ. Arist. Equit. 566. ἄνδρες ἄξιοι τοῦ πέπλου. Aristotle named thus his genealogy of the Homeric heroes; the word therefore denotes nothing more than a gallery of remarkable persons, as Popma, and after him Ernesti, have sufficiently shown. As for canvas, or any substance whatever, on which the pictures were painted, it is not to be thought of.

The process with the *cestrum* may have been merely a species of encaustic engraving—but as to whether it was a simple burning in of the outline, or in some way a kind of stippling, we are still in the dark—whilst the drawing, by means of this burning in, was to receive its tinted appearance or its consistency as an engraving on the ivory, in order to bring forth the ivory pictures, Pliny rather obscurely describes xxv. 11, 41. *Encausto pingendi duo fuisse antiquitus genera constat, cera, et in ebore, cestro, id est, viriculo, donec classes fingi cœperunt.*

The other suppositions also appear very untenable. And it would appear very strange if, for the purpose of engraving, they had taken such a fragile material as ivory, whilst copper or other durable metal presented itself. Besides, the reading of *inventa* for *juventa* is very unsafe, and the last expression is so like one of Pliny's own, that we may entirely decide in favour of it.

Letronne opposed this hypothesis; but the grammatical scruples that he raises are totally groundless. He denies that the invention consisted in a means of multiplying, and supposes painted portraits, so that in that case *inventum* would simply mean a new idea. But the words of Pliny are clearly in opposition to him; for besides that the epithet *benignissimum* conveys the idea of communication and common

and the more ancient Roman authors, both for the supply of the library, and for the use of those friends to whom Gallus obligingly communicated his literary treasures. Others were engaged in giving the rolls the most agreeable exterior, in gluing the separate strips of *papyrus* together, drawing the red lines which divided the different columns, and writing the title in the same colour; in smoothing with pumice-stone and blackening the edges; fastening ivory tops on the sticks round which the rolls were wrapped, and dyeing bright red or yellow the parchment which was to serve as a wrapper.

Gallus, with Chresimus, entered the study, where the freedman, of whom he was used to avail himself in his studies[4], to make remarks on what was read, to note down

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utility, Pliny also expressly says: *verum etiam in omnes terras misit, ut præsentes esse ubique possent.* It is therefore evident that he speaks of numerous copies; and besides this, he says: *non nominibus tantum septingentorum illustrium, sed et aliquo modo imaginibus*, and gives us positively to understand that they were no regular portraits. Still it is to be doubted whether it could have been an engraving, on a plate of copper, or any other metal, as such an invention would have been of the utmost moment, and necessarily less transitory. Pliny, too, would hardly have passed over the technical part of this new branch in the art of design; we cannot, therefore, include copper-plate engraving under *aliquo modo.*

Perhaps these *aliquo modo imagines* were portraits done Silhouette-fashion, or painted by means of shabloons, or something similar; for it can hardly be supposed that they were executed in colours, as in the Oriental painting, as it is called. Whether, when wall-painting at a later period became so general, this contrivance may have been made use of in a set of uniform arabesques, must be answered in the negative. Though it would not be *impossible;* for even in the *good times* of art they used to bethink themselves of methods of abbreviating labour (*compendiarias*, Plin. xxxv. 10, 36). And perhaps we might refer to this the words of Petronius, c. 2, where he speaks of the decline of the arts of oratory and painting. *Quis postea ad summam Thucydidis, quis Hyperidis ad famam processit? ac ne carmen quidem sani coloris enituit; sed omnia quasi eodem cibo pasta non potuerunt usque ad senectutem canescere. Pictura quoque non alium exitum fecit, postquam Ægyptiarum audacia tam magnæ artis compendiariam invenit.* But in that case it would be strange if repetitions of the same paintings were not to be found at Herculaneum and Pompeii.

[4] Among the *librarii* were some who were made use of in studying, for the purpose of extracting and

particular passages, or to commit to paper his own poetical effusions, as they escaped him, was already awaiting him. After giving Chresimus further instructions to make the necessary preparations for an immediate journey, he reclined, in his accustomed manner, on his studying couch,

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noting down remarks, *a studiis.* Orell. *Inscr.* 719; Suet. *Claud.* 28. *Ac super hos* (libertos, maxime suspexit) *Polybium a studiis qui sæpe inter duos Consules ambulabat.* We see clearly what their business was from a letter of the young Cicero, *Fam.* xvi. 21: *Peto a te, ut quam celerrime librarius mihi mittatur, maxime quidem Græcus; multum enim mihi eripitur operæ exscribendis hypomnematis.* Best adapted for this purpose were the *notarii*, ταχυγράφοι, σημειογράφοι, who wrote by means of marks, διὰ σημείων—the short-hand writers of antiquity, unexcelled perhaps in facility even by the moderns. [This art was introduced into Rome during the last hundred years of its freedom. Plutarch (*Cat. Min.* 23) calls Cicero, and Dio Cass. (lv. 7) Mæcenas, the inventor of it. Isodorus, i. 21, mentions Ennius as the founder of tachygraphy, and the freedmen of Cicero and Mæcenas, Tiro and Aquila, as those who in practice had further improved it. Gellius, xvii. 9, speaks not of stenography, but of a kind of secret cypher-writing in use between Cæsar, Oppius, and Balbus: *In his epistolis quibusdam in locis inveniuntur literæ singulariæ sine coagmentis syllabarum, quas tu putes positas incondite; nam verba ex his literis confici nulla possunt. Erat autem conventum inter eos clandestinum de commutando situ literarum, ut in scripto quidem alia aliæ locum et nomen teneret, sed in legendo locus cuique suus et potestas restitueretur.* There was also some process similar to our short-hand writing, and to that Pliny alludes when he calls Cæsar the inventor of it. When, however, Cicero writes, *ad Att.* xiii. 21: *Quod ad te de decem legatis scripsi, parum intellexti, credo quia διὰ σημείων scripseram;* we must not suppose that either a secret cipher-writing or stenography is meant, but hieroglyphics (understood figuratively) or mysterious indications, which Cicero was accustomed to make in his letters.] Later, the marks which the *notarii* made use of, were certainly far simpler than the *notæ Tironianæ.* Mart. xiv. 208, Notarius—

> Currant verba licet; manus est velocior illis:
> Nondum lingua suum, dextra peregit opus.

Seneca, *Epist.* 90. *Quid verborum notas, quibus quamvis citata excipitur oratio, et celeritatem linguæ manus sequitur;* Orell. *Inscr.* 2876, and Manil. iv. 197:

> Hic et scriptor erit velox, cui litera verbum est,
> Quique notis linguam superet, cursimque loquentis
> Excipiet longas nova per compendia voces.

The elder Pliny had himself a *notarius* by his side on a journey, that the time might not pass idly: *Ep.* iii. 5 (in itinere) *ad latus notarius cum libro et pugillaribus, cujus manus hieme manicis muniebantur ut ne cœli quidem asperitas ullum studii tempus eriperet.*

supported on his left arm, his right knee being drawn up somewhat higher than the other, in order to place on it his books or tablets. 'Give me that roll of poetry of mine, Phædrus,' said he to the freedman; 'I will not set out till I have sent the book finished to the bookseller. I certainly do not much desire to be sold in the Argiletan taverns for five denarii, and find my name hung up on the doors, and not always in the best company; but Secundus worries me for it, and therefore be it so.' 'He understands his advantage,' said Phædrus, as he drew forth the roll from the cedar-wood chest. 'I wager that his scribes will have nothing else to do for months, but to copy off your Elegies and Epigrams, and that you will be rewarded with the applause poured upon them not by Rome only; nor by Italy, but by the world.'

'Who knows?' said Gallus. 'It is always hazardous to give to the opinion of the public that which was only written for a narrow circle of tried friends: and besides, our public is so very capricious. For one I am too cold, for another I speak too much of Lycoris; my Epigrams are too long for a third[5]; and then there are those grammarians, who impute to me the blunders which the copyist in his hurry has committed[6]. But look!' continued he, as he unfolded the roll, 'there is just room left before we get to the *umbilicus*, for a small poem on which I meditated this morning when walking to and fro in the peristyle. It is somewhat hurriedly thrown off, I grant, and its jocular tone is not exactly in keeping with the last elegy. Perhaps they will say, I had done better to leave it out, but its contents are the best proof of its unassumingness; why, therefore, should I not let the joke stand? Listen then, and write.'

Phædrus here was about taking the roll. 'No,' said

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[5] Martial had to bear this imputation more than once. See ii. 77, iii. 83, vi. 65.

[6] Martial, ii. 8. See the Excursus, *The Bookseller*.

Gallus, 'the time before our departure is too brief. Take style and tablet, write with abbreviations, and insert it afterwards whilst I am dictating a few letters.' Phædrus obeyed, sat down on the foot of the couch, and wrote as follows to his master's dictation:—

TO MY BOOK.

Fond book! why, uninvited, haste to roam
Abroad, while thou mayst safely stay at home?
E'en among friends thou'lt earn but doubtful praise,
What madness then to brave the world's proud gaze,
And nostril curl'd and supercilious sneer!
Of spiteful critic's pen to be in fear!—
What! though no gross plebeian form be thine,
Though traced with cunning hand thy letters shine;
Though Tyrian purple veil thy page of snow,
And painted knobs o'er thy black edges glow,
Dost hope by this to please book-learned wights?
To grace the shelves of Phœbus' satellites?
Be carried in the bosom, praised, caress'd,
And read by all the world from east to west?
Vain hope! thy beauty's pride, thy swelling roll,
A smoky kitchen is their destined goal.
Or else to greasy taverns thou'lt be borne,
Then, greased thyself, with filthy wares return.
I've seen (prodigious fate, but no less true)
Your Ciceros, extoll'd beyond their due,
To pepper-pokes consign'd, and bags for salt,
Not *Attic:* that they lack'd—their only fault—
Or sprats enclosed within their humid leaves;
Sprats! or whate'er the dirty cook receives.
Warn'd by such great examples, shun their fate,
Nor learn discretion at so dear a rate.
Words to the winds! still struggling to be free?
Go, but when injured, blame thyself, not me.[7]

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[7] The original of this translation runs as follows:—

Quo properas, insane liber? male nota quid hospes
Tecta subis, tuto cui licet esse domi?
Quis furor est, populi tumidis opponere rhonchis,
Ah! vereor, socîis vix placitura viris?

Phædrus had written with all possible rapidity; and from his countenance it was not easy to discover his opinion of this apostrophe. He then departed to copy the poem more intelligibly on the roll, and to send thither Philodamus, whom his master generally employed to write his letters; equally acquainted with both languages, he used, in most instances, to discharge the duties of the Greek and Latin correspondent, and particularly when the contents of the letters made a confidential scribe necessary. To-day, however, this was not the case; for Gallus only wished some short friendly letters, which contained no secrets, to be written. Philodamus brought the style, the

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Contemtumque pati, nasoque ferociter unco
Suspendi, et tristes extimuisse notas?
An quia plebeiam vincit tua charta papyrum,
Et nitet artifici litera facta manu;
Candida quod Tyrio velatur pagina fuco,
Pictaque nigranti cornua fronte geris;
Scrinia Phœbeæ speras habitare catervæ,
Et fieri doctis carior inde viris?
Gestarique sinu belle, lepidusque vocari
Forsitan, et toto plurimus orbe legi?
Nequidquam, heu! forma tumidum, cultuque superbum
Accipiet fumo nigra culina suo.
Mercibus aut unctas migrabis, culte, tabernas,
Ut referas merces unctus et ipse domum.
Vidimus elatos nimium, meritisque feroces—
Vera loquor, quamquam prodigiosa loquor—
Aut salis, aut piperis Cicerones esse cucullos,
Quodque aberat scriptis sal tamen intus erat.
Cordylæque fere madida latuere papyro,
Quidquid et immundi poscit opella coqui.
Si sapis, exemplis monitus, liber, utere tantis,
Et proprio noli cautior esse malo.
Ventis verba cadunt. Pugnas tamen iro? licebit.
I, fuge, sed læsus parce, libelle, queri.

The joke here indulged in, of palming this sportive effusion on Gallus, must not be mistaken, or considered presumptuous. Such a *νουθεσία* would in itself be nothing uncommon, for Horace, i. 17, 11, speaks to his book in a similar manner, and in Martial more such warnings are to be found. I cannot here omit a remark or two in defence of the text. In v. 3, I have had in my eye Virg. *Æn.* ii. 127, *recusat quemquam opponere morti*, and am of opinion that from thence Propert. i. 17, 11, is also to be amended:

An poteris siccis mea fata reponere ocellis,
Ossaque nulla tuo nostra tenere sinu?

Here the *Cod. optimus Posthianus*, or, *Groninganus*, has *opponere*, and so I believe the proper reading to be: *me fato opponere*, for that is the only idea suitable. To take *reponere fata*, for *componere funus* or *ossa*, is quite impossible, because Propertius does not hope for a burial. But Cynthia is mentioned as the cause of his calamity, through her *diræ*. Should one, however, be offended at the *opponere rhonchis*, he can instead of it (*si tanti est*) read *committere*. Nobody can refer this attack on Cicero to anything else than useless editions, such as the last century produced in abundance.

wooden tablets coated over with wax, and what was requisite for sealing the letters; took the seat of Phædrus, and set down with expert hand the short sentences which Gallus dictated. Notifications of his departure to his friends; invitations to them to visit him at his villa; approval of a purchase of some statues and pictures, which a friend in Athens had made for him[8]; recommendations of one friend to another in Alexandria; such were the quickly despatched subjects of the day's correspondence. Gallus then himself took style and tablets, to write with his own hand some words of affection to Lycoris, and induce her to follow him, but not indeed to his villa—for he felt too well that a liaison of this description could only be lasting whilst distance allowed his imagination to decorate reality in its bright colours, and that by living together under the same roof, all the charm and poetry of love would be destroyed. For this reason, he proposed that she should go to Baiæ, and doubted not to see his desire accomplished; as the cheerful bustle of that much-visited watering-place promised pleasure in abundance; while the near proximity of his villa gave hopes of their being able to visit each other frequently. Many men would no doubt have felt scruples about sending their loved ones thither, where there existed temptations of all kinds, sufficient almost to seduce one of severer virtue than such a flighty *libertina*. Gallus, however, knew Lycoris too well to distrust her; she had only once in past times been unfaithful to him[9], and perhaps the fault then was more on his side than on hers.

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[8] Cicero writes in a different sense (*ad Fam.* vii. 23) to Fabius Gallus, half in joke, half in anger, respecting such a purchase. The whole letter is very instructive, and the words, *Tu autem, ignarus instituti mei, quanti ego genus omnino signorum omnium non æstimo, tanti ista quatuor aut quinque sumpsisti*, fully characterize Cicero's love of art. The object represented was everything to him, and his *Hermathenæ* and *Hermeraklæ* were of more value in his eyes than the most charming *Bacchæ*, by the master-hand of a Greek. See Cic. *ad Attic.* i. 4, 10.

[9] A want of faith rendered famous

He read over once more the letters which Philodamus had written; the slave then fastened the tablets together with crossed thread, and where the ends were knotted, placed a round piece of wax; while Gallus drew from his finger a beautiful beryl, on which was engraved by the hand of Dioscorides, a lion driven by four amoretts, breathed on it, to prevent the tenacious wax from adhering to it[10], and then impressed it deeply into the pliant mass. Meanwhile Philodamus had summoned the *tabellarii*, or slaves used for conveying letters. Each of them received a letter; but that destined for Athens was about to be entrusted to a friend journeying thither.

Scarcely were these matters well concluded, when the slave who had charge of the time-pieces entered, and announced that the finger of the dial was now casting its shadow upon the fourth hour, and that the fifth was about commencing. This was the time that Gallus had fixed for departure; he therefore hastened to leave the apartment, and allow himself to be assisted in his travelling toilet by the slaves in attendance for this purpose.

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by the tenth *Eclogue* of Virgil, which bears the name of Gallus: the *solliciti amores Galli*, as Virgil says.

[10] There is a peculiar interest in tracing these minute resemblances between the customs of the ancients and ourselves, although such agreement is only natural. We too breathe on the ring before sealing with it. Ovid says, *Amor*. ii. 15, 15, were he the ring of his love:

Idem ego, ut arcanas possem signare tabellas,
Neve tenax ceram siccave gemma trahat,
Humida formosæ tangam prius ora puellæ.

These are, in point of fact, trifles; but the more the error of supposing the life of the ancients quite different from our own is indulged in, the more should such minute customs be brought forward, in order, that by instituting a comparison between them, we may bring those times nearer to our own.

SCENE THE FOURTH.

THE JOURNEY.

GALLUS had to go a considerable distance through the streets after leaving his mansion, before he reached the Porta Capena, from which point he was about to journey along the Via Appia[1] to his villa. This was a most

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[1] The most celebrated road of Italy, Via Appia, which excited the admiration even of those times, and the remains of which have always been objects of wonder, called by Stat. *Silv.* ii. 2, 12, *regina viarum*, was first made from Rome to Capua, by Appius Claudius Cæcus, about 442 A.U.C. Procopius, who was an eye-witness, struck with astonishment at the magnificence of the work, gives a description of it, *de Bello Goth.* i. 14: Ὁ δὲ (Βελισάριος) διὰ τῆς Λατίνων ὁδοῦ ἀπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα, τὴν Ἀππίαν ὁδὸν ἀφεὶς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ. ἣν Ἄππιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων ὕπατος ἐννακοσίοις ἐνιαυτοῖς πρότερον ἐποίησέ τε καὶ ἐπώνυμον ἔσχεν. Ἔστι δὲ ἡ Ἀππία ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν πέντε ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ· ἐκ Ῥώμης γὰρ αὕτη ἐς Καπύην διήκει. εὖρος δέ ἐστι τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης ὅσον ἁμάξας δύο ἀλλήλαις ἐναντίαις ἴέναι, καὶ ἔστιν ἀξιοθέατος πάντων μάλιστα. τὸν γὰρ λίθου ἅπαντα, μυλίτην τε ὄντα καὶ φύσει σκληρὸν, ἐκ χώρας ἄλλης μακρὰν οὔσης τεμὼν Ἄππιος ἐνταῦθα ἐκομίσε· ταύτης γὰρ δὴ τῆς γῆς οὐδαμῇ πέφυκε. λείους δὲ τοὺς λίθους καὶ ὁμαλοὺς ἐργασάμενος, ἐγγωνίους δὲ τῇ ἐντομῇ πεποιημένος ἐς ἀλλήλους ξυνέδησεν οὔτε χαλκὸν ἐντὸς οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἐμβεβλημένος. οἱ δὲ ἀλλήλοις οὕτω τε ἀσφαλῶς ξυνδέδενται καὶ μεμύκασιν, ὥστε ὅτι δὴ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἠρμοσμένοι, ἀλλ' ἐμπεφύκασιν ἀλλήλοις, δόξαν τοῖς ὁρῶσι παρέχονται. καὶ χρόνου τριβέντος συχνοῦ δὴ οὕτως ἁμάξαις τε πολλαῖς καὶ ζώοις ἅπασι διαβατοὶ γενόμενοι, ἐς ἡμέραν ἑκάστην οὔτε τῆς ἁρμόνιας παντάπασι διακέκριται, οὔτε τινὶ αὐτῶν διαφθαρῆναι ἢ μείονι γενέσθαι ξυνέπεσεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδε τῆς ἀμαρυγῆς τι ἀποβαλέσθαι. The main points of which are, that the Appian Way was made by Appius five days' journey in length, as it reached from Rome to Capua. It was broad enough for two carriages to pass each other, and was built of stone, such as is used for mill-stones, but which was not found in the neighbourhood. The stones are hewn sharp and smooth, and their corners fit into one another without the aid of metal, or any other connecting material, so that the whole appears to be one natural stone, and notwithstanding the great traffic, it is in a wonderful state of preservation. Procopius assigns to it the age of 900 years, which is at least fifty years too much. It is most remarkable that he should confine the Appian Way to the distance between Rome and Capua, for though Appius Claudius had only built it to that place, still it was afterwards continued as far as Brundusium. All accounts on the date of this extension appear to

charming place between Sinuessa and Capua, and presented the most perfect assemblage of all things necessary, in order, as Horace observes, to quaff happy oblivion of

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be wanting, and in their absence the most various suppositions have been made. Some think that this was done by Julius Cæsar, although he gives no tenable ground for this supposition, and appears quite in error about the direction of the road. On the other hand, others assert that it must have been continued very soon after Appius, and reached to Brundusium as early as the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, in proof of which they adduce a letter from Pompey (in Cic. *Att.* viii. 11), who writes thus to Cicero: *Censeo Via Appia iter facias, et celeriter Brundusium venias.*

It is necessary that we should be clear about the direction of the Via Appia, before we can form any opinion of the period when it was continued further. It went from Rome by Bovillæ, Aricia, Forum Appii, Terracina, Fundi, Formiæ, Minturnæ, and Sinuessa to Capua, and from thence to Beneventum; of this there is no doubt. Some suppose that it proceeded from thence by Canusium to the sea-coast, and along it, by Barium, and Egnatia, and as Horace travelled this way with Mæcenas to Brundusium, that the Via Appia must at least, at this period, have been extended as far as there. But the premises of this conclusion are false, for, as it has been demonstrated, the road leading along the coast was not the Appian. Strabo, vi. 3, says: *Δύο δ' εἰσὶ (ὁδοὶ), μία μὲν ἡμιονικὴ διὰ Πευκετίων, οὓς Ποιδίκλους καλοῦσι, καὶ Δαυνιτῶν καὶ Σαννιτῶν μέχρι Βενεουέντου· ἐφ' ᾗ ὁδῷ Ἐγνατία πόλις, εἶτα Κελία, καὶ Νήτιον καὶ Κανύσιον καὶ Κερδονία· ἡ δὲ διὰ Τάραντος μικρὸν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ. Ὅσον δὲ μιᾶς ἡμέρας περίοδον κεκλεύσαντι ἡ Ἀππία λεγομένη ἁμαξήλατος μᾶλλον· ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πόλις Οὐριά τε καὶ Οὐενουσία, ἡ μὲν μεταξὺ Τάραντος καὶ Βρεντεσίου. ἡ δ' ἐν μεθορίοις Σαννιτῶν καὶ Λευκανίων. Συμβάλλουσι δὲ ἄμφω κατὰ Βενεούεντον καὶ τὴν Καμπανίαν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου. Τοὐντεῦθεν δ' ἤδη μέχρι τῆς Ῥώμης Ἀππία καλεῖται, διὰ Καυδίου καὶ Καλατίας, καὶ Καπύας καὶ Κασιλίνοῦ μέχρι Σινουέσσης· τὰ δ' ἐνθένδε εἴρηται.* (B. v. c. 3.) *Ἡ δὲ πᾶσά ἐστιν ἐκ Ῥώμης εἰς Βρεντέσιον μίλια τξ'.* In another passage Strabo says, v. 3: *Ἐνταῦθα δὲ συνάπτει τῇ θαλάττῃ πρῶτον ἡ Ἀππία ὁδὸς, ἐστρωμένη μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης μέχρι Βρεντεσίου, πλεῖστον δ' ὁδευομένη. τῶν δ' ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλεων τούτων ἐφαπτομένη μόνον, τῆς τε Ταρακινῆς, καὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς Φορμίων μὲν καὶ Μιντούρνης καὶ Σινουέσσης καὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων Τάραντός τε καὶ Βρεντεσίου.* We learn therefore, beyond all doubt, that this more eastern road was not named the Appian, which only applied to the more western one, which led by way of Venusia. The opinion that it must have been, in the time of Horace, built as far as Brundusium, is also erroneous, for Horace travelled on the eastern road by Equotutium, Rubi, Barium, and Gnatia, and it would have been strange that Mæcenas should have chosen the route through the Apulian hills, if the more convenient Appian Way led to Brundusium; and, since Strabo is acquainted with it in its whole length, it could not have been made much

the disturbing cares of life. The litter, manned by six stalwart Syrian slaves, whose light-red livery distinguished them from the rest of the escort, who were dressed in brown travelling coats, was already in waiting at the vestibule. The carriage in which Gallus intended to travel before nightfall the first forty-two miles of his journey, to Forum Appii, was waiting outside the city, by the grove of the Camœnæ[2]. He had meanwhile donned

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later. The argument adduced from Cicero proves nothing; for Pompey could still have advised Cicero to travel on the Via Appia (and not the Latina) as far as it went.

Strabo, however, seems by the words τούντεῦθεν δ' ἤδη μέχρι τῆς Ῥώμης Ἀππία καλεῖται, to mean that only the part from Beneventum to Rome was called Via Appia; and as Procopius also confines the name to the distance between Rome and Capua, the road probably from thence to Brundusium was not constructed in the same manner, and thus the old part might always specially bear the name. Livy says, x. 23: *Eodem anno Cn. et Q. Ogulnii æd. cur. aliquot fœneratoribus diem dixerunt, quorum bonis multatis ex eo quod in publicum redactum est—semitam saxo quadrato a Capena porta ad Martis straverunt;* and c. x. 47: *Damnatis aliquot pecuariis via a Martis silice ad Bovillas, perstrata est.* From whence some conclude that the Appian Way was not originally paved, but only gravelled, for in that time it had been built nearly twenty years. Of the former portion, we read in Liv. xxxviii. 28, *viam silice sternendam a porta Capena ad Martis locaverunt,* and consequently the whole way, *via,* not till 560, and previous to then, only the *semita,* a trottoir. Still, the Via Appia is not named in any of these passages, and the Temple of Mars alluded to here, and vii. 23, may have been situated sidewards, in which case quite a different way would be meant, for the temple on the Appian Way was first built by Sylla. Moreover, in both passages, we have *silice sternere,* to pave, which is very different from *lapide sternere,* to lay with slabs; and the expression does not therefore suit the Appian Way, for it was certainly laid with hewn slabs, not square, but of irregular form, the corners of which fitted exactly into each other, similarly, perhaps, to the Cyclopian walls. On both sides there was a higher border, *margo,* on which were placed alternately, seats and milestones, but this was doubtless a later addition, and is so called in Liv. xli. 27: *Censores vias sternendas silice in Urbe, glarea extra Urbem substruendas marginandasque primi omnium locaverant.* The *primi omnium* refers only to *marginare.*

[2] Not far from the Porta Capena, probably in the Vallis Egeriæ, was the Lucus Camœnarum, also called simply Camœnæ. The scholiast on Juv. *Sat.* iii. 10, says, *Stetit expectans rhedam, ubi solent Proconsules jurare in Via Appia ad portam Capenam,* i. e. *ad Camœnas,* and

his travelling shoes, and changed his *toga* for the more befitting dress for travelling, the *pœnula*. All the other preparations had been already seen to by Chresimus; a number of slaves were despatched before with the baggage, while others were to follow after; those only who were indispensable being permitted to accompany their lord. These arrangements had been completed in less than two hours by some hundred nimble hands, whom a sign from the *dispensator* had set in motion, and there were no female slaves, to cause any further delay by their dilatory toilet and tedious preparation[3]. Gallus consequently found himself, before half the fifth hour had elapsed, reclining on the cushions of the *lectica;* the Syrians then ran their poles through the rings affixed to the sides, lifted the burden on their broad shoulders, and strode expeditiously along the street, whilst the remainder of the escort partly opened a passage for them through the crowd, and partly kept behind to bring up the rear.

The way led through the most lively portion of the city, and it was just the time when the streets, though

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Mart. ii. 6, 15:

Et cum currere debeas Bovillas,
Interjungere quæris ad Camœnas.

Gallus is made to go through the city in the *lectica*, while the carriages wait *ad Camœnas*, on account of doubts whether it was allowed at that period to drive in a travelling carriage through the streets. For there are no instances of it, and Claudius even forbad travellers to drive through the towns of Italy in a carriage. Suet. *Claud.* 25.

In Juv. iii. Umbricius, and probably his whole family also, enter the *rheda* outside the town:

Sed dum tota domus rheda componitur una,
Substitit ad veteres arcus madidamque Capenam.

It is quite manifest that the carriage had waited outside the gate, not that it came after, from the words at the end of the Satire:

Sed jumenta vocant, et sol inclinat: eundum est,
Nam mihi commota jam dudum mulio virga
Admuit.

[3] Such delays in the departure on a journey appear to have been common. Pleusides, in Plaut. *Mil.* iv. 7, 9, says:

Mulier profecto nata est ex ipsa mora.
Nam quævis alia, quæ mora est æque, mora
Minor ea videtur, quam quæ propter mulierem est.

Milo too says, in the preceding scene: *Paullisper dum se uxor, ut fit, comparat, commoratus est.*

always full, presented the most motley throng, and the greatest bustle; for the sixth hour approached, when a general cessation from business commenced[4], and people generally were wont to take their morning meal. Whilst some therefore were still sedulously engaged in their daily avocations, many of the less occupied were already hurrying to the place of refreshment. Here, a prompt builder was despatching, by mules and carriers, the materials of a new building, for which he had only just contracted[5]; there, huge stones and beams were being wound up aloft, for the completion of an edifice. Countrymen with loud cries were driving to and fro their mules, carrying, in baskets[6] suspended on either side, the produce of the country into the city; or perhaps the street would become stopped up by a solemn funeral procession happening to meet a heavily laden waggon coming in the opposite direction. The most lively sight was presented by the Suburra, where a multitude of hawkers plied their miserable trade. Some from the region beyond the Tiber

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[4] *Sexta quies lassis*, says Martial, iv. 8; and during this time the *merenda*, or *prandium*, was taken. See the Excursus on *The Meals*. The many idle persons who lived at Rome even then, and more numerously afterwards, and the multitude of slaves, who also did not fail in the *sapere ad genium*, no doubt betook themselves to the various *tabernæ* at this period. See the Excursus on *The Taverns*.

[5] The bustle and hurry in the streets of Rome are described in lively colours by Horace and Juvenal. The first, Epist. ii. 2, 72:

Festinat calidus mulis gerulisque redemtor;
Torquet nunc lapidem, nunc ingens machina tignum;
Tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustris;
Hac rabiosa fugit canis, hac lutulenta ruit sus.

The latter, Sat. iii. 245:

——ferit hic cubito, ferit assere duro
Alter, at hic tignum capiti incutit, ille metretam.
Pinguia crura luto; planta mox undique magna
Calcor, et in digito clavus mihi militis hæret.

And iii. 254, in accordance with Horace:

——modo longa coruscat
Sarraco veniente abies atque altera pinum
Plaustra vehunt, nutant altæ, populoque minantur.
Nam si procubuit, qui saxa Ligustica portat
Axis, et eversum fudit super agmina montem,
Quid superest de corporibus?

[6] In this manner mules and asses were laden, and this is what Petron. c. 31, means by *bisaccium*. Comp. Apul. *Met.* ix.

offered matches[7] for sale, occasionally taking in exchange broken glass, instead of money; others carried boiled peas, and sold a dish of them to the poorest class for an *as*, whilst those accustomed to somewhat better fare, betook themselves to the cook's boy, who, with a loud voice, cried smoking sausages for sale. In one place a curious crowd was collected round an Egyptian juggler, about whose neck and arms the most venomous snakes familiarly wound themselves. In another stood a group reading the programme[8], painted in large letters on the wall of a public

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[7] The profession of this people was probably not more respectable than that pursued by our chiffoniers; they sold matches, *sulphurata*, and bartered them for broken glass, which they repaired again with sulphur. Their head-quarters were *trans Tiberim*, generally the abode of the lowest class. Mart. i. 42: *Transtiberinus ambulator, qui pallentia sulphurata fractis permutat vitreis;* Stat. *Silv.* i. 6, 77: *Plebs quæ comminutis permutat vitreis gregale sulphur.* They cried their wares, as we see from Martial, xii. 57, 14, where, among the reasons enumerated why one could not sleep in Rome, the *sulphuratæ lippus institor mercis* is mentioned. Comp. Ruperti *ad Juvenal.* v. 48.

[8] As among us the plays at the threatres are made known by placards exposed to public view, so they were announced among the ancients by means of inscriptions on the wall (*programmata*) in public and frequented places. Several such inscriptions have been discovered at Pompeii. See Mus. Borb. i. p. 4: *A. Suettii Verii ædilis familia gladiatoria pugnabit Pompeiis Pr. K. Junias venatio et vela erunt;* in ii. p. 7 is one of still greater value: *Dedicatione . . . arum muneris Cn. Alii Nigidii Mai . . . venatio, athletæ, sparsiones, vela erunt.* For others, see Gell's *Pompeiana*, in several places; Orell. *Inscr.* i. 2556, 2559. In the same manner, either by means of the *præco*, or inscriptions on the walls, or by writing on a tablet hung out of doors, private persons made known when they had lost any thing, or when they had anything to let or sell. The oldest traces of such announcements are in Plaut. *Merc.* iii. 4, 78:

Certum est, præconum jubere jam quantum est conducier,
Qui illam investigent, qui inveniant.

And *Menæch.* v. 9, 93, when Messenio, as *præco*, announces the auction of Menæchmus. But a special passage is Petr. 97: *Intrat stabulum præco cum servo publico, aliaque sane modica frequentia, facemque fumosam magis quam lucidam quassans hæc proclamavit; Puer in balneo paullo ante aberravit annorum circa* XVI., *crispus, mollis, formosus, nomine Giton; ei quis eum reddere, aut commonstrare voluerit, accipiet nummos mille.* For the placards there is a *locus classicus* in Prop.

building, of the next contests of gladiators, which promised to be brilliant, as the place of exhibition was to be covered with an awning—but everywhere the lower classes, old and young, were hurrying to the *thermopoliæ* and cookshops, to obtain each his wonted seat, and to drink for breakfast, according to choice, a goblet of honey-wine or the favourite *calda*. This motley multitude kept passing through streets which were, besides this, rendered disagreeably narrow by a numerous cluster of shops chok-

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iii. 23, 23, where a letter has been lost:

I puer, et citus hæc aliqua propone columna;
Et dominum Esquiliis scribe habitare tuum;

and Dig. xlvii. 2, 43. *Solent plerique hoc etiam facere, ut libellum proponent.*

The *vela* mentioned in both the announcements referred to, served to cover in the theatre. This convenience was first provided for the spectators by Q. Catulus, A.U.C. 683. Plin. xix. 1, 6: *Postea in theatris tantam umbram fecere, quod primus omnium invenit Q. Catulus, cum Capitolium dedicaret. Carbasina deinde vela primus in theatris duxisse traditur Lentulus Spinther Apollinaribus ludis. Mox Cæsar Dictator totum forum Romanum intexit*, &c. Lucret. iv. 73, describes the new custom:

Et vulgo faciunt id lutea russaque vela,
Et ferrugina, cum magnis intenta theatris
Per malos volgata trabesque trementia fluctant.

Coloured cloths were used even at this period. In Pliny's time the luxury went still further; they imitated the starry heaven: *Vela nuper colore cœli stellata per rudentes iere etiam in amphitheatro principis Neronis.* The *sparsiones* mentioned in the second programme consisted in besprinkling the theatre with sweet-smelling essences, as saffron, *crocus*, the odour of which appears to have pleased the ancients. This sprinkling was effected by means of pipes, from which the liquids were thrown as from the jets of a fountain. Sen. *Epist.* 90: *Utrum tandem sapientiorem putas, qui invenit, quem ad modum in immensam altitudinem crocum latentibus fistulis exprimat?* Sen. *Quæst. Nat.* ii. 9: *Numquid dubitas, quin sparsio illa, quæ ex fundamentis mediæ arenæ crescens in summam altitudinem amphitheatri pervenit, cum intentione aquæ fiat?* This took place just the same in a regular theatre, and the boards, as well as the spectators, were besprinkled. Hence Martial says, v. 25:

Hoc, rogo, non melius, quam rubro pulpita nimbo
Spargere, et effuso permaduisse croco?

and *lubrica*, or *madentia croco pulpita*, are often mentioned. See Lips. *de Amphith.* c. 16. Essences and flowers were rained down in the *triclinia* also, as with Nero. See Suet. *Ner.* 31; comp. Dio. Cass. lxix. 8. That this was customary, at least as early as the time of Augustus, we see from Ovid, *Art. Am.* i. 104:

Tunc neque marmoreo pendebant vela theatro,
Nec fuerant liquido pulpita rubra croco.

ing them up[9], for huxters and merchants of all sorts, artists in hair and salve-sellers, butchers and pastrycooks, but above all vintners, had built their booths far into the street, so that you might even see tables arranged along the piers and pillars of the halls, and covered with bottles, which were, however, cautiously fastened by chains, lest perchance they might be filched by the hand of some Strobilus or Thesprio hurrying by. In consequence of so many obstructions occurring every moment, it was certainly more convenient to allow yourself to be carried through the throng, reclining in a *lectica*, although it often required very safe bearers, and now and then the sturdy elbow of the *præambulo* to get well through; by this mode you had also the advantage of not being incessantly seized by the hand, addressed, or even kissed[10], a custom

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[9] The *tabernæ* built up against the houses had, by degrees, so narrowed the streets, that Domitian caused a decree to be issued against them, and every one was confined to the area of the house. Martial, his ever-ready flatterer, has also immortalized the interdict by an epigram (vii. 61) interesting to us, as it contributes so much towards a picture of the appearance of the Roman streets:

Abstulerat totam temerarius institor urbem
Inque suo nullum limine limen erat.
Jussisti tenues, Germanice, crescere vicos;
Et modo quæ fuerat semita, facta via est.
Nulla catenatis pila est præcincta lagenis,
Nec prætor medio cogitur ire luto.
Stringitur in densa nec cæca novacula turba,
Occupat aut totas nigra popina vias.
Tonsor, caupo, coquus, lanius sua limina servant.
Nunc Roma est; nuper magna taberna fuit.

We see from it that wine was sold not only inside the *tabernæ*, but also before them: probably at the pillars of the porticos, tables were set with bottles, which were fastened by chains to prevent their being purloined, and in this manner, perhaps, it would be more correct to interpret the *catenata taberna* in Juv. iii. 304, which Ruperti explains by *catenis firmata*.

[10] *Effugere Romæ non est basiationes*, is the ejaculation of Martial, xi. 98, who censures this very disagreeable habit in several humorous epigrams. Not merely at the *salutatio*, but at every meeting in the street, a person was exposed to a number of kisses, not only from near acquaintance, but from every one who desired to show his attachment, among whom there were often mouths not so clean as they might be. Martial, xii. 59, says of one who had returned to Rome after long absence:

Te vicinia tota, te pilosus
Hircoso premit osculo colonus.
Hinc instat tibi textor, inde fullo,
Hinc sutor modo pelle basiata,
Hinc mentl dominus pediculosi, &c.

The misanthrope Tiberius, who wished himself not to be humbled by this custom, issued an edict against it (Suet. *Tib.* 34), but it does not appear to have done much good, as the

which of late had begun to prevail, but escaped with a simple salutation, which was still quite troublesome enough, for, from every side resounded an *ave* to be responded to, and frequently from the mouths of persons for whom even the *nomenclator* in his hurry had only an invented name ready [11].

The train having at last succeeded in safely winding its way through all impediments to the Porta Capena, passed under an antique-looking arch, on the moist stones of which great drops from the aqueduct which was carried over it [12], were always hanging. At a short distance from

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custom continued; in winter only it was improper to annoy another with one's cold lips, on which the same poet also gives us a jocular epigram (vii. 95):

Bruma est, et riget horridus December,
Audes tu tamen osculo nivali
Omnes obvius hinc et hinc tenere
Et totam, Line, basiare Romam.

He does not give a very much overdrawn picture when he says, *Livida naribus caninis dependet glacies;* and thence concludes with this exhortation:

Hibernas, Line, basiationes
In mensem rogo differas Aprilem.

Cf. Lips. *de Osculis et Osculandi*, ii. 6.

[11] This actually took place, as is testified by Seneca, *de Benef.* i. 3: *Quemadmodum nomenclatori memoriæ loco audacia est, et cuicunque nomen non potest reddere, imponit.* So also *Epist.* 27: *Vetus nomenclator, qui nomina non reddit, sed imponit.*

[12] The *Porta Capena* in the first region, between the *Ardeatina* and *Latina*, led to Capua, and it is the most natural to deduce its name from thence, and the more so, as the *Ardeatina* and *Tiburtina* derived their names from the towns arrived at by their means. In Juven. iii. 10, it is called the moist gate:

Substitit ad veteres arcus, madidamque Capenam:

and the Scholiast remarks thereupon: *ideo quia supra eam aquæ ductus est, quem nunc appellant arcum stillantem.* Ruperti is wrong therefore in saying, *Alii portam rectius ita dictam putant a fontibus, qui ibi erant, unde et Fontinalis vocabatur;* for how can we refer the passage in Martial, iii. 47,

Capena grandi porta qua pluit gutta,

to the fountains in the vicinity? We have the similar designation (iv. 18) where a boy has been killed by the fall of an icicle:

Qua vicina pluit Vipsanis porta columnis
Et madet assiduo lubricus imbre lapis.

The Porticus Vipsana may have been near the Porta Capena, or another gate may be meant (Comp. Donat. *de Urb. Rom.* iii. 17. In Horace, *Epist.* i. 6, 26, two especial promenades are placed together by a mere chance, but it is uncertain whether the Columnæ Vipsanæ were the well-known Porticus Agrippæ); but at all events the icicle has nothing to do with the fountains, and if a Porta

hence, by the sanctuary of the Camœnæ, were waiting the carriages, consisting of a light covered *rheda* drawn by Gallic palfreys, and two *petorrita* likewise provided with fast horses, for the slower pace of the mule was incompatible with the plan of the journey, according to which the travellers were to avail themselves of the next night to pass through the Pontine marshes.

Gallus mounted the elegantly-built *rheda*. It was not, it is true, a state vehicle with gilded wheels and rich silver mountings, still the body was ornamented with beautifully wrought foliage in bronze, and Medusa's heads of the same metal peeped from the centres of the wheels. The hood of leather served as a protection against the hot rays of the mid-day sun, whilst the purple hangings, being fastened back, admitted an agreeable current of cool air. Beside Gallus, on the left of his master[13], the faithful Chresimus took his place; but the seats which on other occasions were occupied by the *notarii*, who committed to writing the chance thoughts of their master[14], remained empty. The servants seated themselves in the less fashionable *petorrita*, a couple of Numidian riders vaulted on to their light steeds, and started off in advance, whilst runners, girt up high, flying along before the carriage, emulated the speed of the swift palfreys.

Thus whirled the light vehicle at a sharp trot, past the sanctuary of Mars Extra-urbanus, and between the numerous sepulchral monuments[15], along the queen of

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was *pluens*, it might still be the Capena; on the contrary, we might rather fancy a similitude with the *meta sudans*, were there not other grounds against it. Cf. Frontin. *de Aquæd.* 19.

[13] Lipsius (*Elect.* ii. 2) has shown that the right hand was the place of honour among the Romans; in the Capitoline Temple, and in the assemblies of the gods, Minerva took this place. Hor. *Od.* i. 12, 19: *proximos illi occupavit honores.*

[14] That this sometimes happened, follows from Seneca, *Epist.* 72. *Quædam enim sunt quæ possis et in cisio scribere;* but this is explicitly related of the elder Pliny. Plin. *Epist.* iii. 5. Cf. Plut. *Cæs.* 17.

[15] On the custom of placing the tombs on the great roads, see the Ex-

roads, which, paved with slabs skilfully joined so as to form, as it were, one stony band, offered no obstruction to the easy rolling of the wheels. Gallus was in the most cheerful humour. The everlasting bustle and monotony of the restless metropolis lay behind him, and before him was the expectation of days of peaceful enjoyment in the bosom of nature decked out in all the charms of spring, and in the undisturbed pursuit of studies refreshing to the mind, which the visits of friends in the neighbourhood, or from Rome, would only pleasantly interrupt. Lycoris too must soon arrive at the bath, and the bliss of requited love be even enhanced by the attraction of new scenes.

Chresimus was in a less joyful mood. Gallus had caused a tomb to be erected on the left-hand side of the Appian Way, and the faithful old domestic had not failed to observe, in passing by, how a crow, which had been disturbed by the outriders, had settled upon the *cippus* of the monument and cawed hoarsely[16]. This occurrence fell the heavier on the old man's heart, because an evil omen had already made him distrustful of the result of the journey. As he turned, before ascending the carriage, to the altar of the *lar vialis*, to invoke good luck and protection during the short journey, a black viper had suddenly shot across the street with the speed of an arrow[17], —a sufficient cause for entirely giving up the journey,

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cursus on *The Tombs*. On the Via Appia they were very numerous. It is only necessary to remember what Cicero, *Tusc.* i. 7, says: *An tu egressus porta Capena, cum Calatini, Scipionum, Serviliorum, Metellorum, sepulchra vides, miseros putas illos?* The *Columbarium lib. et serv. Liviæ Augustæ*, and many others, were also there.

[16] It is well known how much the ancients regarded such omens. Among the apparitions which could deter a person from prosecuting a journey, Horace names the crow, *Od.* iii. 27, 16, with which compare the passage from Virg. *Ecl.* i. 18:—

Sæpe sinistra cava prædixit ab ilice cornix.

[17] This warning before a journey is also mentioned by Horace in the Ode just referred to:—

Rumpat et serpens iter institutum,
Si per obliquum similis sagittæ
Terruit mannos.

had Gallus been a believer in the significancy of such signs. He did not, however, appear to perceive the old man's dejection, but talked much of the alterations he was about to effect at the villa, and of his intended purchase of a neighbouring estate, and mentioned with much pleasure the rich vintage which the vineyards on the two properties would yield him; taking no heed the while of the prophetic warning, which the domestic involuntarily uttered, 'That between the cup and the lip there hung many a chance[18].'

The tenth mile-stone and the small hamlet of Bovillæ[19], where the traveller usually made his first halt, were soon reached; but it was too early for Gallus to stop, and moreover, the poverty of the place was anything but inviting, therefore, although the hour for breakfast was long gone by, the travellers continued their journey five *milliaria* further, to the more important little town of Aricia. There they witnessed a strange scene. On the hill outside the town, a troop of filthy beggars, their nudity only half covered with rags[20], had taken up their station, to tax the benevolence of the numerous passers-by, and

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[18] The beautiful Greek proverb,

Πολλὰ μεταξὺ πέλει κύλικος καὶ χείλεος ἄκρου,

was rendered somewhat more prosaically by the less refined Romans: *Inter os et offam multa intervenire possunt.* See Gell. xiii. 17.

[19] *Bovillæ*, at the tenth mile-stone; according to Gell's *Topography of Rome*, beyond the twelfth; and to the scholiast on Pers. vi. 55, at the eleventh. But Gell's supposition rests on the presumption that in Plutarch, *Coriol.* 29, Βόλλας πόλιν οὐ πλείους σταδίους ἑκατον ἀπέχουσαν τῆς Ῥώμης, is to be read, Βοΐλλας. It might appear odd that the place is called by the poets *suburbanus.* Ovid. *Fast.* iii. 667:—

Orta suburbanis quædam fuit Anna Bovillis.

Prop. iv. 1, 33:—

Quippe suburbanæ parva minus urbe Bovillæ:

but it has already been remarked, on *Flor.* i. 11, that Tibur was just in like manner termed *suburbanum.*

[20] Whether this society of beggars was to be found in the time of Gallus at Aricia, the town situated at about the sixth mile-stone, and celebrated for the grove of Diana, I will not venture to determine. Juven. iv. 117,

Dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes,

mentions them, and Martial often, as where he says of a family chang-

by their daily earnings of *polenta*, peas, and vinegar-water, to drag on a miserable yet idle existence. Gallus was already well acquainted with the importunity of these worthy prototypes of the *lazaroni* and *lepros*, who now hastily hurrying down the hill, surrounded the carriage and vociferously demanded alms. Chresimus had in consequence to distribute a bagful of coins among the dirty crew, who thereupon retreated lazily to their lair, or cast a servile kiss of the hand to the *rheda*, as it sped quickly towards the town[21].

In the neighbourhood of Aricia there was many a villa, and in the town itself more than one house, where Gallus would have been received as a welcome guest. On this occasion, however, he intended to make his stay as brief as possible, and therefore preferred passing at an inn, of not very superior accommodation, the short time during which the unharnessed horses[22] were allowed their rest at a crib-

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ing its abode, and carrying its dirty chattels:

Migrare clivum crederes Aricinum.

So the father of Lælia is called, x. 68,

Durus Aricina de regione pater;

ii. 19, alludes to this,

Aricino conviva recumbere clivo;

and in a similar sense he wishes an indiscreet poet, x. 5, 3,

Erret per urbem pontis exsul et clivi,
Interque raucos ultimus rogatores
Oret caninas panis improbi buccas.

On the above-mentioned passage of Juvenal, the scholiast remarks: *Qui ad portam Aricinam, sive ad clivum mendicaret inter Judæos, qui ad Ariciam transierant ex urbe missi.* Nevertheless in none of the passages is there any hint that only Jews or Christians (who are also to be understood under this name) are meant; on the contrary, the *clivi* are designated as the haunts of beggars generally. Yet the frequent mention of the beggars at the *clivus Aricinus* as Roman beggars, is sufficiently strange, if we are really to suppose it to have been at Aricia, fifteen miles from Rome, and it would almost appear that in Rome itself there was a place of this name. Besides, the beggars chiefly haunted the bridges (see Ruperti *ad Juven.* iv. 116, xiv. 134) and the gates. Plaut. *Capt.* i. 1, 21—

Ire extra portam trigeminam ad saccum licet;

and Trin. ii. 4, 21—

Pol opinor affinis rata ædes vendidit.
Pater cum fereque veniet, in porta est locus.

[21] So I understand the words of Juvenal, iv. 118, which follow immediately the above quoted:—

Blandaque devexæ jactaret basia rhedæ.

It is the token of gratitude that the beggar sends after the carriage from which he has received alms.

[22] *Interjungere* is the proper expression when one unyoked the animals at noon, or any other time, to

ful of provender. Little as he might reckon on getting a decent repast in such a place, still he thought it the more advisable to take his *prandium* there, although late in the day, as the dirty sailors' pot-houses in Forum Appii promised a far worse meal at night; and in fact the table proved better than the exterior of the inn betokened. The freshly-boiled *lacertæ*, encircled with a string of eggs and rue, looked quite inviting; the plump fowl and the still uncut ham of yesterday, which, with asparagus, the never-failing *lactuca*, and the more celebrated *porrum*, muscles of the *peloridæ* kind, but no oysters from the Lucrine lake, presented, it is true, a poor recompense for the breakfast with Lentulus, which he had deserted, but still afforded one which exceeded his expectations. The wine could not conceal its *vatican* extraction, although the landlord had mixed it with some old Falernian, and the *mulsum* was decidedly prepared with Corsican honey; the service was only from the hand of a common potter; but who could desire more in such a place! It was the company who at the time happened to be in the humble tavern, and amused themselves with coarse jokes and loud laughter, or abused and bullied the host, that made his stay not very pleasant. As soon therefore as the horses had had an hour's rest, Gallus again started, proposing to perform the far longer journey from thence to Forum Appii without further halt.

Quickly as the *rheda* rolled beyond Aricia, past Tres Tabernæ to the low grounds, yet the sun was already set, and single stars began to be visible in the darkening heaven before the travellers arrived at Forum Appii[23].

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allow them to take rest, and for bait. Mart. iii. 67, 6:—

> Exarsitque dies, et hora lassos
> Interjungit equos meridiana.

So also, ii. 6, 16:—

> Et cum currere debeas Bovillas,
> Interjungere quæris ad Camœnas.

[23] Forum Appii, a little town about forty-three *milliaria* from Rome, where the Pontine marshes had already commenced, and from whence there went, besides the road, a canal of about fifteen *milliaria* in length, nearly to Terracina, or Anxur. Strabo, v. 6: Πλησίον δὲ τῆς Ταῤῥακίνης βαδίζοντι ἐπὶ τῆς Ρώμης. παραβέβληται τῇ ὁδῷ τῇ Ἀππίᾳ διῶρυξ

Here the road, which had entered the Pontine marshes for several *milliaria*, became more unpleasant, especially on warm summer-days, when the exhalations from the marshes poisoned the air. On this account they usually preferred travelling in the cool of the evening by the canal made by the side of the road, as far as the temple of Feronia, which lay on the other side of the marshes. Such was also the plan of Gallus, and for this reason the horses had been forced to step along briskly, as it was two and forty miles from Rome to this place[24]. But it was not at all disagreeable to him that no longer stay was necessary in this wretched little place, full of miserable taverns frequented by sailors[25]. The exterior of the lame and disproportionately fat landlady, in shape not much unlike a wine-cask[26], who approached him in the *caupona*, as well as the disgusting taste of the impure water[27], made

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ἐπὶ πολλοὺς τόπους πληρουμένη τοῖς ἑλείοις τε καὶ τοῖς ποτάμοις ὕδασι, πλεῖται δὲ μάλιστα νύκτωρ, ὥστ' ἐκβάντας ἐφ' ἑσπέρας ἐκβαίνειν πρῴας καὶ βαδίζειν τὸ λοιπὸν τῇ Ἀππίᾳ. So Horace, as we know, made his journey to Brundusium, *Sat.* i. 5, from which the description here given of the night voyage is mainly taken.

[24] The rapidity with which Gallus performed the journey to Forum Appii, is at least not exaggerated: to that place it was forty-two or forty-three Roman miles, seventy-five of which go to a degree, or five to the geographical mile, therefore it could be done with ease in ten hours. Far more considerable is the speed with which Capito travelled from Rome to Ameria, to convey the news of the murder of Roscius. Cic. *p. Rosc. Am.* 7. *Cum post horam primam noctis occisus esset, primo diluculo nuncius hic Ameriam venit. Decem horis nocturnis* (the short hours of a summer-night) *sex et quinquaginta millia passuum cisiis pervolavit.* Horace too says, that for a good walker, it was a good day's journey from Rome to Forum Appii.

[25] By sailors are here to be understood the barge-men, who forwarded the travellers along the canal: the great number of them employed, and the numerous travellers who must necessarily have stopped there, caused so many inns.

[26] There might have been in many *cauponæ* very tolerable hostesses; but for an Appian sailor's pot-house, such a figure as Harpax describes, Plaut. *Pseud.* ii. 2, 64, will not be unfitting:

Ego devertor extra portam huc in tabernam tertiam,
Apud anum illam doliarem, cludam, crassam Chrysidem.

[27] The Via Appia generally was not provided with good water.

him determine to let the *prandium* in Aricia compensate for his evening meal also, and to content himself with some bread and bad wine. Meanwhile Chresimus had been busy about a boat, but could not obtain one that would take them without other passengers; for there was never any lack of travellers there, and no one willingly made the journey alone through the marshes, which were not unfrequently rendered insecure by footpads who infested them[28]. Nearly an hour in consequence was lost, during which the boatman interchanged rough words with the slaves of the travellers, who would not allow the bark to be overloaded as he wished; he afterwards collected the passengers' fare, and having lazily yoked his mule which had to tow the bark on the causeway made alongside[29], the passage at last began. The banks were lined with willows, interspersed here and there with an alder, around the roots of which tall plants of the fern species waved to and fro, moved slightly by the night-breeze, and above them, on the natural festoons made by the creepers, rocked the glow-worm. The stars shining brighter and brighter from above invited the travellers to repose, but the troublesome gnats, which the morass generated in myriads, and the croaking of the lively frogs, scared away the quiet god. Besides which the boatman and one of the travellers,

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Horace, i. 5, 7, says of Forum Appii, *propter aquam, quod erat teterrima, ventri indico bellum:* and farther on there was also a similar want At Equotutium and Canusium water was a regular article of commerce, as also at Ravenna, where an innkeeper cheated Martial, and instead of the wine and water, *mixtum*, which the poet demanded, gave him *merum*. See Mart. iii. 56, 57.

[28] The roads of Italy were generally disturbed by numberless highwaymen, *grassatores;* but the whole distance from the Pontine marshes to the sea-coast was particularly infested by bands of these depredators, the loneliness of the vicinity affording them a secure retreat. It was on this account sometimes occupied by troops, in order to expel the robbers, who, however, only went elsewhere, and even to Rome itself. Juven. iii. 305:

Interdum et ferro subitus grassator agit rem,
Armato quoties tutæ custode tenentur
Et Pontina palus et Gallinaria pinus.

[29] The whole description, — the *convicia*, the *nauta æs exigens*, the *mali culices*, the *ranæ palustres*,—is borrowed from Horace.

both drunk with the sour wine of the Appian inn, were alternately singing the praises of their maidens left behind[30]. At last, however, weariness closed the eyes of all the passengers; the boat became more and more tranquil, and no sooner did the bargeman perceive that all were asleep, than he tethered his mule fast to a stone, in order that it might graze in the tall marshy grass, and laid himself also down to sleep off his intoxication. The day would probably have broken before his lazy limbs had returned to life, had not one who slept less soundly than the rest become aware of the boat stopping still, and jumped up to belabour, in his wrath, the head and loins of the boatman and his mule with his willow cudgel. Thus it was not till the middle of the second hour that the travellers arrived at the other side of the marshes not far from the temple of Feronia[31], and washed their hands and faces in the sacred fountain of the goddess. The carriages had remained behind at Forum Appii, so that our travellers went on foot the three *milliaria* to Terracina, which, placed on a precipitous rock, looked down upon the low grounds. There was now no further need of such expedition as they had used the day before, yet Gallus determined to proceed, and though there was no lack of carriages at Terracina, which their owners offered him on hire, he preferred travelling

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[30] *Absentem ut cantat amicam Multa prolutus vappa nauta atque viator.* Hor. i. 5, 15. How Heindorf ever could explain *viator* 'the driver of the mule, who went beside the boat,' is inconceivable! Such a driver there is none, but the single boatman, necessary for guiding the bark along the canal, manages it, as we see from the verses which follow, when he fastens the mule, and lays himself down to sleep. The *viator* is the traveller, who is also on board the bark, and not a mule-driver.

[31] The Temple of Feronia lay, according to O. Müller and Böttiger, quite close to the further end of the canal; for Horace, i. 5, 23, says, without mentioning any further continuation of the journey, *quarta vix demum exponimur hora. Ora manusque tua lavimus Feronia lympha.* Washing the face and hands after a night journey is so natural, that it is not requisite either to refer it to a preparation for the *prandium*, nor to suppose that it took place *religionis causa.*

the uneven road before him on mules, which were soon standing saddled and ready for starting.

Nearly half the journey[32] had thus been performed in less than twenty-four hours. To the second half two days were allotted, and a courier was despatched in advance to announce that Gallus would arrive to breakfast with a friend who lived between Terracina and Fundi, when he hoped to partake of a better repast than he had the day before. He proposed also to spend the night at another friend's house in Formiæ, whence he could the next day get comfortably before the evening meal, by way of Minturnæ and Sinuessa, to the Campanian bridge[33], near which lay his villa, sideways from the road, in the direction of the Auruncan hills.

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[32] The distance of the road from Rome to Terracina, amounted, probably, to sixty-one miles, and the whole distance from Rome to Capua, is reckoned at 134 miles.

[33] The Campanian bridge, nine *milliaria* beyond Sinuessa, led over the small river Savo, and was called Campanian, because the territory of Campania, to which it formed as it were the entrance, began beyond Sinuessa, which was the last town of Latium.

SCENE THE FIFTH.

THE VILLA.

IT was in the most charming situation of the Falernian land[1], so highly favoured by nature, that Gallus had some years before purchased an extensive estate, which both yielded an abundant agricultural produce, and offered at all seasons the enjoyments of country life in superfluity. The road which beyond the Campanian bridge, leaving the Appian Way to the right, turned towards the stream of the Savo[2], led for miles through pleasant woodland and forests, which, now contracting the breadth of the road to that of a narrow path, shaded the traveller with lofty poplars and elms, and then, retreating farther off, drew a dark circlet round the luxuriant green meadows, or at another time became interrupted for a while, and then opened a prospect towards the Auruncan hills on the left; whilst to the right were discovered the small towns lying at short intervals from each other on the Appian Way.

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[1] The *ager Falernus: Dives ea et nunquam tellus mentita colono*, Sil. Ital. vii. 160, was the most fruitful part of the *Campania felix*, celebrated for its wine, reputed to be, next to the Cæcuban, the best of all those of Italy, until the caprice of Augustus gave the preference to the Setinian. The Falernian land reached from the foot of Mons Massicus, lying above Sinuessa, or, more correctly speaking, from the Campanian bridge, being bounded on the left by the Via Appia, and on the other side by the little river Savo, as far as Casilinum and the Via Latina, which led across from Cales to the Appian Way. Plin. xiv. 6, 8, says expressly: *Falernus ager a ponte Campano læva petentibus urbanum incipit;* and Liv. xxii, 15: *Quam satis sciret, per easdem angustias, quibus intraverat Falernum agrum, redituruum; Calliculam montem et Casilinum occupat modicis præsidiis; quæ urbs Vulturno flumine diremta Falernum et Campanum agros dividit.* It is here assumed that the estate was situated on both sides of the Savo, the regular *villa rustica* in the Falernian territory, the other one on the right bank, towards the Auruncan hills (*Rocca Monfina*).

[2] The *Savo* (*Saone* or *Savone*), a small river, rising not far from Teanum, is called by Stat. *Silv.* iv. 3, 66, *piger Savo*, in consequence of its inconsiderable fall.

The broad champaign belonging to the villa was intersected by the Savo, and reached on the one side nearly to the Via Appia, and on the other to the vine-clad hills, along which wound the road from Sinuessa to Teanum. The whole property was formed from the conjunction of two estates, and might still be considered as such, as they were remote from each other; and at almost opposite extremities lay the buildings designed for agricultural purposes, and the villa built in the city fashion[3]. At the former there was no space subservient only to the pleasures and vanity of the possessor, and entailing on him at the same time a fund of useless expense: no idle plantations of *platani* and laurels, no hedges of box clipped into shapes, no splendid country-house with its endless colonnades. The simple abode of the *villicus*[4], at the entrance of the first

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[3] A distinction was made between the *villa rustica*, properly so called, and the *pseudo-urbana* (Vitr. vi. 8), and some houses were built for one of these purposes only, whilst others served for both. Of the latter, Columella, i. 6, says: *Modus autem membrorumque numerus aptetur universo consepto, et dividatur in tres partes, urbanam, rusticam, et fructuariam.* By the last he means store-houses for oil, wine, grain, hay, &c.

[4] The plan of a *villa rustica* is prescribed at length by Varro, Vitruvius, and Columella; but the directions given by the last author materially differ from those of the two former, particularly as regards the store-chambers. The general plan is as follows: The villa must have had two courts (*cohortes, chortes, cortes*), Varr. i. 13. At the entrance to the first or outer one, was the abode of the *villicus*, in order that he might know who went in and out (Varro, ibid. Col. i. 6, 6); also the great common kitchen, where the slaves congregated, and where in wintertime different avocations were pursued by the fire-side. Vitr. vi. 9: *In corte culina quam calidissimo loco desiynetur.* Varro, supra: *In primis culina videnda ut sit admota* (villici cellæ) *quod ibi hieme antelucanis temporibus aliquot res conficiuntur, cibus paratur ac capitur.* Col. *magna et alia culina paretur.* Near this were the bath-rooms (Vitr. sect. 2), and also the wine and oil-press (*torcular*), according to Vitruvius. On the contrary, Columella says, sect. 18: *Torcularia præcipue cellæque oleariæ calidæ esse debent. Sed ut calore naturali opus est, qui contingit positione cœli et declinatione, ita non opus est ignibus aut flammis: quoniam fumo et fuligine sapor olei corrumpitur*, and for this reason will not even allow lamps to be employed in the labour of pressing. The *cellæ oleariæ* and *vinariæ* also must have been here; the former towards the

court, had nothing attractive to the eye; but so much the more pleasing was the aspect within of the *cellæ* close to one another, which contained the rich stores of oil and wine; while above them on the first floor, the blessings of Ceres which were piled up, testified the fertility of the soil. It was pleasant to see how the returning herds and teams assembled round the broad water-troughs of the inner

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south, the latter towards the north; but both of them upon the ground-floor. Varro: *Fructibus* (*humidis*), *ut est vinum et oleum, loco plano potius cellas faciundum.* Col. 9: *ex iis* (cellis) *quæ sunt in plano custodiam recipiant humidarum rerum tanquam vini olei venalium.* Hirt, in his description of the plan of a villa, says, 'Under the cook's dwelling-rooms are the cellars for pressing the olives,' &c.; and 'under the apartments of the villicus are the wine-cellars;' but we find it difficult to say whether the kitchen and dwelling-rooms may be considered as placed in the second story, or whether the wine-cellar was entirely, or half, under-ground—a thing unheard of amongst the ancients. Columella places the *ergastulum* only under-ground, sect. 3: *Vinctis quam saluberrimum subterraneum ergastulum plurimis idque angustis illustratum fenestris atque a terra sic editis, ne manu contingi possint.* Such receptacles Hirt seems to have had in his mind, as he sets them down with windows towards the north. They might have been only air-holes of the cellars. But such *cellæ* were not *in plano*, and such a means of preservation is very unusual in olden times.—Dried fruits and provender were preserved under-ground, *in tabulatis.* Varr. Col.: *Granaria sublimata disponantur.* Vitru.

Columella assumes a special *Villa fructuaria*, and transfers thither the oil and wine stores also (sect. 9), but Vitruvius only places things dangerous in case of fire outside the villa, sect. 5: *Horrea, fœnuia, farraria, pistrina, extra villam facienda videntur, ut ab ignis periculo sint villæ tutiores.* In Varro all the stores are in the villa itself.

The cells of the slaves which must have been elsewhere besides in the outer court, were preferred situated to the south. Col. sect. 3: *Optime solutis servis cellæ meridiem æquinoctialem spectantes fient.* What Varro says agrees with this: *Familiæ ubi versetur providendum, si fessi opere aut frigore aut calore, et ubi commodissime possint se quiete reciperare.* It is best to suppose that the stalls, *bubilia, equilia, ovilia,* were around the inner court, although Vitruvius would have them to be near the kitchen. Both courts must have had water-cisterns in the centre, and the inner one a spring also for watering cattle, Var. sect. 3: *Boves enim ex arvo æstate reducti hic bibunt, hic perfunduntur; nec minus e pabulo cum redierunt anseres, sues, porci;* the outer one another for steeping fruits in, *ubi maceretur lupinum, item alia, quæ demista in aquam ad usum aptiora fiunt.* These are the most important particulars which Varro, Vitruvius, and Columella give us respecting the *Villa rustica.*

court to drink, whilst geese and ducks merrily splashing about, suffered themselves to be laved by the descending jet of the simply-constructed fountain. All around the court were swarms of various kinds of poultry[5]. Peacocks with their wide-expanded tails, red-feathered flamingos, Numidian[6] and Rhodian[7] hens with their own brood, or performing not less tenderly the office of foster-mothers to young pheasants[8], the eggs of which had been stealthily

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[5] The *cors* of a Roman villa was doubtless very different from our farm-yards, where, with the exception of hens, turkeys, and ducks, there is seldom any other bird, unless it be some solitary peacock, stalking about with his hens. The Roman hen-yard displayed a more varied sight, and the breeding of peacocks, for example, was a special object of attention. For, after this bird of Juno, whose brilliant plumage and insipid flavour pointed it out as only created for show, was first introduced by Hortensius from Samos, and used to increase the splendour of the banquet (Varr. *R. R.* iii. 6, 6; Plin. x. 20, 23; Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 9), this insane luxury soon became general, so that even the temperate Cicero made no exception. *Ad Fam.* ix. 18, 20; see Hor. *Sat.* i. 2, 115; ii. 2, 23. And hence in Varro's time an egg cost 5 *denarii*, a peacock 50, a flock of 100 hens 40,000 *HS.*, and supposing each of these had on an average three young ones, this would bring in 60,000 *HS.*; and M. Aufidius Lucro, who first attempted to fatten them, gained from this enterprise a yearly income of 60,000 *HS.* Colum. viii. 11, Pallad. i. 28, treat especially of the breeding of them.

[6] It is doubtful what is to be understood by the term Numidian hens. Columella says (viii. 2, 2), *Africana est, quam plerique Numidicam dicunt, Meleagridi similis, nisi quod rutilam galeam et cristam capite gerit, quæ utraque sunt in Meleagride cærulea;* but Varro, iii. 9, and Plin. x. 26, 38, call the *meleagrides, gibberæ*, and in Mart. iii. 58, they are *Numidicæ guttatæ;* hence it is concluded, that our guinea-fowls (*Numida meleagris*, Linn.) are meant, but their *galea* is not red, but blue, while the comb is red. Perhaps the guinea-fowls are a variety of both.

[7] Rhodian hens, a particularly large species, which, like the Tanagrian (Paus. ix. 22, 4), were kept for their pugnacity. See, on the subject of cock-fights, Becker's *Charicles*, English edition, p. 64, n. 6; p. 193. Colum. viii. 2, 5, prefers the native species; sect. 12: *Rhodii generis aut Medici propter gravitatem neque patres nimis salaces, nec fœcundæ matres.* They are mentioned by Martial, iii. 58, 17, in the villa of Faustinus, which he calls a *rus verum.*

[8] It does not appear clear how it was possible to keep pheasants in the farm-yard, for, according to our experience, they never become thoroughly domesticated, but return to their free

placed under them to hatch, by the steward,—all collected cackling and coaxing round the steward's wife, who scattered food among them from the lap of her gown. A brood of doves[9] too would ever and anon make a descent in the midst from the tower-like pigeon-cots, whilst turtle

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natural haunts as soon as they are unconfined. Yet Palladius speaks (i. 29) of the breeding of them, as fowls in the yard, and Martial recounts among the poultry that ran about the villa of Faustinus, the *impiorum phasiana Colchorum.* It is perhaps best explained by what Columella says, viii. 10, 6: *Atque ea genera, quæ intra septa villæ cibantur* (gallinæ, columbæ, turtures, turdi) *fere persecuti sumus: nunc de his dicendum est, quibus etiam exitus ad agrestia pabula dantur.* Among the latter we may perhaps reckon, besides the peacocks and guinea-fowls, the pheasants also. Palladius recommends that the eggs should be hatched by hens.

[9] The taste for beautiful pigeons, carried almost to a passion, is not peculiar to modern times; the ancients also indulged in it. Plin. x. 37, 43, says: *Et harum amore insaniunt multi; super tecta exædificant turres iis, nobilitatemque singularum et origines narrant, vetere jam exemplo. L. Axius, eques Romanus, ante bellum civile Pompeianum denariis quadringentis singula paria venditavit, ut M. Varro tradit.* The passage of Varro is, iii. 7, 10: *Parentes eorum Romæ, si sunt formosi, bono colore, integri, boni seminis, paria singula vulgo veneunt ducenis nummis, nec non eximia singulis millibus nummum, quas nuper cum mercator tanti emere vellet a L. Axio, equite Rom., minoris quadringentis denariis daturum negavit.* And this happened in the time of Varro, *severioribus temporibus,* as Columella says. In the time of the latter this extravagance was carried much farther, viii. 8, 10: *Nam nostri pudet seculi, si credere volumus, inveniri qui quaternis millibus nummum binas aves mercentur.* There were two chief sorts: wild doves and house doves. Varr. sect. 1: *Duo enim genera in περιστεροτροφείῳ esse solent. Unum agreste, ut alii dicunt, saxatile, quod habetur in turribus ac columinibus villæ—alterum genus illud columbarum est clementius, quod cibo domestico contentum intra limina januæ solet pasci.* The pigeon-houses or cots, were built like turrets, on the highest points of the villa (Col. viii. 8); according to Pallad. i. 24, *in prætorio,* i.e. above the mansion. The walls, both inside and out, were painted of a bright white colour, which the doves liked. Col. sect. 4; Pall.; Ovid. *Trist.* i. 9, 7, refers to this:—

> Aspicis ut veniant ad candida tecta columbæ,
> Accipiat nullas sordida turris aves?

The number of pigeons kept must have been immense. Varro says, sect. 2, *in uno* (περιστεροτροφείῳ) *sæpe vel quinque millia sunt inclusa.* That carrier-pigeons were also known to the ancients, is shown by Pliny, x. 37, 53: *Quin et internuntiæ in rebus magnis fuere, epistolas annexas earum pedibus obsidione Mutinensi in castra consulum Decimo Bruto mittente.*

and ring-doves[10], caught at great pains, together with a multitude of fieldfares, were to be seen confined in particular pens where they were fed.

Not less pleasing was the sight of the vegetable and fruit-gardens surrounding the villa. Long beds of asparagus, whose delicate red shoots were just piercing the crust of the soil, were interspersed with thick parterres of *lactuca*, the opening dish of the meal; here the brownish-red Cæcilian, there the yellowish-green large-headed Cappadocian species. In one part flourished great plots of Cuman and Pompeian kale, the tender buds of which afforded a favourite dish, as well for the frugal meal of the lower classes, as for the table of the gourmand. In another, numerous beds of leeks and onions; besides spicy herbs, the pale green rue, and the far-smelling mint, as well as the *eruca*, which many secretly indulged in, and the mysterious powers of which were unequivocally demonstrated by the numerous young population around the villa; and innumerable rows of mallows, endives, beans, lupins, and other vegetables.

Further on, the imposing-looking orchards extended, in which were to be found the most noble sorts of fruit. Crustumian and Syrian pears, and mighty *volema*, among the native Falernian and other species; and not less conspicuous were the apples, among which were the delicious honey-apples, a species of quicker growth than the others, and already ripe. Then there were the various kinds of early and late plums, quinces, cherry-trees, the boughs of which were laden with the reddening fruit, peaches and apricots, fig-trees with their sweeter winter-fruits, and the nuptial walnut with its strong and wide-spreading branches.

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[10] The gourmands of Rome were not content with the numerous varieties of tame pigeons, but, for an especial delicacy, ring and turtle-doves, *palumbi, turtures*, were snared, or their nests taken. As these would not breed in confinement (Col. viii. 9, *id genus in ornithone nec parit nec excludit*), they were placed in a dark receptacle under the pigeon-house, and fattened for the table. Pall. i. 35. Cf. Mart. xiii. 51, and iii. 47, *turdorum corona*.

But more delightful than all, was the cheerful and contented appearance of the numerous members of the country family, who did not perform an imposed task like slaves, but with healthful and joyous looks seemed everywhere to be cultivating their own property. The gentle disposition of the master was reflected in the behaviour of the *villicus*, the indefatigable but just overseer of the whole; and Gallus would rather have dismissed a useless slave from his family, than have borne to see him labouring on his property laden with chains, and dragging logs after him. Hence each one discharged his duties willingly and actively, and hastened cheerfully in the evenings to the great kitchen, which served as the common abode of all, in order to rest from their daily toil, and amid incessant talk to take their evening meal.

Such happened to be the sight which greeted Gallus on his arrival, for it was this point that he first reached, as in order to have gone at once to his villa, he must have taken at Minturnæ the more inconvenient route behind the Massican hills, by way of Suessa Aurunca. Hearty as his reception was, and willingly as he would have inspected, even the same day, the flourishing condition of the villa, still he longed too much for repose after the exertion of his journey to prolong his stay there, especially as the bath and meal prepared at his own house awaited his arrival; so he continued his journey without stopping. A broad alley of plane-trees led by a gentle slope up to his residence[11], which was built not so much on a magnificent scale, as in conformity with good taste and utility. The front, situated to the south-east, formed a roomy portico, resting on Corinthian pillars, before which extended a terrace planted with flowers, and divided by box-trees into

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[11] The description of the *villa urbana*, the *prætorium*, as the manor-house was called, is taken from Pliny's Epistles, partly from ii. 17, and partly from v. 6. In the main points the author has followed the first account of the simple Laurentinian villa. The Tusculan, as described in the second letter, presents great difficulties.

small beds of various forms; while the declivity sloping gently down, bore figures, skilfully cut out of the box-trees, of animals opposite to each other, as if prepared for attack, and then gradually became lost in the acanthus which covered with its verdure the plain at its foot.

Behind the colonnade, after the fashion of the city, was an *atrium*, not splendidly but tastefully adorned, the elegant pavement of which, formed to imitate lozenges, in green, white, and black stone, contrasted pleasantly with the red marble that covered the walls. From this you entered a small oval *peristylium*[12], an excellent resort in unfavourable weather; for the spaces between the pillars were closed up with large panes of the clearest *lapis specularis*, or talc, through which the eye discovered the pleasant verdure of the soft mossy carpet[13] that covered the open space in the centre, and was rendered ever flourishing by the spray of the fountain. Just behind this was the regular court of the house, of an equally agreeable aspect, in which stood a large marble basin, surrounded by all sorts of shrubs and dwarf trees. On this court abutted a grand eating-hall, built beyond the whole line of the house[14], through the long windows of which, reaching like doors to the ground, a view was obtained, towards the Auruncan hills in front, and on the sides into the graceful gardens;

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[12] The reading *in O literæ similitudinem* (Plin. *Ep.* ii. 17, 4), has been followed, where *D* and also Δ are read. The argument in support of *D* as opposed to the other two letters, suits only the Δ, for the Roman O was no circle, but an oval. *Priorum autem duarum literarum formas potius per circulum et triangulum expressisset.*

[13] The moss in the *impluvium*, which was protected from the sun by cloths spread over it, is alluded to by Plin. xix. 1, 6: *Rubent* (vela) *in cavis ædium et muscum a sole defendunt.*

[14] The ancient houses were not built rectilinearly, as ours are, but symmetry was sacrificed to comfort, and as it was thought desirable to catch the sun's rays as much as possible, especially in the winter-time, several rooms were built projecting from the line of the building. Such a one, though at a corner of the building, was that described by Pliny, ii. 17, 8: *Adnectitur angulo cubiculum in apsida curvatum, quod ambitum solis fenestris omnibus sequitur.*

whilst in the rear, a passage opened through the *cavædium*, *peristylium*, *atrium*, and colonnade beyond the *xystus*, into the open air.

This Cyzicenian saloon was bordered on the right by different chambers, which from their northerly aspect presented a pleasant abode in the heat of summer; and more to the east lay the regular sitting and sleeping rooms. The first were built outwards semicircularly, in order to catch the beams of the morning light, and retain those of the mid-day sun. The internal arrangements were simple, but comfortable, and in perfect accordance with the green prospect around; for on the marble basement were painted branches reaching inwards as it were from the outside, and upon them coloured birds, so skilfully executed, that they appeared not to sit but to flutter[15]. On one side only was this artificial garden interrupted by a piece of furniture, containing a small library of the most choice books[16]. The sleeping apartment was separated from it merely by a small room, which could in winter be warmed by a *hypocaustum*, and thus communicate the warmth to the adjoining rooms by means of pipes[17]. The rest of this side was used as an abode for the slaves, although most of the rooms were sufficiently neat for the reception of any friends who might come on a visit[18].

On the opposite side, which enjoyed the full warmth of the evening sun, were the bath rooms and the *sphæristerium*, adapted not merely for the game of ball, but for

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[15] Plin. *Ep.* v. 6, 22: *Est et aliud cubiculum a proxima platano viride, et umbrosum, marmore excultum podio tenus: nec cedit gratiæ marmoris ramos insidentesque ramis aves imitata pictura.*

[16] Plin. *Ep.* ii. 17, 8. *Parieti ejus in bibliothecæ speciem armarium insertum est, quod non legendum libris, sed lectitandos capit.*

[17] See the Excursus on *The Roman House.*

[18] We see that the slaves did not always inhabit small bad cells, from Plin. *Ep.* ii. 17, 9: *Reliqua pars lateris hujus servorum libertorumque usibus detinetur, plerisque tam mundis, ut accipere hospites possint.*

nearly every description of corporeal exercises, and spacious enough to hold several different parties of players at the same time. There Gallus, who was a friend to bracing exercises, used to prepare himself for the bath, either by the game *trigon*, at which he was expert, or by swinging the *halteres*, and for this purpose the room could be warmed in winter by means of pipes, which were conducted from the *hypocaustum* of the bath under the floor and along the walls. Lastly, at both ends of the front colonnade, forming the entrance, rose turret-shaped buildings[19], in the different stories of which were small chambers, or *triclinia*, affording an extensive view of the smiling plains.

The garden around the villa, in consequence of the peculiarity of its position, was divided into two unequal parts, one of which in ingenuity and quaintness of ornament was not at all inferior to the most renowned gardens in the old French and Italian style. No tree or shrub dared there to grow in its own natural fashion, the pruning knife and shears of the *topiarius* being ready instantly to force it into the prescribed limits. Hence nothing was to be seen but the green walls of the smoothly-clipped hedges, diversified only by flower-beds, which, like the *xystus*, were partitioned off by box-trees into several smaller ones, exhausting in their shape all the figures of geometry. Here and there stood threatening forms of wild beasts, bears and lions, serpents winding themselves round the trees, and so forth; all cut by the skilful hand of the gardener out of the green box, cypress, or yew-trees. The reluctant foliage had been even constrained into the imitation of

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[19] Two such *turres*, edifices raised several stories above the rest of the building, were in the Laurentian Villa. Plin. ii. 17, 12. Therein were several *diætæ*, small lodgings partitioned off, or consisting of more or less chambers: they are only mentioned in villas, or similar possessions, and frequently the expression seems to mean, separate small houses, unconnected with the main building. See Plin. *Ep.* v. 6, 20. Cf. Turneb. *Adv.* xxiv. 4. In this sense *turris* is used by Tibullus, i. vii. 19:—

Utque maris vastum prospectet turribus æquor
Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros?

letters, and colossal characters could be read, indicating in one part the name of the owner, in another, of the artist to whose invention the garden owed its present appearance. There were also artificial fountains, environed by master-works of sculpture, between which glistened the round tops of lofty orange-trees, with their golden fruit.

Fashion required such a garden, which in fact was but little in accordance with the taste of Gallus. He liked not this constraining of nature into uncongenial forms, and much preferred lingering in the other and larger portion, where the course of nature was unrestrained, and only prevented by the gardener's arranging hand from growing wild. Shady groves of planes alternated with open patches of green, which were bounded again by laurels or myrtle-bushes. Instead of the artificial fountains, a limpid brook meandered by the aid of skilful direction through the park, sometimes foaming in tiny cascades over fragments of rock, and then collecting in basins, where tame fishes would congregate to the bank at an accustomed signal, and snap up the food thrown to them[20]. On rounding the corner of a thicket, the character of the park suddenly changed; for passing from a spot of apparently perfect unconstraint, you entered a neatly-kept plantation of fruit trees and vegetables, which amidst the vanities of the park forcibly reminded you of a modest little farm[21]. From hence you

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[20] An instance of this sort is adduced by Mart. iv. 30, which, although a miserable piece of flattery to Domitian, can hardly be thought altogether fictitious:—

Quid quod nomen habent, et ad magistri Vocem quisque sui venit citatus.

Even in the present day, fish are taught to congregate near the bank, at the sound of a bell, or some other signal.

[21] Such an *imitatio ruris* was also to be found in the middle of the splendid park of Tuscum. Plin. *Ep.* v. 6, 35. Does the ridicule of Martial (iii. 48) allude to the same thing?

Pauperis exstruxit cellam, sed vendidit Ollus
Prædia: nunc cellam pauperis Ollus habet.

An humble hut in such a sketch, as with us a hermitage or Swiss cottage, would not appear at all inconceivable in the midst of such a host of other vagaries; especially as Martial refers to *prædia*, under which, in this case, all landed property is compre-

passed into a straight alley of plane-trees, clad from the trunk to the loftiest branches with dark-green ivy, which climbing from one tree to another, hung down in natural festoons. This was the *hippodrome*, which, after extending more than a thousand paces in a straight line, made a semicircular turn, and then ran back parallel to the first alley. Adjoining this was a second shady path for a similar purpose, enclosing one great oval, which, however, being less broad than the other, was only used for a promenade in the *lectica*. Not far from hence was the most captivating spot in the garden, where tall shady elms, entwined with luxuriant vines, enclosed a semicircular lawn, the green carpet of which was penetrated by a thousand shooting violets. On the farther side rose a gentle ascent, planted with the most varied roses, that mingled their balmy odours with the perfume of the lilies blooming at its foot. Beyond this were seen the dark summits of the neighbouring mountains, while on the side of the hill a pellucid stream babbled down in headlong career, after escaping from the colossal urn of a nymph, who lay gracefully reclined on the verdant moss[22], dashed over a mass of rocks, and then with a gentle murmur vanished behind the green amphitheatre. This was the favourite resort of Gallus. There, under the influence, as it were, of the bacchic and erotic

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hended. But a safer interpretation would be to refer it to poorly fitted-up cells in the house itself, to which the wealthy owner, surfeited with splendour, might retreat under the pretence of a fit of abstinence; as is often mentioned by Seneca, *Cons. ad Helv.* 12: *Sumunt quosdam dies, cum jam illos divitiarum tædium cepit, quibus humi cœnent, et remoto auro argentoque fictilibus utantur.* Ep. 18: *Non est nunc, quod existimes me ducere te ad modicas cœnas et pauperum cellas, et quidquid aliud est, per quod luxuria divitiarum tædio ludit.* Ep. 100: *Desit sane varietas marmorum et concisura aquarum, cubiculis interfluentium et pauperis cella et quidquid aliud luxuria non contenta decore simplici miscet.*

[22] After an antique painting in Mus. Borb. ii. tav. 36. 'A Naiad in a verdant plain, sitting on a moss-covered stone, with her right arm above her head, and her left resting on an urn, from which flowed on the grassy ground the scattered moisture of its limpid waters.'

deities, statues and groups of whom embellished the intervals between the tall elms, he had written the majority of his most recent elegies; there had he, with Virgil, Propertius, and Lycoris, whiled away many happy hours; there was he sure of being discovered on the coming morn.

But the remainder of this day was devoted to refreshment and repose; even his customary game of ball before the refreshing plunge into the cold swimming bath was omitted, and early after the meal he retired to enjoy a comfortable repose in his own chamber.

SCENE THE SIXTH.

LYCORIS.

POMPONIUS had hurried away from Gallus with the haste of a man on whose steps success or ruin depended. Lost in thought, he had neither regarded the salutations of the friends who met him, nor heard the declamations of the ill-humoured Calpurnius, and had scarcely remarked that his tardy companion had separated from him at the *forum transitorium*, and taken the direction of the *forum Romanum*. Halting suddenly, he changed his rapid run into a slow and contemplative walk, then stopped still, contracting his forehead in profound reflection, and striking his hand on his breast[1], as if to summon forth the thoughts within. He drew himself slowly up to his full height, resting the left hand against the hip, and with the right vehemently slapping his thigh; but still no light seemed to penetrate the chaos of his ideas. He snapped his fingers fretfully, shook his head, as if he had renounced the intended errand, but presently his movements became more tranquil; and placing his hand under his chin, he appeared to hold firmly to one idea. A malicious and triumphant smile played about his mouth,

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[1] As the language of grimace is very expressive of national peculiarities, especially among more southern nations, it is the more interesting to consider the passages in the ancient writers which contain descriptions of this nature. Of these, one of the most important, and on which this narration is based, is Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* ii. 2, 46, where the attitudes of Palæstrio, who is brooding over a scheme, are pourtrayed in the most lively colours. Periplectomenes, who is observing him, thus speaks:—

. . . illuc sis vide,
Quemadmodum abstitit, severa fronte curas cogitans.
Pectus digitis pultat, cor credo evocaturum est foras.
Ecce avortit, nisus læva; in femine habet lævam manum;
Dextera digitis rationem computat, ferions femur
Dexterum ita vehementer, quod tactu ægre suppetit.
Concrepuit digitis; laborat crebro, commutat status.
Ecce autem capite nutat; non placet quod repperit.
Quidquid est incoctum non expromet; bene coctum dabit.
Ecce autem ædificat; columnam mento suffulsit suo.

as he turned suddenly and called the slave who stood at a little distance, surveying him with astonishment.

'Hasten home immediately,' said he; 'bid Dromo repair without delay to the *taberna* of the tonsor Licinus[2], and await me there. But be quick.' Away ran the slave; Pomponius proceeded on his way alone, at an increased speed, and having stopped before a handsome house in the *Carinæ*[3], knocked, and inquired, 'Is your lord at home?' 'To you, yes!' replied the *ostiarius;* 'to others, in the *forum.*' Pomponius hurried through the *atrium.* A *cubicularius* announced and ushered him into a room, where a powerful-looking man, of middle age, with a full round face and rather vulgar features, was reclining on a *lectus* and looking over accounts. Near him stood a freedman with the counting-board[4], and on an adjoining table were piled up two heaps of silver coin, between which stood a purse, probably, of higher value: various accounts, *pu-*

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[2] Licinus, the name of a hairdresser and barber, celebrated in his day, and made known to posterity by Horace's mention of him. *Art. Poet.* 301. He is said to have become wealthy by means of his art, and to have received honours by the favour of Augustus. He caused a costly monument to be erected to himself, which drew forth the following epigram:—

Marmoreo tumulo Licinus jacet; at Cato nullo;
Pompeius parvo. Quis putet esse deos?

[3] Carinæ was the name of one of the principal streets or rather regions of Rome (*lautæ Carinæ*, Virg. *Æn.* viii. 361); it was on the declivity of the Esquilinus. It contained the palaces of most of the nobles, as Pompeius, Q. Cicero, and others, and also the most respectable *tonsurinæ*, to which number that certainly did not belong, in which Philippus saw Vultejus: *Cultello proprios purgantem leniter ungues.* Hor. *Ep.* i. 7, 51.

[4] On a relief in the *Mus. Cap.* iv. t. 20, supposed to be the adoption of Hadrian by Trajan, a man lies on a *lectus*, holding in the right hand a purse, and in the left a roll. By his side sits a matron (Plotilla), and at his feet, behind the couch, stands a man, holding in the left hand a counting-board, or tablet, on which money is reckoned, and to which he points with the forefinger of the right hand. He is thought to be a *libripens:* but apart from the question of the truth of this surmise, it is certain that a scene might very well be represented in which a master is casting up accounts with his *dispensator* or *procurator.*

gillares with the *stylus*, and an inkstand and writing-reed[5], were lying around.

'Hail, Largus!' cried Pomponius, as he entered. 'Hail to you, also!' replied the man; 'but what brings you hither for the second time to-day?' Pomponius cast a suspicious glance at the freedman, who, at a nod from Largus, made his exit. 'Good news!' was at length his answer. 'Gallus leaves Rome this very morning, in order that he may forget in the country the vexations of yesterday.'

'Goes he to his villa?' inquired the astonished Largus as he raised himself. 'Ay, to the villa, which is, I hope, soon to be yours,' replied the other. 'He will take care that you find the house and garden in the best condition.'

'And do you call this good news?' asked Largus. 'Was it not our plan to elicit, by the help of the mighty Falernian, something of treasonable import from this passionate braggart? Will you send into Campania the witnesses whom I pay with heavy coin, and the liberty-heroes who must draw him into their giddy projects? Or do you imagine that Augustus will assign more importance to discontented expressions, uttered at a retired villa, amidst a parcel of peaceful peasants, than to the voice of rebellion at Rome?'

'All very true,' retorted Pomponius. 'But have we not already proceeded far enough? The copies of the pompous inscriptions on the temples and pyramids of Egypt, the complaints of Petronius about the oppression of the country, and the highly treasonable talk of yesterday—do you want more threads still, from which to weave a most inextricable net? Or will you wait till his presence in person prove the nullity of our accusations? till

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[5] This description is taken from a painting of Herculaneum, in which a large purse lies fastened up between two heaps of money: before it stands an inkstand with a writing-reed lying upon it, and further on, a roll half open, with a label hanging down, *pugillares* with a *stylus*, and a tablet with a handle, on which are seen figures and writing. See Mus. Borb. i. 12, for an engraving of this.

Augustus' old friendship for him revive, and his false accusers meet with something more than ridicule? No, far better is it that he go, and, without expecting it, receive the blow which is already prepared for him. Then his villa to you: his house in Rome to me, and,'—here he stopped.

Largus had placed his hand on his brow musingly. 'You may be right,' said he: 'but do you feel confidence in the witnesses of yesterday?'

'As much as in myself,' replied the other. 'Still I will have him watched at the villa. There are malcontents too in that neighbourhood, who will quickly muster around him. But doubtless,' continued he, looking the while at the table near him, 'doubtless we shall want money, with which to bribe his slaves and a witness.'

'What again?' exclaimed Largus, unwillingly. 'Did not I only the other day pay you forty thousand *sesterces?*'

'Certainly!' said Pomponius. 'But you do not reflect what an expense it is to me to be always keeping the society of Gallus; what I have to pay to fishmongers, bakers, butchers, gardeners, and poulterers; what sums I have to disburse for baths, ointments, and garlands[6]—forty thousand sesterces are but a mere pinch of poppy-seeds for an ant-hill[7]. And yet the greater part of it has been received by the spies, and Gripus, the indispensable slave of Gallus, to whom indeed I promised again to-day to pay four hundred *denarii*. We must give up the entire

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[6] These were the kind of people from whom were procured the daily necessaries. In Plautus, *Trin.* ii. 4, 8, when Lesbonicus demanded from the slave an account of the money which he had received, the latter replied:

Comesum, expotum, exunctum, elotum in balneis.
Piscator, pistor abstulit, lanii, coqui,
Alitores, myropolæ, aucupes;

and Gnatho, in Ter. *Eun.* ii. 2, 26, says:—

Concurrunt læti mi obviam cupediarii omnes;
Cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores.

[7] These are the words of the Trinummus: *Confit cito, quasi si tu objicias formicis papaverem.*

enterprise if you grudge the bait wherewith to catch the fish[8].'

'You come too often,' said Largus; 'your bait is an expensive one, and after all it is uncertain whether the fish will bite, or no. But be it so. What sum do you require?'

'Only twenty thousand. Not more than you have often lost at dice in a single night.'

'Well, then, you shall have them; or will you have gold?' With these words he reached out his hand to the purse, told forth some hundred pieces of gold, and gave the purse with its remaining contents to Pomponius[9]. 'Only mind,' added he, 'that these are the last.'

Pomponius did not hesitate for an instant, though unattended by a slave; the twenty thousand pieces being too pleasant a burden for him to scruple about carrying them himself. He cast the bag into the folds of his *toga*, agreed on a rendezvous for the evening, and hurried off to the *taberna*, where he had commanded his slave to meet him. He there found a comical little person already waiting for him, whose huge and unshapely head sitting closely upon his shoulders, as if he had no neck, ragged red hair and purple lips contrasting strangely with the blackish tint of his face, from which a couple of most cunning eyes gleamed forth, fat pot-belly and equally substantial pair of short legs, which had a secure basis in his large broad feet,

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[8] A very favourite comparison of those who made a small sacrifice in order to get a larger gain, was that borrowed from angling, and it was especially applied to *heredipetæ*, legacy-hunters, who sent presents to those on whose property they had a design. The saying was as common then as now, 'To throw a sprat to catch a salmon.' So says Mart. vi. 63, 5:—

Munera magna tamen misit, sed misit in hamo:

so also v. 18, 7:—

Imitantur hamos dona.

Cf. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 5, 25.

[9] If forty *aurei* were coined out of the *libra* of gold, the *aureus* would have weighed 7½ scruples, and been worth 144 *HS.*, reckoning the scruple at 20 *HS.*, in which case 139 *aurei* would have made up the sum of 20,000 *HS.*

formed a complete caricature[10]. But, in spite of his corpulence, his whole figure was full of life and activity; with keen eye he observed everything that passed around him, and none of the conversation, or news that the company leisurely discussed, escaped his attentive ear. Having perceived the entrance of his master, he approached him with a careless salutation.—'It is well that you have already arrived,' said Pomponius, looking round the *taberna* for some seat, where he might speak to his slave without being overheard: but the *tonstrina* was too full of company to allow of it[11]. Whilst on the one side the tonsor and his assistants practised their art; encircling one with a linen cloth, passing the razor over the chin of another, or pulling out with a fine pair of tweezers, from a third, a few hairs which disfigured the smoothness of his arm; on the other were formed several knots of idlers, who were conversing upon the news of the day.

'There is no place here free from listeners,' said Pomponius; 'but in every part are people, who without being asked or paid for it, busy themselves about other persons' business[12]. Come into the street; we shall be quieter in the adjoining *basilica*.' The slave followed him. 'Dromo,' began his master, as they gained the street, 'I have an important commission for you, and rely upon your caution

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[10] So Harpax describes Pseudolus. Plaut. *Pseud.* iv. 6, 120:—

Rufus quidam, ventriosus, crassis suris, subniger,
Magno capite, acutis oculis, ore rubicundo admodum,
Magnis pedibus.

A similar description of the *Pseudo-Saurea Leonidas*, is given in the *Asinaria*, ii. 3, 20:—

Macilentis malis, rufulus, aliquantum ventriosus,
Truculentis oculis, commoda statura, tristi fronte.

[11] In the *tonstrinæ*, the hair was cut, the beard shorn, and the nails cleaned.

[12] This is undoubtedly the sense of the proverbial saying in Plaut. *Truc.* i. 2, 35: *Suo vestimento et cibo alienis rebus curare.* The meaning of which is, that whoever is not in the service of another, is not called upon to busy himself with that person's affairs. So in Plaut. *Rudens*, i. 2, 91, the master says to his slave, who is pursuing with his eyes the two women swimming towards them:—

Si tu de illarum cœnaturus vesperi es,
Illis curandum censeo, Sceparnio.
Si apud me esurus es, mi operam dari volo.

and activity in the execution of it. Gallus travels this morning to his Campanian villa. Lycoris is to follow him to Baiæ. I suspect, in consequence of the suddenness of his departure, that he will summon her thither in writing. Do you take care that the letter comes into my hands. Employ every means,—trickery, treachery, corruption, everything save violence.'

'Very good,' replied the slave; 'but corruption requires money; and the *tabellarii* of Gallus are the most honest donkeys[13] in existence. Gripus could certainly be of assistance to us,' he continued thoughtfully; 'but he is an insatiable fellow, who never does anything without being well paid for it.'

'There shall be no lack of money,' interrupted Pomponius, as he produced the purse. 'Here is gold! pure gold! which will buy him drink in the *popinæ* for months. Come into the *basilica*, that I may give it you.'

'Now then,' said Dromo, 'we shall be able to manage it But suppose the communication of Gallus were to be an

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[13] The Romans had a vast number of words of abuse, many of which were very coarse. See Plaut. *Pseud.* i. 3, 126, where however only a small selection is to be found. They seldom used the name of any animal as a term of contempt, as commonly happens amongst us. The *bos* was never a word of abuse; but not so *asinus*, as Ter. *Adelph.* v. 8, 12:—

Quid tu autem huic, asine, auscultas?

Besides *canis*, the use of which was very common, *vervex*, sheep, simpleton, sometimes occurs, as Juv. x. 50:

Magnos posse viros vervecum in patrio nasci:

and Plaut. *Merc.* iii. 3, 6,

Itane vero, vervex, intro eas.

The following were also frequently made use of,—*hircus* (Plaut. *Most.* i. 1. 39), *verres* (Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* iv. 2, 63), *vulturius*, and *cuculus*; but more frequently with a special reference, than as general words of offence. So, for instance, in Plaut. *Pseud.* i. 2, 4,

Germania illuvies, rusticus, hircus, hara suis.

Neque homines magis asinos unquam vidi, ita plagis costæ callent,

it refers to their laziness and insensibility to blows. On the other hand, in Ter. *Eunuch.* iii. 5, 50,

Tum equidem istuc os tuum impudens videre nimium vellem:
Qui esset status, flabellulum tenere te asinum tantum,

it merely means a man who is fit for nothing, has no skill, as in the proverb, *Asinus ad tibiam*, or *ad lyram*. [So also *hirsuta capella* was said of dirty-looking men, Juv. v. 155; Amm. Marc. xvii. 12; xxiv. 8.]

oral and not a written one? But I'll provide for that also; rely upon me, that before the bell summons to the bath, you shall have the letter, or measures shall at least have been taken to prevent any message reaching Lycoris except through you.'

The sixth hour was past, and there was less bustle in the *popinæ*. Only here and there remained a guest, who could not break from the sweet mead, and the maid who waited on him; or was still resting, heavy and overcome by his sedulous attentions to the fluids. In a small *taberna* of the Subura sat two slaves, draining a goblet, which apparently was not their first. The one was a youth of pleasing exterior, numbering little more than twenty years, whose open and honest-looking countenance was in a rubicund glow, while his reddening neck and the swelling veins of his full round arms showed plainly that the earthen vessel before him had contained something besides vinegar[14]. The other, whose age might be between thirty and forty, inspired the beholder with less confidence; his bold and reckless mien, lips turned up scornfully, and rough merriment, betokened one of those slaves who, confiding in the kind disposition of their master, and the thickness of their own backs, were accustomed to bid defiance to all the elm-staves and thongs in the world.

'But now drink, Cerinthus!' exclaimed the latter to his younger companion, as he quaffed the remainder of his goblet. 'Why, you take it as if I ordered nothing but Vatican, and yet the landlord has given us the best Sabine in his cellar: and I assure you that the Falernian that I slily sipped behind the column at the late banquet, was scarcely so good.'

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[14] Vinegar-water, *posca*, a common drink of soldiers in the field (Spart. *Hadr.* 10), as well as of slaves. Plaut. *Mil.* iii. 2, 23:—

Alii ebrii sunt, alii poscam potitant.

Palæstrio is evidently himself amongst those who indulge in *posca*, whilst Sceleerus and Lucrio intoxicate themselves by wine.

'In truth, Gripus,' answered the young slave, 'the wine is excellent, but I fear I shall be drinking too much. My temples burn, and if I taste more, I may be tipsy when I go to Lycoris. You know how Gallus insists on order and punctuality.'

'Gallus, indeed!' said the other, 'why, he drinks more than we do. Besides, he has to-day gone into the country, and the old grumbler Chresimus with him; therefore we now are free, and moreover it's my birthday, and as nobody has invited me, why, I'll be merry at my own expense.'

As he thus spake, a third person entered the *popina*. 'Ah! well met,' cried the fat little figure; 'I salute ye both.'

'Oh! welcome, Dromo,' exclaimed Gripus, as if surprised at his appearance. 'You have come at the happiest possible moment. Our lord is set out on a journey, and I am now celebrating my birthday[15].'

'How, your birthday? Excellent! We must make a rich offering to the genius. But, by Mercury and Laverna, your glasses are empty. Holloa! damsel, wine here! Why, by Hercules, I believe ye have ordered but a glass each. A *lagena* here!' cried he, throwing a piece of gold on the table, 'and larger goblets, that we may drink to the name of our friend.'

The *lagena* came. 'The name has six letters,' exclaimed Dromo; 'let six *cyathi* be filled.' 'But not unmixed, surely?' put in Cerinthus. 'What cares the genius about water?' replied the other. 'To Gripus health! How, Cerinthus, you won't shirk, surely?

[[15] The celebration of the birthday amongst the Romans is frequently mentioned. On this day they were accustomed to sacrifice to their protecting genius, and to invite their relations and friends to festivities (*natalicia dapes*). Varro, *Censor*. 2; Ovid. *Trist*. iii. 13, 13; Tibull. i. 7, 49; ii. 2, 1; Pers. ii. 1; vi. 18, Juv. xi. 83; Cic. *Phil*. ii. 6; Mart. xi. 65; x. 27; Gell. xix. 9; and frequently in Plautus. The friends who came brought congratulations and presents, Mart. viii. 64; ix. 54. Many ancient monographies treat of this custom.]

Bravo! drained to the bottom, so that the genius may look down brightly upon us. So Gallus has departed from Rome? To the Falernian region for certain? Well, he knows how to live! An excellent master! We'll drink to his well-being also. Actually just the same number of letters. Now, Cerinthus, health to your lord!' 'Long life and happiness to him,' cried the other, already intoxicated, as he emptied the goblet.

'One thing is still wanting. Come hither, Chione, and drink with us. By Hercules, though, a spruce lass.'

'True,' stammered out Cerinthus, with some difficulty, as he drew the unresisting damsel towards him; 'you seem to me even prettier than before[16].' 'Oh! that is because you are now in merrier mood,' replied the female, smiling. 'Yes,' cried he, 'the proverb is true which says that "without Ceres and Bacchus, Venus is but a frosty affair."' 'What say you?' interrupted Gripus, who thought this was the right moment for the prosecution of his scheme; 'she was always pretty; Lycoris herself has not finer eyes.'

The name struck the ear of Cerinthus, in spite of his drunkenness, like a clap of thunder. He tried to spring up, but his feet refused their office, and he leaned reeling against the damsel.

'What's the matter, man? Whither would you go?' exclaimed the other two. 'To Lycoris,' stammered he. 'You don't suppose I'm drunk, do ye?' 'Oh no,' said Gripus; 'but you seem weak and fatigued.' 'How? I fa-fatigued[17]?' He tried to depart, but after a few paces

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[16] In Terent. *Eun.* iv. 5, 4, this is said by Chremes, who is somewhat tipsy, to Pythias, and she answers similarly:—

Ch. —— Vah! quanto nunc formosior
Videre mihi quam dudum. *Py.* Certe
tu quidem pol multo hilarior.
Ch. Verbum hercle hoc verum erit: Sine
Cerere et Libero friget Venus.

[17] In Plaut. *Most.* i. 4, 18, where the drunken Callidamates is led in by his maid, the latter says, *Madet homo*, and the drunken man stammers out in reply, *tun' me ais ma-ma-madere.* The same authority affords us an excuse for the picture here given.

sank down. 'Take a sleep for a little while,' said Gripus, 'and let me have charge of your letter, and I'll immediately carry it to its destination.' The drunken man nodded assent, and produced the tablets. Dromo obtained from the landlord a place for the unconscious slave to sleep in, paid the score, and hurried off with Gripus.

The bustle of the day had ceased, the last twilight of evening was already beginning to yield to the darkness of night, and all who but a few hours before were enlivening the streets, had now retired home to rest. In the Subura alone the business of the day had subsided, but only to be succeeded by activity of another kind. Here and there persons with muffled faces[18] glided cautiously along; and shrouded forms stealing to and fro about the streets, slipped into the well-known *cellæ*, or sought new acquaintances in houses, the doors of which, adorned with foliage, and lit up with numerous lamps, announced them to be newly-opened temples of Venus[19].

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[18] On such occasions, to avoid being recognised, the garments were drawn over the head, or it was concealed in a *cucullus*. So we read of Antonius, who wished to surprise his love. Cic. *Phil.* ii. 31: *Domum venit capite obvoluto.* Juv. vi. 330:—

Illa jubet sumto juvenem properare cucullo;

and viii. 145:—

nocturnus adulter
Tempora Santonico velas adoperta cucullo.

Cf. Ruperti in iii. 170; Jul. Cap. *Ver.* 4: *Vagari per tabernas ac lupanaria obtecto capite cucullione vulgari viatorio.* See the Excursus on The Male Attire.

[19] There does not seem to have been any street-lighting at Rome till very late, as no mention is made of it before the fourth century. As far as Rome is concerned, I find no proof of it at all. For the passage quoted from Am. Marc. xiv. refers not to Rome, but to Antiochia: *Adhibitis paucis clam ferro succinctis vesperi per tabernas palabatur et compita, quæritando Græco sermone, cujus erat impendio gnarus, quid de Cæsare quisque sentiret. Et hæc confidenter agebat in urbe, ubi pernoctantium luminum claritudo dierum solet imitari fulgorem.* The lighting of the streets in Antiochia in the fourth century, had already been placed beyond a doubt by the passages of Libanius. In another passage of the *Cod. Justin.* viii. 12, 19, the lighting of the baths merely is meant; concerning which see the Ex-

Now and then a door would gape, and, the curtain being drawn aside, allowed a glimpse into brilliantly-lighted chambers, where youths, surrounded by unblushing females in immodest costumes, were passing their time in riotous enjoyment [20]. Here and there, too, sat some rejected lover, on the solitary threshold of a hard-hearted *libertina*, hoping by entreaties and perseverance to soften the coy beauty [21].

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cursus on The Baths. Lastly, the burning of the Christians, Tacit. *Annal.* xv. 44, cannot possibly afford any proof of a regular lighting.

General illuminations of whole towns, however, were not unusual among the ancients. Apart from the usage of the Egyptians and Jews (Bähr *ad Herod.* ii. 62), perhaps the earliest known instance of it in Rome is that where this honour was paid to Cicero after the quelling of the Catiline conspiracy. Plut. *Cic.* 22: *τὰ δὲ φῶτα πολλὰ κατέλαμπε τοὺς στενωποὺς, λαμπάδια καὶ δᾷδας ἱστώντων ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις.* Caligula caused the bridge of Puteoli on which he dined to be brilliantly illuminated. Dio. Cass. lix. 17: *τό τε λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τὴν νύκτα πᾶσαν εἱστιάθησαν, πολλοῦ μὲν αὐτόθεν φωτὸς, πολλοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπιλάμψαντος σφίσι. τοῦ γὰρ χωρίου μηνοειδοῦς ὄντος πῦρ πανταχόθεν καθάπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ τινὶ ἐδείχθη, ὥστε μηδεμίαν αἴσθησιν τοῦ σχότους γενέσθαι.* When Tiridates entered Rome with Nero, the whole city was illuminated. Dio Cass. lxiii. 4: *καὶ πᾶσα μὲν ἡ πόλις ἐκεκόσμητο καὶ φωσὶ καὶ στεφανώμασιν.* This was so also when Nero returned from Greece, Dio Cass. lxiii. 20; and when Septimius Severus made his entrance, lxxiv. 1: *ἥ τε γὰρ πόλις πᾶσα ἄνθεσί τε καὶ δάφναις ἐστεφάνωτο, καὶ ἱματίοις ποικίλοις ἐκεκόσμητο, φωτί τε καὶ θυμιάμασιν ἔλαμπε*: and in honour of Aurelius Zoticus under Elagabalus, lxxiv. 16. Martial mentions such illuminations, x. 6, 4:—

> Quando erit ille dies, quo campus et arbor et omnis,
> Lucebit Latia culta fenestra nuru?

[See further Stat. *Silv.* i. 2, 231; 4, 123; iii. 5, 62—70; Arrian. *Epict.* i. 19, 24; ii. 17, 17; Tertull. *de Idol.* 15; App. *Met.* iv. 26; Claudian *de Nupt.* 206; Prudent. *contra Symm.* ii. 1009; Pacat. *Paneg. Theod.* 37.]

Of the custom here mentioned of decking with garlands and illuminating new *lupanaria* as if it were the house of a bridal, Lipsius, *Elect.* i. 3, has spoken. He cannot affirm that this was the case in the earlier times, as the proofs of the fact are only derived from Tertullian, *Apologet.* 35: *Cur die læto non laureis postes adumbramus? nec lucernis diem infringimus? Honesta res est solemnitate publica exigente inducere domui tuæ habitum alicujus novi lupanaris.* Secondly, *Ad Uxor.* ii. 6: *Procedit de janua laureata et lucernata, ut de novo consistorio libidinum publicarum.* The same was the case on birth and wedding days. See also Ferbar. *de Lucern. Sepulcral.*; Derrutzer *on Juvenal*, xii. 92.

[20] Such is really related by Petron. c. 7.

[21] See Horat. iii. 10, i. 25; Tib. i.

Towards the end of the street, where the ascent of the Cœlian hill commenced, there stood, somewhat retired, a small but cheerful-looking house, which had evidently nothing in common with the public resorts of the vicinity; for there was no *taberna* to be seen, nor was the threshold crossed by the step of any visitor; it might almost have been supposed uninhabited, but for the gleam of lamps that pierced through some of the windows. Now, however, two men might be seen approaching the *vestibulum*, both dressed as slaves, with the *pænula* drawn over their heads. The shorter of the two stopped at some distance off, while the other, whose carriage seemed to accord but ill with his dress, went to the door and knocked.

'Who are you?' inquired the *ostiarius*[22]. 'A *tabellarius* from Gallus.' The porter opened the door and demanded the letter. 'My commission is an oral one,' said the other; 'lead me to Lycoris.' The porter surveyed the muffled stranger doubtingly. 'Why does not Cerinthus come?' he inquired. 'He is sick,' was the reply; 'but what does it concern you to whom my lord entrusts his messages? It is late; conduct me to your mistress.'

Lycoris was occupied in packing various sorts of female ornaments, in a neat box of cedar-wood, placing them for security between layers of soft wool. Her light *tunica*, without sleeves, had become displaced by her movements, and slidden down over the left arm[23], disclosing something more than the dazzling shoulder, upon which the black hair descended in long ringlets. She was, it is true, no

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1, 56; Prop. i. 16; Ovid. *Amor.* i. 6, ii. 19, 21.

[22] So the *ostiarius* inquired of Antonius, who, on knocking, stated himself to be a *tabellarius*. Cic. *Phil.* ii. 31: *Janitor: Quis tu? A. Marco: Tabellarius.*

[23] So many passages of this kind could be adduced in justification, that it is scarcely worth the trouble to point them out particularly. The wide opening for the neck, and the broad holes for the arms, caused the light *tunica*, on every occasion of the person's stooping, to slip down over the arm. Artists appear to have been particularly fond of this drapery.

longer in possession of the youthful freshness and child-like naïveté that had fixed the love of Gallus when first he saw her, but the exquisite roundness of her form was not less attractive than ever, so that at the age of twenty-five[24] she was still a blooming, beauteous woman. Her several female attendants were also busy packing up apparel and other things in flat baskets and boxes, and everything gave symptoms of preparation for a journey.

'Lay the *palla* once more under this press,' said she to the maidens, 'and the *tunica* also. Have you put in the stomachers too, Cypassis?' The damsel answered in the affirmative. 'Then go and see with Lydus and Anthrax about the plate necessary to be taken with us[25].' The handmaidens departed. Lycoris was putting together some necessaries for the toilet, when the porter announced the messenger from Gallus. 'At last!' said Lycoris. 'Admit him.'

The *ostiarius* bade the person come in, and then retired to his post; but the mysterious behaviour of the pretended *tabellarius* had made him uneasy, and he therefore directed a female slave, who met him, to watch by the door of her mistress. The slave placed her ear against

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[24] An accurate calculation of the age of Lycoris in the year 728 A.U.C. is neither possible, nor of any importance here. If we suppose the *Eclogues* of Virgil to have been written 718 A.U.C., and that Lycoris was at that time a girl of fifteen, she would have been at the period of the downfall of Gallus, of the age assigned here to her, twenty-five. [If, as Serv. (*on Virg. Ecl.* x. 1) states, and Hertzberg (*Quæst. Propertian. specim.*) more recently affirms, Lycoris was identical with the ill-renowned paramour of Antonius, Cytheris (a freedwoman of Volumnius Eutrapelus), she must have been of the same age as Gallus, twenty-eight years old in 718, and not far removed from forty at the time of the death of Gallus. Respecting Lycoris and Cytheris, see Cic. *Phil.* ii. 24; *ad Att.* x. 10, 16; *ad Fam.* ix. 26; Plut. *Ant.* 9; Plin. *H. N.* viii. 16; Schol. Crug. *ad Hor. Sat.* i. 2, 55, 10, 77.]

[25] It is to be supposed that persons used to take their own plate with them, even on short journeys, because the inns, which could not be avoided, were but mean. Mart. vi. 94:—

Ponuntur semper chrysendeta Calpetiano.
Sive foris, seu cum cœnat in urbe domi,
Sic etiam in stabulo semper, sic cœnat in agro.

the door, but the curtain within deadened the sounds, and she could hear nothing distinctly. At last their conversation became more animated, and their voices louder; the door opened, and the man hurried hastily away, disguised as he had entered. The attendant found Lycoris in the most extreme state of excitement. 'We must away from hence this very night,' cried she. 'Send Lydus to me.' The slave received orders to hire two *rhedæ* immediately. The preliminaries of the journey were then hastened, and before the end of the third night-watch, Lycoris, with a portion of her slaves, was already beyond the Capenan gate.

SCENE THE SEVENTH.

A DAY IN BAIÆ.

IF any place of antiquity could lay claim to be considered as the very abode of pleasure and free living, it assuredly was Baiæ[1], by far the most renowned bathing-place of Italy, and selected equally by Aphrodite and Comus, as by Hygieia, for a favourite residence. Nature had decked the coast of Campania, on which Baiæ was situated, with all the charms of a southern climate. Art and the taste of the Roman patricians had still further heightened the beauty of the landscape by the erection of magnificent villas. The lofty towers[2] of these gorgeous palaces which lined the

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[1] Baiæ asserted a decided pre-eminence amongst the numerous baths of Italy (whence Martial, vi. 42, 7, amongst many other baths, mentions *Bai principes*, and its name is used by poets as an appellation for baths generally, Tibull. iii. 5, 3; Mart. x. 13, 3), and was considered by the ancients in general a most attractive place, and life there to be the most pleasant:

Nullus in orbe sinus Baiis prælucet amœnis,

says Horace, *Epist.* i. 1, 83; and all writers making mention of it concur in this eulogy. Mart. xi. 80. Andr. Baccius (*de Thermis*, p. 162) briefly extol its advantages. 'The city lay,' says he, 'on the left shore of the sea, surrounded by a circle of hills covered with green: to the north, at a distance of five Roman miles (*millia passuum*), lay Cumæ, three miles nearer the Lacus Avernus; southwards, distant three miles, was Misenum, and Puteoli, the same distance across the bay. The extraordinary mildness of the climate made it an agreeable place of sojourn even in winter, and there was no season of the year when the trees did not present fruits, and the gardens flowers.' Comp. Strabo, v. 4, 187; Dio Cassius, xlviii. 51.

[2] By towers are to be understood parts of the house, built several stories above the rest of the building, to allow of a distant prospect. Pliny had two such in his *Laurentinum*. He says of one (ii. 17, 12): *Hinc turris erigitur, sub qua diætæ duæ, totidem in ipsa: præterea cœnatio, quæ latissimum mare, longissimum litus, amœnissimas villas prospicit.* So the *turres* (Tibull. i. 7, 19) appear to be rightly explained by Heyne. It may be well imagined that the villæ around Baiæ, the neighbourhood of which displayed everywhere the most

coast commanded a view right across the bay to the open sea, whilst the villas of more humble pretensions, erected by the more serious men of former times[3], looked down like strong castles from the neighbouring heights. Just opposite, and in the direction of the not far distant Nauplia, lay the fair Puteoli. On the right, after doubling the promontory, was Misenum with its renowned haven, the station of the Roman fleet. Close by lay Cumæ, hallowed by ancient sages, and near the latter was the lake Avernus, which, with the smiling plain adjoining it, seemed to represent on earth the contrast between the terrors of Hades and the happiness of Elysium.

But fashion and the joyous mode of life, even more than the charms of the scenery, rendered Baiæ a most delightful place of sojourn. Besides invalids who hoped to obtain relief from the healing springs and warm sulphur-baths[4], there streamed thither a much larger number of

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magnificent views, were also provided with such *turres*. The environs of Baiæ were not considered healthy, as we see from Cicero's letter to Dolabella (ix. 12), and therefore the villas were built as far out into the sea as possible, and probably higher than was usual.

[3] Seneca, who took such offence at the mode of life at Baiæ, that he left on the second day after arriving there, praises the choice of those men. *Epist.* 51: *Illi quoque, ad quos primos fortuna Romani populi publicas opes transtulit, C. Marius, et Cn. Pompeius, et Cæsar, extruxerunt quidem villas in Regione Baiana, sed illas imposuerunt summis jugis montium.* They looked more like *castra* than *villæ*. But besides these there were splendid palaces built round the whole bay, which, with the towns lying upon it, presented the appearance of one vast city. Strabo, v. 4: *Ἅπας δ' ἐστὶ κατεσκευασμένος (ὁ κόλπος) τοῦτο μὲν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἃς ἔφαμεν, τοῦτο δὲ ταῖς οἰκοδομίαις καὶ φυτείαις, αἳ μεταξὺ συνεχεῖς οὖσαι μιας πόλεως ὄψιν παρέχονται.* Cf. Dio Cass. above.

[4] The springs at Baiæ were of very different ingredients, and the sanatory powers manifold. Plin. xxxi. 2, 2: *Aliæ sulphuris, aliæ aluminis, aliæ salis, aliæ nitri, aliæ bituminis, nonnullæ etiam acida salsave mixtura, vapore quoque ipso aliquæ prosunt.* Chief of all were the hot sulphureous vapours which sprung up in many places, and particularly on the heights, and were used as baths to promote perspiration. Such *sudatoria* were situated not only in the town of Baiæ itself, but close to the spot where the vapours rose from the ground. Vitruv. ii. 6. *In mon-*

persons in health, having no other end in view than the pursuit of pleasure, and who, leaving behind them the cares and formalities of life, resigned themselves wholly to enjoyment, in whatever shape it was offered. One continual *saturnalia* was there celebrated, in which even the more reserved suffered themselves to be carried away by the intoxication of pleasure, whilst follies, which in Rome would have drawn down reproof, were scarcely regarded as imputations on character, or such only as the next bath would entirely efface. The intercourse between the sexes in society was of a much more free description, and none but a stoic would look askance when wanton *hetæræ*, surrounded by thoughtless youths, skimmed by, in gaudily-painted gondolas, while song and music resounded from the skiffs of many a troop of revellers, who were rocking lazily on the level surface of the bay.

Of course pleasure did not always confine itself within the bounds of innocence, and connubial fidelity doubtless

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tibus Cumænorum et Baianis sunt loca sudationibus excavata, in quibus vapor fervidus ab imo nascens ignis vehementia perforat eam terram, per eumque manando in his locis oritur et ita sudationum egregias efficit utilitates. These hot streams of vapour were conducted by means of pipes into the buildings. Dio Cass. xlviii. 51: *τὴν δ' ἀτμίδα αὐτοῦ ἔς τε οἰκήματα μετέωρα* (*suspensuras*) *διὰ σωλήνων ἀνάγουσι, κἀνταῦθα αὐτῇ πυριῶνται.* Of this kind was the bath *ad myrteta*, celebrated by Horace, *Epist.* i. 15, 5, which also lay outside the town, and probably on an eminence, for Celsus, ii. 17, says: *Siccus calor est—quarundam naturalium sudationum, ubi a terra profusus calidus vapor ædificio includitur, sicut super Baias in myrtetis habemus.* If the bath was visited by numerous invalids on account of the efficacy of its waters, yet, doubtless, far greater numbers came from Rome, merely for the sake of pleasure, to Naples and the neighbourhood, which seemed places created entirely for a life of ease and pleasure. Strab. v. 4: *Βαῖαι καὶ τὰ θερμὰ ὕατα, τὰ καὶ πρὸς τρυφὴν καὶ πρὸς θεραπείαν νόσων ἐπιτήδεια.* Dio Cassius, supra. *Κατασκευαί τε οὖν περὶ ἀμφότερα πολυτελεῖς ᾤσκηνται, καὶ ἔστιν ἔς τε βίου διαγωγὴν καὶ ἐς ἄκεσιν ἐπιτηδείοτατα.* Hence Cicero also (*pro Cœl.* 20) especially dwells on the free manner in which Clodia demeaned herself, not only *in urbe, in hortis*, but *in Baiarum illa celebritate.* Whenever it is desired to fix the number of visitors at a bath, Baiæ is taken as a scale to go by. Strab. v. 2.

underwent severe trials[5], to which it not unfrequently yielded. If we consider, besides, that the sight of a drunken man, fresh from the daily or nightly debauch, was by no means uncommon[6], and that gambling was carried to a great height, it will not appear strange that a severe moralist should have pronounced the captivating spot to be 'a seat of voluptuousness, and a harbour of vice[7].' Still it must not be overlooked, that this reputation was in a great measure attributable to the publicity with which pleasure was pursued, as well as to a reckless display of folly, and that the wantonness there concentrated in one spot, and wholly unveiled to the public eye, was perhaps

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[5] The warning uttered by Propertius, i. 11, 27, to Cynthia, is well known:—

Tu modo quamprimum corruptas desere Baias;
Multis ista dabunt litora dissidium;
Litora quæ fuerant castis inimica puellis:
Ah, pereant Baiæ, crimen amoris, aquæ.

Martial jokes on a case at Baiæ, of a Penelope becoming transformed into a Helen, i. 63:—

Casta nec antiquis cedens Lævina Sabinis,
Et quamvis tetrico tristior ipsa viro,
Dum modo Lucrino, modo se permittit Averno,
Et dum Baianis sæpe fovetur aquis;
Incidit in flammas, juvenemque secuta relicto
Conjuge Penelope venit, abit Helene.

[6] *Baias sibi celebrandas luxuria desumsit*, says Seneca, *Ep.* 51; and his picture of the life there is true in the main, although drawn in somewhat glowing colours: *Videre ebrias per litora errantes, et comissationes navigantium et symphoniarum cantibus perstrepentes lacus, et alia, quæ velut soluta legibus luxuria non tantum peccat, sed publicat, quid necesse est?* We see, however, that such charges as these did not apply first to the more debauched time of the emperors, for Cœlius has similar imputations cast upon him by his accusers. Cic. *pro Cœl.* 15: *Accusatores quidem libidines, amores, adulteria, Baias, actas, convivia, comissationes, cantus, symphonias, navigia jactant.* See further Cicero *in Clod.* 4; *ad Fam.* ix. 2. Seneca particularly adverts to the fact that people made an open display of their debauchery, and Cicero corroborates his statement, at least as regards Clodia, *ibid.* 20: *Nihil igitur illa vicinitas redolet? nihil hominum fama? nihil Baiæ denique ipsæ loquuntur? illæ vero non loquuntur solum, verum etiam personant, hæc unius mulieris libidinem esse prolapsam, ut ea non modo solitudinem ac tenebras atque hæc flagitiorum integumenta non quærat, sed in turpissimis rebus frequentissima celebritate et clarissima luce lætetur.* What this woman did at Baiæ would not have happened so publicly at Rome.

[7] Seneca, in the often mentioned letter: *diversorium vitiorum.*

less deserving of reprobation than the licentiousness which, in the metropolis, was hidden in darkness and carried on in secresy. The judgment thus pronounced on life in Baiæ resembles generally that passed by Poggi, at the end of the fifteenth century, on Baden in Switzerland. It might almost be fancied from his description, that the antique mode of living had obtained an asylum beyond the Alps, and that the manners of Baiæ existed at Baden, in all their grace and refinement, for centuries after they had died away in their native abodes, and after the whirl of delights, that had animated this once favourite spot, had been succeeded by a mournful desolation. Poggi could find nothing repulsive in the unrestrained merriment of Baden, in the intercourse of the sexes, and even in the baths there common to them both. So, for the same reasons, many an imputation cast on Baiæ may admit of being softened, provided the customs of those times be not judged by those of the present day, nor a general depravity be inferred from individual irregularities.

Lycoris had been already some days in Baiæ without having informed Gallus of her arrival; for though very desirous of seeing him again, she was at the same time in the most painful state of indecision as to whether she should reveal to him, or keep concealed, the occurrence of that evening.

Pomponius had sadly deceived himself. Having been forbidden the house, he determined to obtain entrance by personating a messenger from Gallus, in order to prevent her intended journey to Baiæ. With this view he caused her residence to be watched during the remainder of the day after his conversation with Dromo. As nobody entered it who could give intelligence of the departure of Gallus, and only a few of the slaves of Lycoris had gone into the neighbouring *tabernæ* to purchase things that happened to be wanted, or to fetch clothes from the *fullo*, he fancied himself perfectly secure. He dreamt not that old Chresimus, immediately after receiving his orders, had despatched

his *vicarius* to Lycoris to carry her the sum of money destined for her use, and inform her of the whole plan of the journey.

Pomponius entered the presence of Lycoris, under the pretence that Gallus had sent him to tell her by word of mouth, that he wished her to remain at Rome during his absence, or go to the Tuscan[8] baths. But when, wrongly interpreting her astonishment, he proceeded to excite her jealousy by hinting that the beautiful Chione had accompanied Gallus to Campania, and, taking advantage of her increasing displeasure, approached confidingly, and conjured her to renew their former *liaison*—the enormity of his schemes was at once revealed to her. Full of wrath, she spurned him from her, and stated how well she was acquainted with the wishes of Gallus, who had summoned her to meet him at Baiæ on the following day. Pomponius was surprised, but became sensible at once that the whole apartment showed signs of an approaching journey. 'To Baiæ,' said he, scornfully, 'and then for a cooling to the snow-fields of Mœsia! Out of the *thermæ* into the *frigidarium*[9]!'

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[8] Italy was, and is still, rich in both warm and cold medicinal springs; especially Campania and Etruria. Of the latter, Strabo speaks, v. 2: Πολλὴ δὲ καὶ τῶν θερμῶν ὑδάτων ἀφθονία κατὰ τὴν Τυῤῥηνίαν, ἅπερ τῷ πλησίον εἶναι τῆς Ῥώμης οὐχ ἧττον εὐανδρεῖ τῶν ἐν Βαΐαις ἃ διωνόμασται πολὺ πάντων μάλιστα. Mart. vi. 42, mentions a number of spas, which must all have had a certain celebrity, since he compares them with the *thermæ Etrusci*:—

> Nec fontes Aponi rudes puellis,
> Non mollis Sinuessa, fervidique
> Fluctus Passeris, aut superbus Anxur,
> Non Phœbi vada, principesque Baiæ.

Of these, four belong to Campania and its environs, and only one, *Phœbi vada*, *Cæretanæ aquæ*, to Etruria. But several, as the cold *aquæ Clusinæ*, could not be compared with the thermæ generally. Naples also had warm baths, which, however, from its proximity to Baiæ, were not much frequented. Strab. v. 4: Ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἡ Νεάπολις θερμῶν ὑδάτων ἐκβολὰς καὶ κατασκευὰς λουτρῶν οὐ χείρους τῶν ἐν Βαΐαις, πολὺ δὲ τῷ πλήθει λειπομένας.

[9] The punishment of banishment was rendered more severe under the emperors, and even as early as the time of Augustus, by the convict being not only expelled from Italy, but also exiled to some fixed spot in a distant region. Mœsia, on the con-

'Villain!' cried the enraged Lycoris, well guessing the meaning of his words, 'worthless betrayer, whom I have long seen through! Away! leave my presence, and be assured that, before three days are past, Gallus shall be undeceived about you!'

'As you will,' replied he, with malicious coldness; 'and if you lack evidence I will add a testimony from the *columna lactaria.*'

Lycoris turned pale. Profiting by her confusion, Pomponius was again about to approach her, when he was interrupted by a noise from the slave who was listening at the door. He then hastily drew the *pænula* over his head, and hurried away.

His threats had not failed in their effect. Fearful of some new audacity, Lycoris set out the same night from Rome. Convinced, however, as she was, of the necessity of warning Gallus against this traitor, she hesitated to see him, for she greatly dreaded to make confession of her former guilt. On the third evening she sat afflicted in her own apartment. By her side were two female slaves, busy, the one in loosening her braided hair, and letting it fall in long ringlets over her shoulders and neck, preparatory to collecting it in the golden caul; the other, in untying the snow-white thongs of her shoes. On the floor stood a tall bronze *candelabrum*, partly of Tarentine, and partly of Æginetan, workmanship. A beautifully-formed winged sphinx surmounted the delicately-fluted shaft, and bore the plate, decorated with the ornaments of the Ionic capital[10], upon which was an elegant two-flamed lamp of the same metal, which sufficiently illuminated the small

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fines of the Roman empire, was as terrible to the Romans as Siberia is to a Russian. Ovid, who was banished thither, complained bitterly of its climate and the practices adopted there.

[10] This description is taken from a particularly elegant bronze candelabrum, somewhat more than five palms in height, given in the *Mus. Borb.* iv. t. 57, a copy of which, with further information on the subject, is given in the Excursus on the tenth scene, The Lighting.

chamber. Against one wall there stood an elegant couch covered with purple, on which Lycoris could recline during the evening, whilst her two handmaidens, employed at their looms, entertained her with the various gossip of the day. Close to this was a small three-footed table, on which the slave had recently placed a crystal ewer of fresh spring-water.

The attendant had just taken the shoes from the feet of her mistress, when footsteps were heard at the door. The curtain was drawn back, and Gallus entered. With a cry of joy Lycoris sprang up from the *cathedra*, and with bare feet and dishevelled hair, as she was, threw herself upon the neck of her lover [11].

Gallus had learned from the slaves who followed him to the villa, the hurried departure of Lycoris, and was glad of the opportunity of surprising her, when quite unprepared to receive him. Intending only to spend a few days in Baiæ, he had hired lodgings above the grand bath, where rooms for strangers were always ready [12]. This abode was certainly none of the quietest, for the apartments beneath resounded very early in the morning with the most unpleasant noises. At Baiæ, whence all serious

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[11] See Tibull. i. 3, 89:—

Tunc veniam subito, nec quisquam nuntiet ante,
Sed videar cœlo missus adesse tibi.
Tunc mihi, qualis eris, longos turbata capillos,
Obvia nudato, Delia, curre pede.

[12] There were several public baths in and around Baiæ, and above them were lodgings for the reception of strangers (*chambres garnies*). See Seneca, *Epist.* 56: *Ecce varius clamor undique me circumsonat: supra ipsum balneum habito.* Another story was probably erected over the baths. Hence we find in a rescript of Septimius Severus and Antoninus, *Cod. Just.* viii. 10, 1: *Et balneum, ut desideras, exstruere, et ædificium ei superponere potes, observata tamen forma, qua cæteris super balneum ædificare permittitur*, &c. There were besides people who made a trade of letting out lodgings to strangers, as was also the case in Rome. This was called *cœnaculariam exercere* (*Dig.* ix. 3, 5), which, of course, comprehends the lodgers living in the place.

thoughts were banished, people used to bathe as their pleasure alone dictated, and not merely during the later hours of the day. Many, indeed, might be seen splashing about in the swimming baths two or three times in the course of the day: hence the noise of the baths was endless[13]. The *sphæristerium* resounded with the cries of the exhilarated ball-players and the loud groans of those who were swinging the heavy leaden weights, and the baths re-echoed with the splash of swimmers, or the sudden plunge of divers. Here one person was complacently making trial of his voice in a song, there another was engaged in hot dispute, or perhaps a loud cry was raised after a thief who had been detected in stealing[14] some of the clothes of the bathers. If the hour of *cœna* or *prandium* were approaching, the sellers of provisions might be heard, offering their goods. *Libarii* with sweet cakes, *crustularii* with the favourite slices of toasted honey-bread, *botularii* with sausages, as well as the servants of the numerous *tabernæ* about the baths, with eggs, *lactuca*, *lacertæ*, and other dishes,—all loudly eulogizing the excellence of their articles, and each uttering his commendations in his own peculiar cry[15].

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[13] The whole account is from Seneca (*Ep.* 56), who was compelled to hear the disturbance.

[14] The more affluent were attended to the bath by a slave, who not only carried the necessary utensils, but also watched the clothes of his master. So says Martial (xii. 70), of Aper even, who was by no means wealthy:—

Lintea ferret Apro vatius cum vernula nuper,
Et supra togulam lusca sederet anus.

There were, besides, persons in the baths appointed to take care of the garments, *capsarii*. Paull. *Dig.* i. 15, 3: *Adversus capsarios quoque, qui mercede servanda in balineis vestimenta suscipiunt, judex est constitutus* (præf. vig.) In spite of this it often happened that the bathers had their clothes stolen from them. Plaut. *Rud.* ii. 3, 51:—

Scin' tu etiam: qui it lavatum
In balineas ibi cum sedulo sua vestimenta servat,
Tamen surripiuntur.

Catull. 30: *O fur optime balneariorum.* Hence in the Pandects there is a special head, xlvii. 17: *De furibus balneariis.* Comp. also Petron. 30, where the slave complains: *Subducta sibi vestimenta dispensatoris in balneo.*

[15] Just as we have people crying

Gallus took advantage of the morning to bathe, as an excursion on the lake with Lycoris had been arranged for the time of the *prandium*. The decoration of the saloons, especially of those in which the frescoes on the walls and ceilings were not exposed to injury from heat or damp, was far superior to that of any similar establishment in the metropolis. The natural springs were warm, but there were also cold baths for those who preferred bathing in clear spring-water, rather than in the muddy white[16] streams of the *thermæ*. At each end of the *frigidarium* was a huge lion's head of bronze, from which flowed the water, transparent as air, into large marble-sided cisterns[17],

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their wares in the streets, so were there persons of this description to be found in the baths, as mentioned by Seneca: *Jam libarii varias exclamationes, et botularium, et crustularium, et omnes popinarum institores, mercem suam quadam et insignita modulatione vendentes.* We find the receipt for making the *liba* in Cato, *de Re Rustica*, 75. But it was not always of such simple ingredients, and the word frequently seems to be identical with *placenta*. At least Isid. *Orig.* xx. 2, 17, says: *Placenta sunt, quæ fiunt de farre, quas alii liba dicunt.* So *crustula* also, known through Horat. *Sat.* i. 1, 25, denotes, perhaps, pastry-work generally, *dulcia*. Comp. Ruperti, *Juven.* ix. 5. The explanation of the scholiast in both passages is simply *placentæ*. Many persons took a *promulsio* in the bath. Martial, xii. 19:

In thermis sumit lactucas, ova, lacertum.

We may conclude from Seneca, *Epist.* 51: *Quemadmodum inter tortores habitare nolim, sic nec inter popinas quidem*, and Mart. v. 70, that there were all sorts of eating-houses around the baths. The servants from these *popinæ* used to offer their eatables for sale in the halls of the bath. There were certainly among the *tabernæ* lying around the bath at Pompeii, such eating-houses.

[16] Perfectly clear water was a main desideratum at the bath, and it seems that they even cleared it by artificial means when it came muddy through the pipes. Seneca says, *Epist.* 86, of more ancient times compared with his own: *Nec referre credebant, in quam perlucida sordes deponerent;* and of Scipio: *Non saccata aqua lavabatur, sed sæpe turbida et, cum plueret vehementius, pæne lutulenta.* For this reason Martial commends the purity of the *aqua Martia* in the *balneum Etrusci*, vi. 42, 19:—

Quæ tam candida, tam serena lucet,
Ut nullas ibi suspiceris undas,
Et credas vacuam nitere Lygdon.

Comp. Stat. i. 5, 51, seqq. On the contrary, the warm springs of Baiæ were of a muddy white. Martial, vi. 43:—

Dum tibi felices indulgent, Castrice, Baiæ,
Canaque sulphureis lympha natatur aquis.

[17] Such was the arrangement of the

the party-coloured stone bottoms of which might be clearly discerned. At intervals attractive pictures were placed, contrasting with the yellow colour of the rest of the walls[18], and through the roof, richly adorned with reliefs, the blue sky was reflected in the limpid flood. Gallus entrusted his clothes to the slave who carried after him the ointment vessels, *strigiles*, and linen cloths[19], and joined in the pleasures of those who were refreshing themselves in the transparent waters. After which, he was anointed with oils of a sweet perfume in the adjoining *tepidarium*, and then went to conduct Lycoris on the intended excursion.

On the shore of the Lucrine lake[20], whence these expeditions generally started, Gallus found, among many others,

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bath described by Sidonius, *Epist.* ii. 2: *In hanc ergo piscinam fluvium de supercilio montis elicitum et canalibus circumactis per exteriora natatoriæ latera curvatum sex fistulæ prominentes leonum simulatis capitibus effundunt, quæ temere ingressis veras dentium crates, meros oculorum furores, certas cervicum jubas imaginabuntur.*

[18] The *frigidarium* in Pompeii, too, was yellow, though not furnished with paintings.

[19] In the *Mus. Pio-Clem.* iii. t. 35, we see such a slave carrying an oil-flask and strigil. This gives a perfect commentary on Persius, v. 126:—

I, puer, et strigiles Crispini ad balnea defer.

[20] The Lucrine lake, as it was called, was nothing but a bay reaching far inland, and separated from the sea by a narrow dam, and though often called by the Roman writers *lacus*, is named by the Greeks, κόλπος. See Strabo, v. 4: Ὁ δὲ Λοκρῖνος κόλπος πλατύνεται μέχρι Βαϊῶν, χώματι εἰργόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ἔξω θαλάττης ὀκτασταδίῳ τὸ μῆκος, πλάτος δὲ ἁμαξιτοῦ πλατείας. Εἴσπλουν δ' ἔχει πλοίοις ἐλαφροῖς, ἐνορμίσασθαι μὲν ἄχρηστος, τῶν ὀστρέων δὲ θήραν ἔχων ἀφθονωτάτην. Lake Avernus was connected with it, *ib.* Ταῖς δὲ Βαΐαις συνεχὴς ὅ τε Λοκρῖνος κόλπος καὶ ἐντὸς τούτου ὁ Ἄορνος χερρόνησον ποιῶν τὴν ἀπολαμβανομένην μέχρι Μισηνοῦ γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς πελαγίας τῆς μεταξὺ Κύμης καὶ αὐτοῦ. On both, parties of pleasure used to be made, as may be gathered from Martial, i. 63, 3:—

Dum modo Lucrino, modo se permittet Averno:

but especially on the Lucrine lake, which, from its calmness, was also called *stagnum*. Id. iii. 20, 20:—

An æstuantes jam profectus ad Baias
Piger Lucrino nauculatur in stagno?

Comp. Ovid, *Art. Am.* i. 255, seqq. The *navigia* in Cicero and Seneca allude to this, and on this account it is called by Mart. vi. 43, *mollis Lucrinus*. [Agrippa united the Lucrine and Avernian lakes with the sea, Dio Cass. xlviii. 50; Suet. *Oct.* 16.]

the boat which had been hired for him. It was the prettiest there, and had Aphrodite herself designed it for her own use, she would not have decorated it otherwise [21]. The gay painting of the planks, the purple sails, the rigging entwined with garlands of fresh leaves and roses, the merry music sounding from the prow, everything, in short, invited to joy and pleasure. In the after part of the skiff, a purple awning was erected on tall thyrsus-staves, and under it stood a richly loaded table, offering all the enjoyments of a most perfect *prandium* that the *forum cupedinarium* of Baiæ could supply.

Lycoris went the short distance to the lake in a *lectica*, whilst Gallus repaired thither on foot with two friends whom he had accidentally met. The lady looked lovely as the goddess of flowers as she alighted. Over her snow-white *tunica* were thrown the ample folds of an amethyst-coloured *palla;* round her hair, which was most skilfully arranged, and fastened with an elegant gold pin in the shape of a winged *amor*, was entwined a chaplet of roses. A gorgeous and curiously twisted necklace adorned her fair neck, and from it depended a string of pearls also set in gold, while golden bracelets, in the form of serpents, in whose eyes glittered fiery rubies, encircled her well-rounded arms. Thus led by Gallus, with her right foot

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[21] The skiffs decked with various ornaments are likewise mentioned by Seneca, *Ep.* 51: *Habitaturum tu putas unquam fuisse in Utica Catonem, ut præternavigantes adulteras dinumeraret et adspiceret tot genera cymbarum variis coloribus picta et fluitantem tot lacu rosariis; ut audiret canentium nocturna convicia?* The purple sails are, it is true, not mentioned, yet such a species of luxury is easily conceivable at Baiæ. Call to mind only what Pliny writes (xix. 1, 5) of Alexander's fleet and of Antony: *Stupuerunt litora flatu versicoloria implente. Velo purpureo ad Actium cum M. Antonio Cleopatra venit eodemque effugit.* And Caligula had vessels built of still larger size, *Liburnicas, versicoloribus velis.* Seneca's words, *fluitantem toto lacu rosam*, can scarcely be taken in their proper acceptation, but seem rather to allude to the companies garlanded with roses, and the adorning of the vessels. The words in which he and Cicero mention music on board of vessels, have been already quoted

first[22], in compliance with the warning cry of the boatmen, she entered the festive boat. The light vessel started merrily into the lake, where the occupants of a hundred others exchanged greetings as they passed. They rocked for some hours on the tranquil mirror, whilst the men indulged with uncommon relish in fresh oysters from the lake, which they washed down with the noble Falernian wine. They then returned to Baiæ, where, after another bath, Gallus spent a delightful evening in the abode of his love. Its stillness was, however, disturbed, till a late hour of the night, by the noise of the *tabernæ*, and the serenade of many a lover[23], singing, unheard, at the closed doors of his adored one.

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[22] It was one of the innumerable superstitions of the ancients to go with the right foot foremost into any place. Petron. 30. *His repleti voluptatibus quum conaremur in triclinium intrare, exclamavit unus ex pueris, qui super hoc officium erat positus: Dextro pede.* The precept of Vitruvius, iii. 8, is worth attention: *Gradus in fronte constituendi sunt, ut semper sint impares: namque, cum dextro pede primus gradus ascenditur, idem in summo templo primus erit ponendus.* Juvenal also, x. 5, alludes to this,

> . . . quid tam pede dextro concipis, ut te
> Conatus non pœniteat votique peracti.

Other instances have been cited by Broukh, *on Prop.* iii. 1, 6.

[23] It is not necessary to determine whether the *canentium nocturna convicia*, in Seneca, *Ep.* 51, refer only to such serenades; but at all events the custom is a well-known one, and they cannot be omitted.

SCENE THE EIGHTH.

THE DISPLEASURE OF AUGUSTUS.

GALLUS passed a few days at Baiæ with Lycoris and some friends, who happened to be there, in the enjoyment of the agreeable diversions of which the place afforded a rapid succession. He then returned to his villa, where Lycoris promised soon to join him. Hence all were in a bustle at the villa, some in arranging the apartments destined for the fair one, in the most pleasant manner possible, others in decking out afresh her favourite spots in the park, and contriving here and there something new to surprise her. Gallus repaired early in the morning to that lovely spot, where, amidst a cluster of rose-bushes, a charming statue of Flora had been erected during his absence; the goddess was placed, as it were, in the very centre of her kingdom, holding dominion over the lovely creations of her power. She was clad in a light and almost transparent *tunica*, loosely confined by a girdle which had carelessly sunk down to her hips. Her left hand grasped its deeply-falling border, in such a manner that the blooming exuberance of the figure might be more than guessed at[1]: her right hand held a luxuriant garland

[1] The beautiful *torso* found at the baths of Caracalla, and known as the Farnese Flora, served as the model for this description. *Mus. Borb.* ii. tab. 26. The master-works of Grecian art were often mutilated before they came to Rome, where skilful artists were fortunately found to restore them. So says Pliny xxxvi. 5. 4, *Timothei manu Diana Romæ est in Palatio, Apollinis delubro, cui signo caput reposuit Aulanius Evander.* Pictures too were restored, but sometimes spoiled by the incompetency of the persons employed, as the *Tragœdus et puer* of Aristides (Plin. xxxv. 10, 36); and it was fortunate when the exquisiteness of the work deterred artists from attempting to render it complete, as was the case with the Venus of Apelles: *cujus inferiorem partem corruptam qui reficeret, non potuit reperiri.* We must not be astonished at finding, even at that period, a head after life set on an ideal statue; although it was not

of flowers, destined, it would seem, to encircle the temples of a most lovely head, the position of which in this spot had a particular significancy. Gallus had purchased a splendid specimen of art in a mutilated state, and had supplied the wanting head by that of his beautiful mistress. The likeness of Lycoris was well caught, and whatever might have been the conception of the original sculptor, the expression of the countenance, as it now stood, corresponded admirably with the blooming figure and proportions of the rest of the statue.

Gallus was occupied in giving some additional orders about the surrounding scene, when a slave announced that a courier from Pomponius had arrived, and desired to speak with him. He seemed to be in haste, it was added, for he had travelled in a light *cisium* [2]. Gallus commanded him to be introduced, and awaited his appearance with some uneasiness, as he thought that something important must

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till somewhat later that the scandalous abuses of the works of Grecian art became prevalent; when, for instance, Caligula designed placing a head of himself upon the Olympic Zeus by Phidias, Suet. *Cal.* 22, 57; when Claudius caused the head of Alexander to be cut out of a picture by Apelles, and that of Augustus to be substituted for it, Plin. xxxv. 10, 36; and when Commodus set the head of himself upon a colossus 110 feet high, (not that of Rhodes, which has never been set up again, but that which Nero caused Zenodorus to erect as a portrait of himself, and which was changed under Vespasian or Hadrian into a god of the sun,) Plin. xxxiv. 7, 18; Spart. *Hadr.* 19; Lamprid. *Commod.* 17; Herodian, i. 15. It does not matter here whether the Farnese statue really represents a Flora, on which point opinions differ, as there is no reason why this goddess might not at least have been represented in such a manner.

[2] Augustus had, it is true, established a kind of post communication between the provinces and Rome, but only for the business of the state. Suet. Aug. 49. *Et quo celerius ac sub manum annuntiari cognoscique posset, quid in provincia quaque geretur, juvenes primo modicis intervallis per militares vias, dehinc vehicula deposuit. Commodius id visum est ut qui a loco eidem perferrent literas interrogari quoque, sic quid res exigerent, possent.* The state post afterwards received a great improvement.—There were also couriers. It is very natural that private persons in urgent cases should have despatched *tabellarii* in vehicles which were easily obtained in the towns along the great roads. See the Excursus on the *Lectica and Carriages.*

have happened to cause Pomponius to despatch a special messenger, instead of availing himself of the constant communication that took place between the villa and his house in Rome.

The *tabellarius* having entered and delivered his letter, and the seal having been found correct, Gallus cut asunder the thread. The tablet contained only a few words. 'Cæsar is in the worst possible humour,' wrote Pomponius; 'severe decrees against you, and even banishment, are talked of. Hasten as quickly as possible to Rome, in order by your presence to prevent the impending blow, or, if too late for that, to take measures for rendering it ineffectual. Calpurnius is beside himself, and thinks of nothing but revenge. You can count on him and the rest of us;—but speed.'

The *tabellarius* had stealthily watched him whilst he was reading these lines, and seemed prepared for the deep impression which was visible in every feature of the astounded Gallus. 'What answer shall I take to my master?' inquired he of the latter, who seemed struck dumb.

'Take him my thanks,' replied Gallus, collecting himself, 'and inform him that I shall soon be in Rome myself.'

The slave departed. 'Impossible!' cried Gallus, as he handed the letter to Chresimus, who had just approached. 'What guilt will they charge me with? Have we come to such a pass, that a tyrant's bad humour and irritability shall be sufficient ground for driving a free and deserving man into want and wretchedness? No, no! Pomponius, in his anxiety for his friend's fate, paints in too gloomy colours. Do you not think so, Chresimus?'

The old domestic tremblingly returned the letter, and tears filled his eyes. 'The gods send this blow,' said he, with stifled accents; 'but there is no lack of wicked men, and of false friends, also,' added he significantly.

'Foolish suspicion!' replied Gallus. 'Are you like Lycoris, who not long since tried to criminate my friend? Can you not be convinced by this letter, which gives me

timely warning, while so many, under far greater obligations to me, carelessly allow the precious moments to elapse without sending information of my danger?'

'That Pomponius should have gained earlier intelligence of it than my vigilant Leonidas, who knows a hundred ways of catching what people say of you, is exactly what astonishes me. Would he have been less speedy in giving you information?'

'Enough!' said Gallus, angrily. 'Prepare for departure. You must accompany me. Select the lightest *cisium* I have, and send off one of my Numidians in advance, to order everywhere the necessary relays of horses. Above all, take care that no one learns the cause of my journey.'

Chresimus was right. No one but Pomponius, who had himself devised the secret treachery by which Gallus was to fall, could have obtained such early intelligence of the success of his schemes. Nevertheless, his plans had only half succeeded; for heavy as were the complaints brought against Gallus, and skilfully as his unguarded expressions had been made use of to prove him a traitor and participator in a conspiracy, yet Augustus had not been able to prevail upon himself to annihilate one whom he had formerly esteemed. Largus and Pomponius had counted on his banishment, but Augustus had confined himself to forbidding the accused to visit his palace, or stay in his provinces [3].

So far, his accusers had not gained much; but they

Suet. *Aug.* 76. *Ob ingratum et malevolum animum domo et provinciis suis interdixit.* Augustus often did this. Seneca (*de Ira*, iii. 23) relates of Timagenes, who had spoken against him: *Sæpe illum Cæsar monuit, ut moderatius lingua uteretur: perseveranti domo sua interdixit.* Tiberius says, (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 12), *odero seponamque a domo mea, et privatas inimicitias non vi principis ulciscar;* and *ib.* vi. 29, *Morem fuisse majoribus, quotiens dirimerent amicitias, interdicere domo eumque finem gratiæ ponere.* Under Augustus such a renouncement

hoped that in his exasperation he would be led on to further steps, which might form the basis of severer accusations. On this account his presence at Rome was desirable, and so Pomponius had tried to convince him of the necessity of returning thither, before the imperial edict was made known. On the very first report of it, Leonidas had despatched a messenger to inform Gallus of the circumstance. This man met him on the road to Rome, and acquainted him with the position in which matters stood.

Though in some measure deriving comfort from the assurance that extreme measures, such as banishment, with its attendant ills of want and misery, were not to be feared, yet the humiliation of his position made the strongest impression on his mind. Banishment would have bowed him down deeply, but the disgrace of being forbidden the house of him to whose exaltation he had so mainly contributed, whose confidant in lighter as well as more important affairs he had always been, and the thought of being viewed by his arrogant rivals with scorn, as a fallen favourite, awoke his pride in all its intensity. The news made a different impression on Chresimus, who sympathising heartily with his lord, yet hoped that Augustus would soon be convinced of the invalidity of the accusations, and that Gallus might, by the intercession of true friends, be restored to his former position.

By the evening of the second day they had reached Rome, where the domestics, who had been left there, informed by the Numidian courier of their master's return,

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of friendship (*renunciare amicitiam*) was not followed by the desertion of others. Of Timagenes, Seneca says: *Postea in contubernio Pollionis Asinii consenuit, ac tota civitate dilectus est: nullum illi limen præclusa Cæsaris domus abstulit.—Nemo amicitiam ejus extimuit; nemo quasi fulguritum refugit.* In Seneca's time it was therefore clearly otherwise.—Although Gallus was forbidden to reside in the provinces of Augustus, (Suet. 47; Dio Cass. liii. 12,) there was nothing to prevent him from remaining in Rome and Italy. Claudius was the first to issue the decree: *ut hi, quibus a magistratibus provinciæ interdicerentur, urbe quoque et Italia submoverentur.* Suet. *Claud.* 23.

were waiting for him. Gallus did not receive the imperial edict, as it had been sent to his villa, but there was no doubt about the fact of its having been issued, and some even professed to have already observed the effects of this declaration of Augustus. Gallus resolved to consult his friends on the following day as to the line of conduct best adapted to his difficult situation.

The morning of this day was far more quiet than was usual in the house of Gallus. The sunbeams were already gleaming into the sleeping-apartment, where Gallus lay awake, contemplating more calmly the possible consequences of his misfortune, when old Chresimus cautiously opened the door, lifted the curtain, and saluted his master, whom he had expected to find still asleep. 'You look ill, Chresimus,' said Gallus. 'Doubtless your anxiety for me has prevented you from sleeping; but be calm. After all, what does it matter whether the house of Augustus is open to me or not? I shall still continue to be what I now am; and if any one treats me haughtily, I shall, be assured, meet him with all befitting disdain.'

'I would agree with you, my lord,' replied Chresimus, 'if nothing more were at stake than retirement from the splendour of imperial favour, into the obscurity of private life; but take care, lest the present misfortune prove the forerunner of sadder occurrences. Will not your moderation be interpreted into defiance? Will not your foes be stimulated, by the success they have gained, to new acts of treachery, and at last induce the venal senate to utter its verdict against you, whether guilty or not? Oh!' continued he, more earnestly, as he perceived the effect his words had produced, 'hear the counsel of a faithful servant. Divest yourself of all the insignia of the distinction befitting your rank[4]. Throw carelessly around you the worst and oldest *toga* you can find, and publicly display the sorrow with which the interdict has filled you.'

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[4] In the same manner as in times of distress and mourning, whether for public or domestic calamities, the sufferers testified their affliction by

'How!' retorted Gallus, 'humble myself, and go about in dirty garments, like a criminal, and beg for mercy!'

'It would only be for a short time,' said the servant. 'Apply to those who have most influence with Augustus. Let Virgil speak for you; and if you succeed in effecting a reconciliation with the emperor, and in restoring, though in appearance only, the former relations between you, you can laugh at your enemies, and in the retirement of private life escape from their intrigues!'

The warmth with which the faithful old man uttered these words, seemed to make a deep impression upon his lord. Gallus even appeared on the point of resolving to follow the judicious counsel, when a *cubicularius* announced that Pomponius had called, and desired to speak with him. Chresimus prepared, although very unwillingly, to withdraw. 'Oh! listen not to him, I conjure you,' were his words, as the slave disappeared to admit the visitor: 'follow not the advice that he will give you. Would that Lycoris were here! She appears to know some secret relating to him, and intended seeking an opportunity at the villa, of confiding it to you.' Pomponius entered. At a sign from his master, Chresimus slowly retired; but it was easy to read in his countenance the curse that was hanging on his lips.

The secret conference had lasted more than an hour, when Pomponius at length quitted the chamber. Chresimus, on re-entering, discovered his master walking to and fro, in a strong state of excitement. 'I will go abroad, Chresimus,' said he. 'Send Eros with my clothes. Bid him select the whitest and broadest *toga*, and the *tunica* of

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sedulous neglect of their personal appearance; so they, over whom the danger of a heavy accusation was impending, appeared in sorry apparel, with disordered hair, and divested of all insignia and ornaments, *sordidati*. Liv. vi. 20. The instance of Cicero is known, Plut. 30: Κινδυνεύων οὖν καὶ διωκόμενος ἐσθῆτα μετήλλαξε καὶ κώμης ἀνάπλεως περιῶν ἱκέτευε τὸν δῆμον. Comp. *ib.* 31; Dio Cass. xxxviii. 16.

the brightest purple. Not a word, old man! Your advice was well meant, but the present is not the time for demeaning myself. Send Eros to me.'

The slave came with the *tunica*, followed by two others bearing the *toga*, already folded in the approved fashion, whilst a fourth placed the purple dress-shoes near the seat. Eros first girded the under-garment afresh, then threw over his master the upper *tunica*, taking particular care, as he did so, that the broad strip of purple woven into it[5] might fall exactly across the centre of the breast; for custom did not permit of this garment being girded. He then, with the assistance of another slave, hung one end of the *toga*, woven of the whitest and softest Milesian wool, over the left shoulder, so as to fall far below the knee, and cover with its folds, which gradually became more wide, the whole of the arm down to the hand. The right arm remained at liberty, as the voluminous garment was passed at its broadest part under the arm, and then brought forward in front; the *umbo*, already arranged in an ingenious fashion, being laid obliquely across the breast so that the well-rounded *sinus* almost reached the knee, and the lower half ended at the middle of the shin-bone, whilst the remaining portion was once more thrown over the left shoulder, and hung down over the arm and back of the person in a mass of broad and regular folds. Eros was

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[5] See the Excursus on *The Dress of the Men*, for a description of the *clavis latus* and *angustus*. It may be doubted whether Gallus possessed the *jus lati clavi*, since he was not entitled to it either by birth or office, and Augustus had made him præfect of Egypt because he did not belong to the *ordo senatorius*. To these alone did the *jus lati clavi* belong; see Dio Cass. lix. 4, where he says of Caligula: *Καὶ τισιν αὐτῶν (τῶν ἱππέων) καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῇ βουλευτικῇ, καὶ πρὶν ἄρξαι τινὰ ἀρχὴν, δι' ἧς ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσερχόμεθα, χρῆσθαί τι ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς βουλῆς ἐλπίδι ἔδωκε, πρότερον γὰρ μόνοις, ὡς ἐοικέ πως, τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ φύλου γεγενημένοις τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐξῆν*; see also the inscription found in Asia. Ovid had already before this received the right; *Trist.* iv. 10, 28, *induiturque humeros cum lato purpura clavo;* he again however either lost or resigned it voluntarily, because he was not of sufficiently high rank, *ib.* v. 35: *clavi mensura coacta est, Majus erat nostris viribus illud onus.*

occupied for a long time before he could get each fold into its approved position, but this being accomplished, he reached for his lord the polished hand-mirror, whose thick silver plate reflected every image with perfect clearness. Gallus cast but a single glance on it, allowed his feet to be installed into the tall shoes, latched with fourfold thongs, placed on his fingers the rings he had taken off overnight[6], and ordered Chresimus to be summoned.

'You accompany me,' said he to Chresimus, who was just entering. 'I intend visiting some shops in the Forum[7], to purchase a few presents for Lycoris, in order to surprise her on her return; give instructions, therefore, for four of my most imposing-looking slaves to follow me. No orders require to be given about my dinner, as I must keep my promise to Lentulus, who, with all his folly, is not one of those who trouble themselves as to whether Augustus be displeased with me or not. Here,' continued he, as he opened a closet[8], took out two purses, and sealed it up again with the key-ring, 'let the slaves take this gold with them; I hope it will be enough; if not, we must see

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[6] Although they kept the signet-ring on at night, for fear of its being made unfair use of, yet this was not the case with those which were merely ornamental. Hence Mart. xi. 59, mentions it as something particular in Charisianus, *nec nocte ponit annulos.*

[7] In the most frequented streets and places of Rome, *tabernæ* were erected against the houses and public buildings; also against the Forum. Juv. vii. 132.

Perque forum juvenes longo premit assere Medos,
Emturus pueros, argentum, murrhina, villas.

After Agrippa had completed the Septa Julia, the most splendid magazines were to be found there. At least Martial says of them, ix. 60,

Hic ubi Roma suas aurea vexat opes,

From this epigram almost the whole of this description is taken.

[8] The *area*, or *armarium*, wherein money was deposited, was, as in the case of the *cellæ* and other repositories, not only locked, but also, from this not being considered sufficient security, had a seal placed upon it. Plaut. *Epid.* ii. 3, 3.

Quin ex occluso atque obsignato armario
Decutio argentum tantum, quantum mihi lubet.

For this purpose there was mostly a signet attached to the key-ring, of which great numbers are still extant.

whether Alphius[9] will give credit to the fallen favourite.' Chresimus took the gold in silence, and departed.

Gallus had good reasons for selecting the *tabernæ* of the Forum as the direction of his morning's walk. Irritated by Pomponius, who had insinuated much about the displeasure of Augustus, and the ridicule of the distinguished circles, he fancied he could not better evince his indifference to the interdict, than by appearing in all the splendour of his order, at the very focus of life and bustle, and that, too, for no weightier purpose than to purchase ornaments and trinkets for a *libertina*. He soon perceived, as he stalked along the streets, what a difference had been brought about by a single word from the Emperor. Many, who at former times pressed forward to meet him, passed along unconcernedly or shyly, without noticing him. Proud patricians, who had no other merit to boast of, but the glory of their ancestors, whose images adorned the *atrium*, cast scornful looks upon him, whilst their slaves pointed at him with their fingers. Now and then only would some worthy citizen or intimate friend approach, to express their sympathy by a hearty shake of the hand.

Without apparently observing these indications of baseness and paltry timidity, Gallus strode proudly through the streets, and careless of the crowds that beset the Forum, entered the shops where all the valuables that streamed into Rome from the most remote regions, lay stored up in rich profusion. These *tabernæ* never lacked a number of visitors. They were frequented not only by such as really intended to make purchases, but also by those who, full of repining at not possessing all the costly articles[10], devoured them with greedy gaze, demanded to

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[9] Alphius was the name of the *fœnerator*, known from Hor. *Epod.* ii., who need not, however, as is here intended, have been an *argentarius*.

[10] The sorrowful feelings which arose in the minds of many on beholding these displays of finery, is beautifully described by Martial, x. 80.

see everything, made offers for some of the goods, and ordered others to be put aside, as if chosen; whilst others pointed out slight defects, or regretted that they did not quite suit their purpose, and, after all, went away, without purchasing anything beyond mere trifles. In the *tabernæ* of the slave-merchants particularly, there were persons who, under the pretence of becoming purchasers, penetrated into the interior, where the most beautiful slaves were kept, in order that they might be out of sight of ordinary visitors.

Passing these *tabernæ*, Gallus entered one where costly furniture was exposed for sale: expensive cedar-tables, carefully covered and supported by strong pillars, veneered with ivory; dinner couches of bronze, richly adorned with silver and gold, and inlaid with costly tortoise-shell. Besides these, were *trapezophoræ* of the most beautiful marble, with exquisitely-worked griffins, seats of cedar-wood and ivory, *candelabra* and lamps of the most various forms, vases of all sorts, costly mirrors, and a hundred other objects, sufficient to furnish more than one house in magnificent style. Some one who hardly meant to be a purchaser, was just getting the covers removed from some of the cedar-tables by the attendant, but he found they were not spotted to his taste. A *hexaclinon*[11] of tortoise-

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Plorat Eros, quoties maculosæ pocula myrrhæ
Inspicit, aut pueros, nobiliusve citrum,
Et gemitus imo ducit de pectore, quod non
Tota miser coëmat Septa feratque domum.
Quam multi faciunt, quod Eros, sed lumine sicco!
Pars major lacrymas ridet, et intus habet.

[11] For the meaning of the word *hexaclinon*, consult the Excursus on *The Triclinia*. Here again the words of Martial's often-quoted epigram (ix. 60) are the ground-work of the description:

Et testudineum mensis quater hexaclinon
Ingemuit citro non satis esse suo.

From this epigram we become acquainted with the objects exposed for sale in these *tabernæ*. Mamurra there goes about inspecting every thing, and finding something to blame in everything, even in the statues of Polycletus, then selects ten Myrrhine vases, cheapens other things, *pretium fecit*,—which custom seems to have been as common in Rome as amongst ourselves,—and at last buys two miserable glasses for an *as*.

shell seemed, however, to attract him amazingly, but, after measuring it three or four times, he said, with a sigh, 'That it was, alas! a few inches too small for the cedar-table for which he had intended it.' Having caused several other objects to be reached down from their places against the wall, he at last departed without buying anything. Gallus, in his turn, looked over the stock, but seeing nothing adapted for a present to Lycoris, left the shop, and went into another. In this, precious metals of Corinthian brass, statues by Polycletus and Lysippus, costly tripods with groups of figures in bronze, and similar objects, were displayed. He thence proceeded to that of a merchant, who kept for sale the best selection of gorgeous trinkets. Beautiful vessels of gold and silver; goblets, of precious stones or genuine *murrha;* ingenious manufactures in glass, and many-coloured carpets from Babylon and Alexandria; pearl ornaments for females, and all kinds of precious stones; rings set with magnificent cameos, engraved emeralds and beryls; and many other precious wares, were exhibited in such profusion that it was difficult to choose.

Gallus selected a pair of pearl ear-drops of great value, a neck ornament of the most beautiful *electrum*, a pair of pretty glass vessels, and one of the richest carpets. He then despatched Chresimus to the *Vicus Tuscus* to purchase one of the best silk robes. 'Send the slave with my bathing apparatus to the house of Fortunatus[12],' said he; 'also my sandals, and a *synthesis;* I am now going to call upon a friend.' With these words he dismissed his domestic, who obeyed in silence, and took charge of the ornaments, while two of the slaves bore off the remainder of the purchases. The others followed their lord.

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[12] Fortunatus, the owner of a *balneum meritorium*, mentioned by Martial, ii. 14, 11.

SCENE THE NINTH.

THE BANQUET.[1]

THE hour of the *cœna* had arrived, and by the activity of his very numerous slaves everything was prepared in the house of Lentulus for a grand reception of guests.

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[1] Of all the matters, which, in pursuance of the plan of this work, should be touched upon, none appear of so critical a nature as the description of a Roman banquet, and yet it, above all others, ought not to be omitted, considering the importance—not merely in the latest times—that was attached to everything connected with it. The analysis of the habits of the Romans, so entirely different from our own in this respect, the explanation of numerous objects, which were important in their daily life, and are so frequently mentioned in their most popular authors, in short, the antiquarian research itself, is attended with much interest; but, as the dramatic poet can introduce on the stage nothing more tedious than banquets, (of course such scenes as that in Macbeth are an exception,) so the description of them must always be tiresome, and the more so, when the only object is to pourtray the exterior customs of a class of persons. On the other hand, it would be more dangerous to attempt to describe the genuine *convivere*, the actual conviviality, the spirit which pervaded the conversation and jests of the banquet, instead of confining oneself to the material part of the matter. It might be more feasible in the Latin tongue, but in a modern language the truest copy of antique scenes, especially of common life, must always have something modern about it, which will render it disagreeable to the taste of the literary antiquary.

There is, besides, such an abundance of apparatus, attendance, dishes, means of amusement, out of which only a selection can be made in the description of a single meal, and great caution is necessary not to under or over-do anything, and to take exaggerations for habits, nor, on the other hand, to consider anything, to us improbable, as satire or untruth.

It is always safer, therefore, to take as our basis, in such matters, some antique description, even though it contain many eccentricities and absurdities, instead of usual matters. Of all such accounts, the detailed one by Petronius of the *cœna Trimalchionis* is best adapted for our present purpose, since the banquet of Nasidienus was ridiculed by Horace, because everything there was unsuitable and perverted. Petronius describes an unusual *cœna* at the house of a man, whose equal in prodigality and folly could hardly be found, and therefore, although the satirist may have exaggerated, we unquestionably learn best from him what the general habits were, and much that appears absurd and ostentatious in *Trimalchio*, is shown, by passages in other authors.

The fires blazed brightly in the kitchens, where the cook, assisted by a number of underlings, was exhausting all his skill. Whenever the covers were removed from the vessels, a grateful odour, more inviting than the smoke of a fat burnt-offering, diffused itself around, and ascended on high to the habitation of the gods [2]. The *pistor* and *structor* were occupied in arranging the dessert, in all the forms that ingenuity could suggest, while the first course was ready for serving.

The *triclinium* had been placed in a spacious saloon, the northerly aspect of which was well adapted for the time of year. Around a beautiful table, covered with cedar-wood, stood elegant sofas, inlaid with tortoise-shell; the lower part decked with white hangings embroidered with gold, and the pillows, which were stuffed with the softest wool, covered with gorgeous purple. Upon the seats, cushions [3], covered with silken stuff, were laid to separate the places of the guests. The tricliniarch was still arranging the side-tables [4], on which valuable drinking-vessels

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to have been nothing uncommon. Should much be here retained that may be thought pure invention of Petronius, the author may submit, that, at a later period, still stranger things occurred, and therefore that they might have happened in the house of Lentulus. It would not be to the purpose to enter here into a detailed account of the various dishes, as not only those mentioned by Horace, Martial, Juvenal, and Macrobius, but also those in the receipt-book of Apicius, must then be described.

[2] The cook whom Ballio had hired, speaks thus boastingly of his art. Plaut. *Pseud.* iii. 2, 51:

Ubi omnes patinæ fervent, omnes aperio;
Is odor demissis pedibus in cœlum volat;
Eum odorem cœnat Jupiter quotidie.

[3] The silken cushions, *pulvini*, on which they supported themselves on the left elbow, were, perhaps, not introduced so early as the time of Gallus, but they are mentioned by Mart. iii. 82, 7:

Jacet occupato galbanatus in lecto
Cubitisque trudit hinc et inde convivas
Effultus ostro sericisque pulvinis.

[4] The *abaci* and *Delphici* as side-boards, are spoken of in the Excursus on the Second Scene. It need only here be mentioned, that besides the necessary utensils, many things were displayed on them merely for show, the proper expression for which is *exponere*. Petr. 21: *In proximam cellam ducti sumus, in qua tres lecti strati erant et reliquus lautitiarum apparatus splendidissime expositus. Ib.* 22: *Cecidit etiam mensa cum argento.* Comp. *Ib.* 73.

were displayed, and in straightening the draperies of the *triclinium*, when his lord entered, accompanied by the guests.

Lentulus had invited only six friends, but Pomponius—anxious that the number of the Muses[5] should occupy the triclinium, and no place be left empty—brought with him two friends, whom he introduced as gentlemen from Perusia[6]. 'It is long, methinks,' said Gallus to his courteous host, on entering, 'since we last met in this saloon: how beautifully you have in the mean time ornamented it! You certainly could not have chosen a more appropriate picture for a triclinium than those satyrs, celebrating the joyous vintage; and the slain boar, a scene from Lucania, the fruit and provision pieces over the doors, and between them the elegant twigs on which thrushes are sitting,—all are calculated to awaken a relish for the banquet.

'Yes, really,' interposed Pomponius, 'Lentulus understands far better than Calpurnius how to decorate a dining-hall. The other day he had the walls of his finest triclinium painted with the murder of Hipparchus, and the death of Brutus; and instead of agreeable foliage, threatening lictors were to be seen in every corner.'

'He, too, is right in his way,' said Gallus; 'but where is he? I understood that you had invited him, Lentulus?'

'He was unfortunately pre-engaged,' replied the other. —'But we shall see him before the evening be over,' added

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[5] Varro on Gellius xiii. 11, writes, *Convivarum numerum incipere opportere a Gratiarum numero et progredi ad Musarum*, i. e. *proficisci a tribus et consistere in novem.*

[6] We learn from Horace and Plutarch the custom by which invited guests frequently took uninvited persons, called *umbræ*, with them. Heind. on Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 22. This, however, generally took place only when the host had left it to his guests' option to do so, as when Hor. *Ep.* i. 5, 30, writes to Torquatus: *Locus est et pluribus umbris;* and, *tu quotus esse velis scribas.* Salmasius thought that the lowest places on the *lectus imus* were allotted to them, but this will not apply to all cases: the passage he quotes, Juv. v. 17, is not to the purpose, as an uninvited client is there alluded to. In Horace the two *umbræ* introduced by Mæcenas lay upon the *lectus medius*, probably out of regard to him: it generally depended upon what sort of people the *umbræ* were, and by whom introduced.

Pomponius. 'As our friend Fannius is, you know, averse to sitting late, and Lentulus will not, I am sure, let us go before the crowing of the cock, we shall be one short at the triclinium, unless Calpurnius come according to his promise, and fill the vacant place, so soon as he can get released from his formal consular supper. But I scarcely think we ought to keep the cook waiting any longer. The tenth hour is, I verily believe, almost elapsed. Had we not better take our seats, Lentulus?'

The host answered in the affirmative, and conducted[7] Gallus to the lowest place on the middle sofa, which was the seat of honour at the table. At his left, and on the same *lectus*, sat Pomponius; above him, Fannius. The sofa to the left was occupied by Bassus, Faustinus, and Cæcilianus. To the right, and next Gallus, sat Lentulus himself; below him, the Perusians whom Pomponius had brought.

As soon as they had reclined, slaves took off their sandals, and youths, with their loins girded, offered water in silver bowls for their ablutions. At a nod from Lentulus, two slaves entered, and placed upon the table the tray which contained the dishes composing the first course. Lentulus cast his eyes with secret joy around the circle, as if desirous of noting the impression made on his friends by the novel arrangements of this *gustatorium*, the invention of which was due to himself; and, indeed, the service was worthy of a nearer observation.

In the centre of the plateau, ornamented with tortoise-shell, stood an ass of bronze[8], on either side of which hung

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[7] There does not appear to have been any general rule with regard to the distribution of the places: in most cases the host left it to each guest to choose his own, but in others he assigned them. Plutarch, who discusses the matter in a special chapter, (*Sympos.* i. 2,) decides, that it ought to be left entirely free to intimate friends and young people to choose their own, but not so with strangers and persons deserving particular attention.

[8] Petron. 31: *Cæterum in promulsidari asellus erat Corinthius cum bisaccio positus, qui habebat olivas, in altera parte albas, in altera nigras,*

silver panniers, filled with white and black olives, preserved by the art of the cook until this period of the year; on the back of the beast sat a Silenus, from whose skin the most delicious *garum* flowed upon the *sumen* beneath. Near this, on two silver gridirons lay delicately-dressed sausages, beneath which Syrian plums, mixed with the seed of the pomegranate, presented the appearance of glowing coals. Around stood silver dishes containing asparagus, *lactuca*, radishes, and other productions of the garden, in addition to *lacerta*, flavoured both with mint and rue, and with Byzantine *muria*, and dressed snails and oysters, whilst fresh ones in abundance were handed round. The company expressed their admiration of their host's fanciful invention, and then proceeded to help themselves to what each, according to his taste, considered the best incentive of an appetite. At the same time slaves carried round in golden goblets the *mulsum*, composed of Hymettian honey and Falernian wines.

They were still occupied in tasting the several delicacies, when a second and smaller tray was brought in, and placed in a vacant spot within the first, to which it did not yield in point of singularity. In an elegant basket sat a hen, ingeniously carved out of wood, with outspread wings, as if she were brooding [9]. Straightway entered two slaves, who began searching in the chaff which filled the basket, and taking out some eggs, distributed them amongst the guests. 'Friends,' said Lentulus, smiling, 'they are pea-hen's eggs, which have been put under the hen; my only fear is that she may have sat too long upon them; but let us try them.' A slave then gave to each guest a

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[9] Petronius (33), whence this *gallina* is borrowed, says, *gustantibus adhuc nobis repositorium allatum est cum corbe, in quo gallina erat lignea patentibus in orbem alis, quales esse solent, quæ incubant ova.* The first *repositorium* was not removed, and the *gallina* must either have been placed upon it, or there must have been room enough left for it on the table. There were, however, also *repositoria* of several *tabulata*, and one might consequently have been set on the top of the other.

silver *cochleare*, which was, however, found almost too large and heavy for the purpose, and each proceeded to break an egg with the point of it. Most of the party were already acquainted with the jokes of Lentulus, but not so the Perusians. 'Truly, my egg has already become a hen!' cried one of them in disgust, and about to throw it away. 'Examine a little more closely,' said Pomponius, with a laugh, in which the guests at the upper sofa, who were better acquainted with the matter, joined; 'our friend's cook understands well how to dress eggs that have been already sat upon.' The Perusian then for the first time remarked that its shell was not natural, but made of dough, and that a fat fig-pecker was hidden in the yolk, which was strongly seasoned with pepper. Many jokes were made, and whilst the guests were eating the mysterious eggs, the slaves again presented the honey-wine. When no one desired more, the band, which was at the other end of the hall, began to play, as a sign for the slaves to remove the *gustatorium*[10], which they proceeded to do.

Another slave wiped the table with a purple cloth of coarse linen, and two Ethiopians again handed water for washing the hands[11]. Boys, wearing green garlands, then brought in two well-gypsumed *amphoræ*, the time-corroded necks of which well accorded with the inscription on a label hanging round them, whereon might be read, written in ancient characters, the words *L. Opimio Cos.* 'Discharge your office well, Earinos,' cried Lentulus to one of the boys. 'To-day you shall bear the *cyathus*. It is Falernian, my friends, and Opimianum, too; and is, as you know, usually

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[10] Petron. 34: *Subito signum symphonia datur et gustatoria pariter a choro cantante rapiuntur.*

[11] It is not certain whether this took place after each *ferculum*, but Petronius describes it after the *promulsio*. *Subinde intraverunt duo Æthiopes capillati cum pusillis utribus, quales solent esse, qui arenam in amphitheatro spargunt, vinumque dedere in manus; aquam enim nemo porrexit.* No further mention is made of the usage between the courses, but it may easily be imagined that they washed frequently during the meal, as they used no forks.

clouded.' 'It was bright enough,' said Gallus, 'when the free citizen wrote the name of the consul on this label. Yet it only shares the fate of the age, which, like it, has also become clouded.' The Perusians began to listen attentively, and Pomponius cautiously placed his finger on his mouth. 'Actually,' continued he, 'only five years more, and this noble juice would have witnessed a century pass away, and during this century there has never been a growth like it. Why, Maximus, your great-grandfather was consul in the same year as Opimius; and see, here is the fourth generation already, and yet the wine is still in existence.'

'Quite right,' replied Maximus; 'my ancestor was consul with Opimius; and much as I like the wine, I am yet vexed to think that my name does not appear on the *amphora*.'

'Content yourself,' quoth Gallus; 'there are more serious accidents in life than that.' 'Oh!' quickly interposed Pomponius, 'let us end this grave conversation. Only see how Bassus and Cæcilianus are longing for the contents of the amphoræ, whilst we are indulging in speculations about the label outside. Have them opened, Lentulus.'

The vessels were carefully cleansed of the gypsum, and the corks extricated. Earinos cautiously poured the wine into the silver *colum*, which was placed ready, and was now filled again with fresh snow, and then mixed it, according to his master's directions, in the richly-embossed *crater*, and dipping a golden *cyathus* therein, filled the amethyst-coloured glasses, which were distributed amongst the guests by the rest of the boys.

This operation was scarcely finished, before a new repositorium was placed upon the table, containing the first course of the *cœna*, which, however, by no means answered the expectations of the guests. A circle of small dishes, covered with such meats as were to be met with only at the tables of plebeians, was ranged around a slip of natural

turf, on which lay a honey-comb. A slave carried round the bread in a silver basket, and the guests were preparing, although with evident vexation, to help themselves to chick-peas and small fish, when at a sign from Lentulus, two slaves hurried forward, and took off the upper part of the tray, under which a number of dishes, presenting a rich selection of dainties, were concealed. There were ring-doves and field-fares, capons and ducks, mullets of three pounds weight, and turbot, and, in the centre, a fatted hare, which, by means of artificial wings, the *structor* had ingeniously changed into a Pegasus. The company on the *lectus summus* were agreeably surprised, and applauded the host with clapping of hands, and the *scissor* immediately approached, and with great solemnity and almost in musical time, began to carve. Earinos, meanwhile, was diligently discharging his functions; and the guests, animated by the strength of the Falernian, already began to be more merry. On the disappearance of the first course, much conversation was kept up, Gallus alone taking less share in it than he was accustomed to do.

But no long interval was allowed for talking. Four slaves soon entered to the sound of horns, bearing the second course, which consisted of a huge boar, surrounded by eight sucking-pigs, made of sweet paste, by the experienced baker, and surprisingly like real ones. On the tusks of the boar hung little baskets, woven of palm twigs, and containing Syrian and Theban dates. Another scissor, resembling a jager in full costume, now approached the table, and with an immense knife commenced cutting up the boar, pronounced by Lentulus to be a genuine Umbrian. In the mean time the boys handed the dates, and gave to each guest one of the pigs as *apophoreta*.

'An Umbrian,' said one of the guests of the lectus summus, turning to the strangers, 'a countryman, or, at all events, a near neighbour, of yours then. If I were in your place, I should hesitate before partaking of it; for

who knows whether, by some metamorphosis, one of your dear friends may not have been changed into this animal.'

'The days for metamorphoses are past,' replied one of them. 'There are no more Circes, and the other gods do not trouble themselves much about mankind. I know only one, who potently rules all the world, and can doubtless bring about many metamorphoses.'

'Do not say so,' Pompouius quickly added; 'our friend Bassus will teach you directly that many wonders happen even in the present times, and that we are by no means sure that we shall not see one amongst us suddenly assume the character of a beast.'

'Laugh as you will,' said Bassus, 'it still cannot be denied. Only the other day, one who was formerly a slave to a man in humble circumstances at Capua, but has now become a rich freedman, related to me a circumstance which he had himself experienced; it is enough to make one's hair stand on end. If not displeasing to you I will communicate it [12].' The company, partly from curiosity, and partly wishing for a laugh against Bassus, begged him to tell the story, and he thus began:—

'"When I was a slave," related my informant, "I happened, by the dispensation of the gods, to conceive a liking for an innkeeper's wife; not from an unworthy passion, but because she never denied me what I asked for, and

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[12] The thousand-fold superstitions that reigned over the minds of the ancients, are shown by the belief in omens, soothsayers, ghosts, and the effects of sympathetic means, diffused amongst all classes, so that Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2, 208, in naming the follies from which a man must become emancipated, asks—

Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
Nocturnos lemures portentaque Thessala rides?

There appear to have been fewer fabulous histories, such as our fairy tales, because they were generally included in the mythology, and thus rose to a higher significance. The tales here taken from Petronius, are interesting proofs that the ancients were in the habit of telling anecdotes, which may well compete with our renowned fairy tales. Many such wondrous occurrences might be quoted from Apuleius, but in Petronius they appear as objects of superstition, although only amongst the lower classes, but this is not the case with the Milesian tales.

anything I saved and gave into her charge, I was sure not to be cheated of. Her husband had a small villa at the fifth milestone, and, as it chanced, fell sick there and died. In misfortune, thought I, we know our friends, and therefore considered how I could get to my friend at the villa. My master was by accident absent from Capua, but a stranger, a warrior, was stopping in our house; of him I made a confidant, begging that he would accompany me in the night to the villa, and he consented to do so. We waited for the time of the cock-crowing, and then stole off; the moon was shining, and it was as clear as mid-day. About half way, by the side of the road, was a group of sepulchral monuments, at which my companion stopped on some pretence or other; but I went on, beginning a song and gazing at the stars. At length I looked round, and saw my companion standing in the road. He took off his clothes and laid them down; then went round them in a circle, spat three times upon them, and immediately became a wolf." Now do not suppose that I am telling you a falsehood; for the fellow assured me that it was pure truth. "He next," continued the man, "began to howl, and then dashed into the thicket. At first I did not know what to do, but at length approached for the purpose of taking the clothes with me, but behold! they had become stone. Horror-stricken, I drew my sword, and continued slashing it about in the air until I reached the villa. I entered the house breathless, the sweat dropped from me, and it was long before I recovered myself. My friend was astonished at my visiting her at such an unusual hour. 'Had you only come sooner,' said she, 'you might have assisted us; for a wolf has been breaking into the villa and destroying several sheep; but he did not escape with impunity; for my slave has pierced him through with a spear.' I shuddered, and could not obtain any sleep during the night. As soon as it was day I hastened homewards, and saw, on reaching the place where the clothes had lain, nothing more than a large stain of blood; but found the

warrior lying in bed at home, and a surgeon bandaging his neck. I then became aware that he was one of those whom we call *versipelles*[13], and could never afterwards eat bread in his company." This was the man's story, in recounting which he even then shuddered. Say what you will, such things often happen.'

The company laughed and jeered at the narrator, who endeavoured by philosophical arguments to defend his credulity. At length the second Perusian, who sat in the lowest place, said, 'Bassus may not be so very wrong, after all; for some time since I bought a slave who had formerly lived at Miletus, and who told me a wonderful story, in the following words. "In the house where I served, a child, a boy—beautiful as a statue—had died. His mother was inconsolable, and all were standing mourning round the bed, when the *strigæ* were heard shrieking round the house. There was in the family a Cappadocian, a tall, daring fellow, who had once overcome a mad ox. This man having seized a sword, ran out of doors, with his left hand cautiously concealed in his mantle, and cut one of the hags in two. We heard their shrieks, although we saw nothing; but the Cappadocian staggered backwards upon a couch, and his whole body became as blue as if he had been beaten: for he had been touched by the hands of the witches. He closed the house-door again, but when the mother returned to her dead child, she saw with horror that the strigæ had already taken away the body, and left a straw doll in its place."'

This anecdote was received with no less laughter than

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[13] The name *versipellis* was considered as a term of abuse, and is so used by Petron. 62. Pliny also styles it the peculiar designation of such persons, viii. 22. *Homines in lupos verti rursumque restitui sibi, falsum esse confidenter existimare debemus, aut credere omnia, quæ fabulosa tot seculis comperimus. Unde tamen ista vulgo infixa sit fama in tantum, ut in maledictis versipelles habeat, indicabitur.* There was, according to Euanthes, an Arcadian legend, that each member of a certain family was changed into a wolf for nine years, and after that period again resumed his natural shape.

the other. Bassus alone bent unobserved towards the table, and inwardly besought the strigæ not to meet him on his way home[14].

Some more stories of a similar kind would perhaps have been introduced, had not the slaves produced a fresh *ferculum*, which, to the astonishment of the company, contained a vast swine, cooked exactly like the boar. 'Ha!' cried Lentulus, rising from his couch, in order to inspect it more closely, 'I really believe that the cook has forgotten to disembowel the animal. Bring him hither directly.' The cook appeared with troubled mien, and confessed, to the indignation of the whole party, that in his hurry he had forgotten to cleanse the beast. 'Now, really,' said the enraged Cæcilianus, 'that is the most worthless slave I ever beheld. Who ever heard of a cook omitting to gut a swine? Were he mine, I would hang him.' Lentulus, however, was more leniently disposed. 'You deserve a severe chastisement,' said he to the slave, 'and may thank my good humour for escaping it. But, as a punishment, you must immediately perform the neglected duty in our presence.' The cook seized the knife, and having carefully slit open the belly on both sides, gave a sudden jerk, when, to the agreeable surprise of the guests, a quantity of little sausages of all kinds tumbled out[15].

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[14] Petron. 64. *Miramur nos et pariter credimus, osculatique mensam rogamus nocturnas, ut suis se teneant, dum redimus a cœna.* The table here supplied the place of the altar, as in Ovid, *Amor.* i. 4, 27:

> Tange manu mensam, quo tangunt more precantes.

A similar superstitious usage was that of touching the ground with the hand at the mention of the *inferi.* Plaut. *Most.* ii. 2, 37.

[15] The whole of this joke is to be found in Petron. 49, who, however, relates a far more extraordinary piece of legerdemain, performed by the cooks on the boar, c. 40. *Strictoque venatorio cultro latus apri vehementer percussit, ex cujus plaga turdi evolaverunt.* Such absurdities might be taken as inventions of the author, had we not sober witnesses who relate the same things at a much earlier period. Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 9. *Cincius in suasione legis Fanniæ objecit sæculo suo, quod porcum Trojanum mensis inferant, quem illi ideo sic vocabant, quasi aliis inclusis animalibus gravidum, ut ille Trojanus equus gravidus*

'That is indeed a new joke,' cried Pomponius, laughing, 'but tell me, why did you have a tame swine served up after the wild boar?'

'If the remainder of my friends be of that opinion,' replied the host, 'we will grant him his liberty, and he may appear to-morrow at my table with his cap on[16].'

On a given signal the slaves removed the dish, and brought another containing peacocks, pheasants, the livers of geese, and rare fish. At length this course also was removed, the slaves wiped the table, and cleared away with besoms of palm-twigs[17] the fragments that had fallen on the floor, strewing it at the same time with saw-dust, dyed with *minium* and pleasant-smelling saffron[18].

Whilst this was being done, the eyes of the guests were suddenly attracted upwards by a noise over-head; the ceiling opened, and a large silver hoop, on which were ointment-bottles of silver and alabaster, silver garlands with beautifully-chiselled leaves and circlets, and other trifles, to be shared amongst the guests as *apophoreta*[19], descended upon the table. In the mean time, the dessert had been served, wherein the new baker, whom Lentulus had purchased for a hundred thousand sesterces, gave a

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armatis fuit. So also geese were filled with smaller birds.

[16] At Trimalchio's table, the boar came *pileatus*, as a freedman, because it had appeared on the table on the preceding day, but had not been cut, *a convivis dimissus.*

[17] Luxury extended even to the besoms, which were made of palm-twigs. Mart. xiv. 82:

In pretio scopas testatur palma fuisse.

Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 83:

Lapides varios lutulenta radere palma.

[18] Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 81:

Vilibus in scopis, in mappis, in scobe quantus
Consistit sumptus? neglectis, flagitium ingens.

It was customary to strew the floor with dyed or sweet-smelling saw-dust, or something similar. Petron. 68. *Scobem croco et minio tinctam sparserunt* (not to be swept away again) *et, quod nunquam antea videram, ex lapide speculari pulverem tritum.* The absurd Elagabalus carried his prodigality still further. Lamprid. 31. *Scobe auri porticum stravit et argenti, dolens, quod non posset et electri; idque frequenter quacunque fecit iter pedibus usque ad equum vel carpentum, ut fit hodie de aurosa arena.*

[19] So Petronius relates, 60.

specimen of his skill. In addition to innumerable articles of pastry, there were artificial muscles, field-fares filled with dried grapes and almonds, and many other things of the same kind. In the middle stood a well-modelled Vertumnus, who held in his apron a great variety of fruits. Around lay sweet quinces, stuck full of almonds, and having the appearance of sea-urchins, with melons cut into various shapes. Whilst the party was praising the fancy of the baker, a slave handed round tooth-picks[20], made of the leaves of the mastich-pistachio, and Lentulus invited the guests to assist themselves to the confectionery and fruits with which the god was loaded.

The Perusians, who were particularly astonished by the gifts of Vertumnus at such a season, stretched across the table[21], and seized the inviting apples and grapes, but drew back in affright when, as they touched them, a stream of saffron discharged from the fruit, besprinkled them[22]. The merriment became general, when several of the guests attempted cautiously to help themselves to the mysterious fruit, and each time a red stream shot forth.

'You seem determined,' exclaimed Pomponius, 'to surprise us in every way; but yet I must say, Lentulus, that in this, otherwise excellent, entertainment, you have not sufficiently provided for our amusement. Here we are at dessert, without having had a single spectacle to delight our eyes between the courses.' 'It is not my fault,' replied Lentulus; 'for our friend Gallus has deprecated all the feats of rope-dancing and pantomime that I intended for

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[20] The stems of the leaves of the mastich-pistachio, *lentiscus* (*Pistacia lentiscus*; Lin.), made the best tooth-picks, *denti-scalpia*, for which quills were also used. Mart. xiv. 22, *Dentiscalpium.*

Lentiscum melius; sed si tibi frondea cuspis
Defuerit, dentes penna levare potest.

Martial frequently mentions them, as iii. 82, 9, vi. 74, vii. 53.

[21] Plaut. Mil. III. i. 167.

Sed procellunt et procumbunt dimidiati, dum appetunt.

[22] Petron. 60. *Omnes enim placentæ omniaque poma etiam minima vexatione contacta cœperant effundere crocum ut usque ad nos molestus humor accedere.*

you, and you see how little he shares in the conversation. Besides, the sun is already nigh setting, and I have had another triclinium lighted up for us[23]. If no one will take more of the dessert, we may as well, I think, repair thither at once. Perhaps the cloud which shades the countenance of our friend may disappear under the garland. Leave the Falernian alone at present, Earinos, and await us in the other saloon.' The youth did as his lord commanded, and just at that moment Calpurnius entered, pouting discontentedly at the servile souls of the company he had left, because he could no longer endure their 'Hail to the father of our fatherland!'

The party now rose, to meet again after a short time in the brilliant saloon, the intervening moments being spent by some in sauntering along the colonnades, and by others in taking a bath.

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[23] Petron. 73: *Ebrietate discussa in aliud triclinium deducti sumus.*

SCENE THE TENTH.

THE DRINKERS.

THE lamps had been long shining on the marble panels of the walls in the triclinium, where Earinos, with his assistants, was making preparations, under the direction of the tricliniarch, for the nocturnal *comissatio*[1]. Upon the polished table between the tapestried couches stood an elegant bronze candelabrum, in the form of a stem of a tree, from the winterly and almost leafless branches of which four two-flamed lamps, emulating each other in beauty of shape, were suspended. Other lamps hung by chains from the ceiling, which was richly gilt and ingeniously inlaid with ivory, in order to expel the darkness of night from all parts of the saloon. A number of costly goblets and larger vessels were arranged on two silver sideboards. On one of these a slave was just placing another vessel filled with snow, together with its *colum*, whilst on the other was the steaming *caldarium*, containing water kept constantly boiling by the coals in its inner cylinder, in case any of the guests should prefer the

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[1] The *comissatio* was a *convivium* also, and the Greek *συμπόσιον* answers better to it, but it must not be confounded with the *cœna*. The name (derived from *κῶμος*, *κωμάζειν*) denotes a carousal, such as frequently occurred after the repast. In Livy, xl. 7, Demetrius inquires of his guests, after a *cœna* at his own house: *Quin comissatum ad fratrem imus?* And hence it is said of Habinnas, who after the *cœna* at another house went to Trimalchio's, Petron. 65; *comissator intravit*. Suet. *Dom.* 21: *Convivabatur frequenter ac large, sed pæne raptim; certe non ultra solis occasum, nec ut postea comissaretur.* These *comissationes* began late, and were frequently kept up till far into the night, and attended with much noise and riot. Martial alludes to this, when addressing his book, x. 19, 18,

Seras tutior ibis ad lucernas.
Hæc hora est tua, cum furit Lyæus,
Cum regnat rosa, cum madent capilli:
Tunc me vel rigidi legant Catones.

and iii. 68,

. . . . . deposito post vina rosasque pudore,
Quid dicat, nescit saucia Terpsichore.

They were not in good odour, and the name was connected with the idea of all sorts of debauchery.

calda, the drink of winter, to the snow-drink, for which he might think the season was not sufficiently advanced.

By degrees the guests assembled from the bath and the peristylum, and took their places in the same order as before on the triclinium. Gallus and Calpurnius were still wanting. They had been seen walking to and fro along the *cryptoporticus* in earnest discourse. At length they arrived, and the gloom seemed dissipated from the brow of Gallus; his eyes sparkled more brightly, and his whole being seemed to have become more animated.

'I hope, my friends, you have not waited for us,' said he to Pomponius and Cæcilianus, who reproached him for his long absence. 'How could we do otherwise,' responded Pomponius, 'as it is necessary first to choose the king[2] who shall reign supreme over the mixing bowl and *cyathus?* Quick, Lentulus, let us have the dice directly, or the snow will be turned to *calda* before we are able to drink it.' On a signal from Lentulus, a slave placed upon the table the dice-board, of Terebinthus-wood, the four dice made from the knuckles of gazelles[3], and the ivory turret-shaped dice-box. 'But first bring chaplets and the *nardum*,' cried the host; 'roses or ivy, I leave the choice to each of you.' Slaves immediately brought chaplets, both of dark-green ivy and of blooming roses. 'Honour to the spring,' said Gallus, at the same time encircling his temples with a fragrant wreath; 'ivy belongs to winter; it is the gloomy ornament with which nature

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[2] The custom, common to both Greeks and Romans, of choosing a symposiarch, *magister*, or *rex convivii*, *arbiter bibendi*, who prescribed the laws of the drinking, is well known. He fixed not only the proportions of the mixing, but also the number of *cyathi* each person was to drink. Hence the *leges insanæ*, Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6, 69. Cic. *Verr.* v. 11, *Iste enim prætor severus ac diligens, qui populi Romani legibus nunquam paruisset, illis diligenter legibus, quæ in poculis ponebantur, obtemperabat.* He was generally elected by the throw of the dice, *tali*, and of course the Venus decided it. Hor. *Od.* ii. 7, 25. *Quem Venus arbitrum dicet bibendi?*

[3] We find a *tabula terebinthina* mentioned in Petron. 33; ἀστραγάλοι Λιβυκῆς δορκὸς in Lucian, *Amor.* 884.

decks her own bier.' 'Not so,' said Calpurnius, 'the more sombre garland becomes men. I leave roses to the women, who know nothing but pleasure and trifling.'

'No reflection on the women,' cried Faustinus, from the *lectus summus;* 'for they, after all, give the spice to life, and I should not be at all grieved if some gracious fair one were now at my side. Listen, Gallus; you know that I sometimes attempt a little poetry; what think you of an epigram I have lately made?

'Let woman come and share our festal joy,
For Bacchus loves to sit with Venus' boy!
But fair her form, and witty be her tongue,
Such as the nymph's, whom Philolaches sung.
Just sip her wine, with jocund glee o'erflow,
To-morrow hold her tongue—if she know how[4].'

'Very good,' said Gallus; 'but the last doctrine will apply as well to men; I will continue your epigram:—

And you, O men! who larger goblets drain,
Nor draining blush,—this golden rule maintain.
While foams the cup, drink, rattle, joke away,
All unrestrained your boisterous mirth display.
But with the wreath be memory laid aside,
And let the morn night's dangerous secrets hide.'[5]

'Exactly so,' cried Pomponius, whilst a loud σοφῶς resounded from the lips of the others; 'let the word of which the nocturnal *triens* was witness, be banished from our memory, as if it had never been spoken. But now to business. Bassus, you throw first, and he who first throws the Venus is king for the night.'

Bassus collected the dice in the box, and shook it.

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[4] Non veto, ne sedeat mecum conviva puella:
Cum Veneris puero vivere Bacchus amat.
Sed tamen ut possit lepida esse venustaque tota,
Philolachis quondam qualis amica fuit.
Parcius illa bibat; multum lasciva jocetur;
Cras taceat, mulier si qua tacere potest.

[5] Te quoque, majores cui non haurire trientes
Sit rubor, hac cautum vivere lege velim.
Dum spumant calices, pota, strepe, lude, jocare,
Vinctaque sit nullis Musa proterva modis.
Sed pudeat, posita noctis meminisse corona;
Non sibi sæpe mero saucia lingua cavet.

'Cytheris for me[6],' cried he, as he threw; it was an indifferent cast. 'Who would think of making so free with the name of his beloved!' said Faustinus, as he prepared for his chance. 'To the beautiful one of whom I am thinking; take care, it will be the Venus.' He threw; loud laughter succeeded; it was the dog. The dice passed in this manner from hand to hand till they came to Pomponius. 'Ah!' exclaimed Lentulus, as Pomponius seized the box, 'now I am anxious to know which, out of the number of his loves, he will invoke,—Chione or Galla, Lyde or Neæra?' 'Neither of them,' answered Pomponius. 'Ah! one, three, four, six; here's the Venus! but as all have not yet thrown, another may be equally fortunate.' He handed the dice to Gallus, who, however, as well as the Perusians, having declined the dignity, Pomponius was hailed as lord over the *crater* and *cyathus*.

'Do not let us have too much water in the mixture,' said Cæcilianus; 'for Lentulus, you know, would not be sulky even should we drink the wine neat.' 'No, no,' replied Pomponius; 'we have had a long pause, and may now well indulge a little. Three parts of water, and two of wine is a fair proportion[7], that shall be the mixture

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[6] Plautus frequently mentions that the person about to throw the dice invoked the name of his mistress or some deity.

Capt. i. 1, 5.

Amator, talos cum jacit, scortum invocat.

Asin. v. 2, 54.

Arg. Jace, pater, talos, ut porro nos jaciamus. *Dem.* Admodum.
Te, Philenium, mihi atque uxori mortem: hoc Venereum est.

Cyre. ii. 3, 77.

Cur. Provocat me in aleam; ut ego ludam, pono pallium,
Ille suum annulum opposuit: invocat Planesium.
Ph. Meosne amores? *Cur.* Tace parumper: jacit vulturios quatuor.
Talos arripio: invoco almam meam nutricem Herculem.

From these passages, however, we cannot conclude that they called upon the gods; but this is clearly proved by a second passage from the *Asinaria*, iv. 1, 35, where it said, under the conditions of a contract, which Diabolus makes with his *amica*,

Cum jaciat, Te ne dicat; nomen nominet.
Deam invocet sibi, quam lubebit, propitiam;
Deum nullum.

Nevertheless these passages from comedies originally Greek, give no sure proof that it was a Roman custom; but probably when *Græco more bibere* had got into fashion, this habit also was adopted.

[7] The proportions of the wine and water differed according to the

to-night. Do you, Earinos, measure out five *cyathi* for each of us.'

The goblets were filled and emptied amidst jokes and merriment, which gradually grew louder, for Pomponius took care that the cyathi should not have much repose. 'I propose,' said he at length, when, from the increased animation of the conversation, the power of the Falernian became evident, 'that we try the dice a little. Let us

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frugality of the drinkers. The Greek rule,

ἢ πέντε πίνειν, ἢ τρί', ἢ μὴ τέσσαρα,

(which also occurs in Plaut. *Stich.* v. 4, 25), was unintelligible even to the later writers. Plautus, as well as others, seems to have understood it of the number of *cyathi* which were drunk, as the context explains:

Sa. Vide, quot cyathos bibimus? *St.* Tot, quot digiti sunt tibi in manum.

Sa. Cantio est Græca: ἢ πέντε πῖν', ἢ τρία πῖν', ἢ μὴ τέτταρα:

but most of the later authors refer it to the proportions of the mixing, although they differ in their explanations. Plut. *Sympos.* iii. 9. πέντε —τριῶν ὕδατος κεραννυμένων πρὸς δύο οἴνου. τρία—προσμιγνυμένων δυοῖν· τέσσαρα δὲ εἰς ἕνα τριῶν ὕδατος ἐπιχεομένων. Athen. x. p. 426, on the contrary: ἢ γὰρ δύο πρὸς πέντε πίνειν φησὶ δεῖν, ἢ ἕνα πρὸς τρεῖς, which explanation is given afterwards by Eustath. on *Odyss.* ix. 209, although he cites the other proportions of mixing also. Several other proportions are mentioned in Hesiod, *Op.* 596:

Τρὶς δ' ὕδατος προχέειν, τό δὲ τέτρατον ἐέμεν οἴνου.

So also Ion in Athenæus, of Bacchus, or wine.

Χαίρει κιρνάμενος τρισὶ Νύμφαις τέτρατος αὐτός,

which is supposed to be just the proportion denoted by τέσσαρα: but the half-and-half mixture, ἴσον ἴσῳ, frequently commemorated by Athenæus, may be equally well understood. Another proportion, πέντε καὶ δύο, is thus explained by him: δύο οἴνου πρὸς πέντε ὕδατος; but in the Anacreontic cited by him, we have: τὰ μὲν δύ' ἐγχέας ὕδατος, τὰ πέντε δ' οἴνου, where others read, τὰ μὲν δεκ' ἐγχεῖ. The custom of drinking the wine and water mixed in equal proportions, ἴσον ἴσῳ, and still more, of the wine unmixed, was reprehended. Far less is known of the strength usual among the Romans. The passage in Hor. *Od.* iii. 19, 11, will not resolve the matter, *tribus aut novem miscentur cyathis pocula commodis*, &c. It is only certain that a *homo frugi* drank the wine diluted, that *meracius bibere* was considered not praiseworthy, and *merum bibere*, as the mark of a drunkard. The guests doubtless mixed their wine according to their tastes; and whilst one called for *meracius*, another drank almost water, as in the example given by Martial, i. 107:

Interponis aquam subinde, Rufe,
Et si cogeris a sodale, raram
Diluti bibis unciam Falerni.

This passage is remarkable for the expression *cogere*, used like *press*, or *invite*, by us, and for the Roman name *uncia* for *cyathus*.

play for low stakes, merely for amusement; let each of us stake five *denarii*, and put in another for every ace or six that may be thrown. Whoever throws the Venus first, gains the whole sum staked.' The proposal was acceded to, and the play began. 'How shall it be, Bassus?' said Pomponius, 'a hundred denarii that I make the lucky throw before you[8].' 'Agreed,' replied the other. 'I will also bet the same with you,' said Gallus: 'a hundred denarii on each side.' 'And I bet you the same sum,' said Lentulus to Gallus; 'and if either of us should throw the dog, he must pay double.'

The dice went round the table, and first Cæcilianus, and then one of the Perusians, won the pool. The bets remained still undecided. When Pomponius had again thrown, he cried, 'Won! look here, each dice exhibits a different number.' Gallus took the box and threw. Four unlucky aces were the result. The Perusians laughed loudly; for which Gallus darted a fierce glance at them. The money was paid. 'Shall we bet again?' inquired Lentulus. 'Of course,' replied Gallus; 'two thousand sesterces, and let him who throws sixes also lose.' Lentulus threw; again the Venus appeared, and loud laughter arose from the *lectus imus*. By degrees the game became warmer, the bet higher, and Gallus more desperate. In the mean time Pomponius had, unnoticed, altered the proportions of the mixture. 'I am now in favour of a short pause,' said he, 'that we may not entirely forget the cups. Bring larger goblets, Earinos, that we may drink according to the custom of the Greeks[9].' Larger crystal glasses were placed

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[8] It has been already mentioned that betting was not uncommon; indeed, this is evident from the interdicts issued against it; and the enormous sums often lost on one game, render it probable that there was betting at the same time.

[9] The chief passage respecting the drinking after the manner of the Greeks, *Græco more bibere*, is Cic. *Verr.* i. 26: *Discumbitur: fit sermo inter eos et invitatio, ut Græco more biberetur; hortatur hospes; poscunt majoribus poculis.* On which, Pius Asconius, *Est autem Græcus mos, ut Græci dicunt, συμπιεῖν κυαθιζομένους, cum merum cyathis libant salutantes*

before him. 'Pour out for me six cyathi[10],' cried he. 'This

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primo deos, deinde amicos suos nominantes; nam toties merum bibunt, quoties et deos et caros suos nominatim vocant. Cicero also says, *Tusc.* i. 40: *Græci enim in conviviis solent nominare, cui poculum tradituri sunt*, which agrees with Athenæus x., πληροῦντες γὰρ προέπινον ἀλλήλοις μετὰ προσαγορεύσεως. The custom was, that a person pledged the cup to another, thereby challenging him to empty it, at the same time uttering the name of him to whom the cup was given. It seems to have been pretty general, but Sparta formed an exception to the rule. Athen. x.: προποσεις δὲ τὰς γινομένας ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐκ ἦν ἔθος ποιεῖν, οὔτε φιλοτησίας διὰ τουτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιεῖσθαι. δηλοῖ δὲ ταῦτα Κριτίας ἐν τοῖς ἐλεγείοις,

Καὶ τόδ' ἔθος Σπάρτῃ μελέτημά τε κειμενόν ἐστι,
πίνειν τὴν αὐτὴν οἰνόφορον κύλικα·
μηδ' ἀποδωρεῖσθαι προπόσεις ὀνομαστὶ λαγοντα.

The following verses mark the custum:

Καὶ προπόσεις ὀρέγειν ἐπιδέξια καὶ προκαλεῖσθαι
ἐξονομακλήδην, ᾧ προπιεῖν ἐθέλει.

The poet describes the usage as dangerous and immoral, as it naturally led to immoderate indulgence; for, not satisfied with being forced to drink freely on account of the mutual challenges, they mixed very little water, and exchanged the smaller for larger *pocula*, as we learn from Cicero. Comp. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 35. Curculio also says (Plaut. ii. 3, 81), *propino magnum poculum; propinare*, and more rarely *præbibere*, were the Roman expressions for προπίνειν: perhaps also *invitare*, although all the passages where it occurs may be otherwise explained. Plaut. *Rud.* ii. 3, 32:

Neptunus magnis poculis hac nocte eum invitavit.

[10] The drinking of the names had nothing to do with the proportions of the mixture, nor did it properly belong to the *Græcus mos*, although it may have thence originated. This *bibere nomen, literas, ad numerum*, has often been erroneously referred to the number of cups, of which it was thought as many were drunk as the name had letters. We must rather suppose the number of the *cyathi*, determined by the letters of the name, and drunk out of one cup. Still many questions may be raised on the passages of Martial from which we derive almost our only information on this subject: the plainest of which is, i. 72:

Nævia sex cyathis, septem Justina bibatur,
Quinque Lycas, Lyde quatuor, Ida tribus.
Omnis ab infuso numeretur amica Falerno,
Et quia nulla venit, tu mihi, somne, veni.

The question arises, whether, if the name were changed in the vocative, the number of *cyathi* would depend on the number of letters it then had, or on the entire number of the *casus rectus*. Martial speaks in favour of the latter, xi. 36:

Quincunces et sex cyathos bessemque bibamus,
Cæsus ut fiat, Julius et Proculus;

with which agrees ix. 94. On the contrary, in viii. 51, it is said:

Det numerum cyathis Instantis litera Rufi;
Auctor enim tanti muneris ille mihi.
Si Telethusa venit, promissaque gaudia portat,
Servabor dominæ, Rufe, triente tuo.

cup I drink to you, Gallus. Hail to you[11]!' Gallus replied to the greeting, and then desired the cyathus to be emptied seven times into his goblet. 'Let us not forget the absent,' said he. 'Lycoris, this goblet I dedicate to you.' 'Well done,' said Bassus, as his cup was being filled. 'Now my turn has come. Eight letters form the name of my love. Cytheris!' said he, as he drained the glass. Thus the toast passed from mouth to mouth, and finally came to the turn of the Perusians. 'I have no love,' said the one on the middle seat, 'but I will give you a better name, to which let each one empty his glass; Cæsar Octavianus! hail to him[12].' 'Hail to him,' responded the other Perusian. 'Six cyathi to each, or ten? What, Gallus and Calpurnius! does not the name sound pleasant to you, that you refuse the goblet?' 'I have no reason for drinking to his welfare,' rejoined Gallus, scarcely suppressing his emotion. 'Reason or no,' said the Perusian, 'it is to the father of our fatherland!' 'Father of our fatherland!' screamed Calpurnius, violently enraged. 'Say rather to the tyrant, the bad citizen, the suppressor of liberty!' 'Be not so

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Si dubia est, septunce trahar; si fallit amantem,
Ut jugulem curas, nomen utrumque bibam.

There the vocative form fixes the measure, as the *triens* contained four *cyathi*, and the word *septunx* will not allow of the word being taken in a more general sense. Perhaps it made a difference whether the person whose health was drunk were absent or present. The passage in Plaut. *Stich.* v. 4, 26:

Tibi propino decuma fonte, tibi tute inde, si sapis;

where they refer the unintelligible *decuma* to the name of Stephanium, who was present, can (laying aside all question about the reading) scarcely allude to this; for Sagarinus evidently pledges Stichus.

[11] The words with which they drank to a person's health were *bene te*, or *bene tibi*. They drained the goblet to the health either of one or of the whole company. Plaut. *Stich.* v. 4, 27:

Bene vos, bene nos, bene te, bene me, bene nostrum etiam Stephanium.

So also Persius, v. 1, 20, and elsewhere.

[12] The abject senate had expressly enjoined that both at public and private banquets a libation should be made to Augustus. Dio. Cass. li. 19; Ovid, *Fast.* ii. 637:

Et, bene nos, patriæ, bene te, pater optime, Cæsar,
Dicite suffuso, sint rata verba, mero.

violent,' said the stranger, with a malicious smile; 'if you will not drink it, why leave it undone. But yet I wager, Gallus, that you have often enough drunk to our lord before his house was closed upon you. It certainly is not pleasant when a man thinks he has made the lucky throw to find the dog suddenly before him.' 'Scoundrel!' cried Gallus, springing up, 'know that it is a matter of entire indifference to me whether the miserable, cowardly tyrant close his doors on me or no.' 'No doubt he might have used stronger measures,' quietly continued the stranger; 'and if the lamentations of the Egyptians had made themselves heard, you would now be cooling yourself by a residence in Mœsia.' 'Let him dare to send me there,' called out Gallus, no longer master of himself. 'Dare!' said the Perusian, with a smile, 'he dare, who could annihilate you with a single word!' 'Or I him,' exclaimed Gallus, now enraged beyond all bounds; 'Julius even met with his dagger.' 'Ah! unheard-of treason!' cried the second stranger, starting up; 'I call the assembled company to witness that I have taken no part in the highly treasonable speeches that have been uttered here. My sandals, slave; to remain here any longer would be a crime.'

The guests had all risen, although a part of them reeled. Some endeavoured to bring Gallus, who now did not seem to think so lightly of the words which had hastily escaped him, to moderation. Pomponius addressed the Perusians, but as they insisted on quitting the house, he promised Gallus that he would endeavour to pacify them on the way home.

The other guests also bethought them of departing; one full of vexation at the unpleasant breaking up of the feast, another blaming Pomponius for introducing such unpolished fellows; Gallus not without some anxiety, which he in vain endeavoured to silence by bold resolutions for the future.

SCENE THE ELEVENTH.

THE CATASTROPHE.

THE day commenced very differently, on the present occasion, in the house of Gallus, from what it had done on the morning of his journey. His disgrace, by some foreseen, but to most both unexpected and looked upon as the harbinger of still more severe misfortunes, formed the principal topic of the day, and was discussed in the forum and the tabernæ with a thousand different comments. The intelligence of his return to Rome soon became diffused throughout the city[1]; and the loud tidings of his presence

[1] Although the ancients had no newspapers to disseminate quickly the news of the day, the want was in some degree remedied by their public style of living. Much more of their time was passed from, than at, home. They visited the *forum*, the piazzas, and other places of resort; they met each other at the baths, the *tabernæ* of the *tonsores*, the *medici*, and *librarii*, and thus the occurrences of the day were easily passed from one to another. It was therefore quite possible that the news of the return of Gallus should have spread over the whole city by the following day.

[Another compensation for our modern newspapers were copies of the *acta diurna publica*, or *urbana*, which were despatched to all parts of the Roman empire. These *acta* or chronicles of Roman diary did not contain merely important events, as in earlier times did the *annales maximi*, as for example, new laws, appointments, decrees of the senate, edicts of the magistrates, &c.; but also many other notices of minor importance in the circle of the day's news, as announcements of festivals, sacrifices, fires, processions, and also births, marriages, divorces, and deaths. They commenced during Cæsar's first consulate, or at any rate not much earlier. Suet. *Cæs.* 20. Their compilation was the business of *actuarii* appointed for the purpose under the superintendence of the director of the *tabulæ publicæ* and the *ærarium*. After the writing down was finished, the tables of chronicles were openly exposed, so that any one could read and copy them. Thus many scribes made a business in writing out the *acta* for certain persons for pay, and even a greater number in making extracts from them, and sending their copies to their subscribers, even in the most distant provinces. So these public chronicles compensated in a certain degree for the modern newspapers, as appears from many passages. Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 22, *Diurna Populi Romani per provincias, per exercitus curatius leguntur, ut noscatur, quid Thrasea non fecerit.* Cic. *ad Fam.* xii. 22, 23, 28, etc. Petronius, 53, gives a curious copy of the *acta*.]

should have collected the troop of clients who, at other times, were accustomed to flock in such great numbers to his house. On this day, however, the vestibulum remained empty; the obsequious crowd no longer thronged it. The selfish, who had promised themselves some advantage from the influence of their patron, became indifferent about a house which could no longer be considered, as it had lately been, the entrance-hall of the palace. The timid were deterred by fear of the cloud which hung threatening over Gallus, lest they themselves should be overtaken by the destroying flash[2]. The swarm of parasites, prudently weighing their own interest, avoided a table of doubtful duration, in order that they might not forfeit their seats at ten others, where undisturbed enjoyment for the future appeared more secure. And even those few in whom feelings of duty or shame had overcome other considerations, seemed to be not at all dissatisfied when the *ostiarius* announced to them that his master would receive no visitors that day. In the house itself all was quiet. The majority of the slaves had not yet returned from the villa, and those who were present seemed to share the grief of the deeply-affected *dispensator*.

Uneasiness and anxiety had long since banished sleep from the couch of Gallus. He could not conceal from himself to what a precipice a misuse of his incautious expressions would drive him, and that he could expect no forbearance or secresy from the suspicious-looking strangers.

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[2] Although it has been said that the fact of Augustus having repudiated a man's friendship, was not necessarily followed by the desertion of his friends, yet this was not exactly the position of Gallus, to whom the interdict was a sort of favour, in place of a more rigorous punishment, and hence might probably cause the alienation of friends. Ovid bitterly complains of those who, in a similar case, abjured their friend through fear. See *Trist.* i. 8 and 9, 17.

Dum stetimus, turbæ quantum satis esset, habebat
Nota quidem, sed non ambitiosa domus;
At simul est impulsa, omnes timuere ruinam
Cautaque communi terga dedere fugæ.
Sæva nec admiror metuunt si fulmina, quorum
Ignibus afflari proxima quæque vident.

Animated by the dreams of freedom with which Calpurnius had entertained him; half enlisted in the plans which the enthusiast, sincerely moved at the misfortune of his friend, had proposed to him; highly excited by the strength of the wine and the heat of play; and stung to fury by the insolence of the strange guests; he had suffered himself to be drawn into an indiscreet avowal which he was far from seriously meaning. On calmer reflection he perceived the folly of all those bold projects which, in the first moment of excitement, seemed to present the possibility of averting his own fate by the overthrow of the tyrant; and he now found himself without the hope of escape, in the power of two men, whose whole behaviour was calculated to inspire anything but confidence. His only consolation was that they had been introduced by Pomponius, through whose exertions he hoped possibly to obtain their silence; for Gallus still firmly believed in the sincerity of his friendship, and paid no attention even to a discovery which his slaves professed to have made on the way homeward. It was as follows:—His road, in returning from the mansion of Lentulus, passed not far from that of Largus; and the slaves who preceded him with the lantern had seen three men, resembling very much Pomponius and the two Perusians, approach the house. One of them struck the door with the metal knocker, and they were all immediately admitted by the ostiarius. Gallus certainly thought so late a visit strange; but, as it was no uncommon thing for Largus to break far into the night with wine and play, he persuaded himself that it must be some acquaintances who had called upon him on their return from an earlier party.

At last the drowsy god had steeped him in a beneficial oblivion of these cares, and although the sun was by this time high in the heavens, yet Chresimus was carefully watching lest any noise in the vicinity of his bed-chamber should abridge the moments of his master's repose. The old man wandered about the house uneasily, and appeared to be impatiently waiting for something. In the atrium he

was met by Leonidas, approaching from the door. 'Well, no messenger yet?' he hastily inquired of him. 'None,' replied the *vicarius*. 'And no intelligence in the house?' Chresimus again asked. 'None since his departure,' was the answer. He shook his head, and proceeded to the atrium, where a loud knocking at the door was heard. The ostiarius opened it. It was an express with a letter from Lycoris. 'At last,' cried Chresimus, as he took the letter from the *tabellarius*. 'My lady,' said the messenger, 'enjoined me to make all possible haste, and bade me give the letter only to yourself or your lord. Present it to him directly.' 'Your admonition is not wanted,' replied Chresimus; 'I have been long expecting your arrival.'

The faithful servant had indeed anxiously expected the letter. Although Gallus had strictly forbidden him from letting the cause of his departure from the villa become known, yet Chresimus believed that he should be rendering him an important service by acquainting Lycoris with the unfortunate occurrence. She had at Baiæ only half broken to him the secret, which confirmed, but too well, his opinion of Pomponius. He had therefore urged her not to lose a moment in making Gallus acquainted, at whatever sacrifice to herself, with the danger that was threatening him, and immediately return herself, in order to render lasting the first impression caused by her avowal. He now hastened towards the apartment in which his master was still sleeping, cautiously fitted the three-toothed key into the opening of the door, and drew back the bolts by which it was fastened. Gallus, awakened by the noise, sprang up from his couch. 'What do you bring?' cried he to the domestic, who had pushed aside the tapestry, and entered. 'A letter from Lycoris,' said the old man, 'just brought by a courier. He urged me to deliver it immediately, and so I was forced to disturb you.' Gallus hastily seized the tablets. They were not of the usual small and neat shape which afforded room for a few tender words only, but by their size evidently enclosed a large letter. 'Doubtless,'

said he, as he cut the threads with a knife which Chresimus had presented to him, 'doubtless the poor girl has been terrified by some unfavourable reports.' He read the contents, and turned pale. With the anxiety of a fond heart, she accused herself as the cause of what had befallen her lover, and disclosed to him the secret which must enlighten him on the danger that threatened him from Pomponius. Without sparing herself, she alluded to her former connexion with the traitor, narrated the occurrences of that evening, his attempt to deceive her, and his villanous threats. She conjured Gallus to take, with prudence and resolution, such steps as were calculated to render harmless the intrigues of his most dangerous enemy. She would herself arrive, she added, soon after he received the letter, in order to beg pardon with her own mouth for what had taken place.

There stood the undeceived Gallus in deep emotion. 'Read,' said he, handing the letter to the faithful freedman, who shared all his secrets. Chresimus took it, and read just what he had expected. 'I was not deceived,' said he, 'and thank Lycoris for clearly disclosing to you, although late, the net they would draw around you. Now hasten to Cæsar with such proofs of treachery in your hand, and expose to him the plot which they have formed against you. Haply the Gods may grant that the storm which threatens to wreck the ship of your prosperity may yet subside.'

'I fear it is too late,' replied his master, 'but I will speak with Pomponius. He must know that I see through him; perchance he will not then venture to divulge what, once published, must be succeeded by inevitable ruin. Despatch some slaves immediately to his house, to the forum, and to the tabernæ, where he is generally to be met with at this hour. He must have no idea that I have heard from Lycoris. They need only say that I particularly beg he will call upon me as soon as possible.'

Chresimus hastened to fulfil the command of his lord.

The slaves went and returned without having found Pomponius. The porter at his lodgings had answered that his master had set out early in the morning on a journey; but one of the slaves fancied that he had caught a glimpse of him in the carinæ, although he withdrew so speedily that he had not time to overtake him. At last, Leonidas returned from the forum; he had been equally unsuccessful in his search, but brought other important intelligence, communicated to him by a friend of his master. 'An obscure report,' said this man, 'is going about the forum[3], that Largus had, in the assembled senate, accused Gallus of high treason, and of plotting the murder of the emperor; that two strangers had been brought into the *curia* as witnesses, and that Augustus had committed to the senate the punishment of the outrage.'

The intelligence was but too well founded. In order to anticipate any steps that Gallus might take for his security, Pomponius had announced to Largus on the very night of the supper with Lentulus, that his artifice had met with complete success. At daybreak[4] Largus repaired to the imperial palace, and portrayed in glaring colours the treasonable designs which Gallus, when in his cups, had divulged. Undecided as to how he should act, yet solicitous for his own safety, Augustus had referred the

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[3] The acts of the senate, until publicly proclaimed, remained ἀπόρρητα, not to be divulged by the members; but there can be no doubt that some part of the debates was often suffered to transpire previously.

[4] The remark of Suet. 78, about Augustus, will admit of exception in a particular case: *Matutina vigilia offendebatur, ac si vel officii, vel sacri causa maturius evigilandum esset, ne id contra commodum faceret, in proximo cujuscunque domesticorum cœnaculo manebat.* The meaning of *matutina vigilia* is explained by the preceding words: *Si interruptum somnum recuperare, ut evenit, non posset, lectoribus aut fabulatoribus arcessitis, resumebat producebatque ultra primam sæpe lucem.* Other emperors gave admission to distinguished persons long before daybreak. So says Pliny, *Epist.* iii. 5, of his uncle, *Ante lucem ibat ad Vespasianum Imperatorem; nam ille quoque noctibus utebatur.*

matter to the decision of the senate[5], most of the members of which were far from displeased at the charge. It is true that many voices were raised, demanding that the accused should not at least be condemned unheard; but they availed nothing against the louder clamour of those who declared that there were already previous charges sufficient to justify extreme severity; and that they themselves should be guilty of high treason did they, by delay or forbearance, expose the life of Cæsar and the welfare of the republic to danger. The result of the debate was a decree, by which Gallus was banished to an inhospitable country on the *Pontus Euxinus*, and his property confiscated to the emperor[6]. He was also ordered to leave Rome on the following morning, and Italy within ten days.

At the seventh hour Calpurnius rushed into the house of Gallus bringing confirmation of the dread decree, and was soon followed by others from all quarters. Gallus received the news, which cleared up the last doubts concerning his fate, with visible grief but manly composure. He thanked his friend for his sympathy, warning him at the same time to be more cautious on his own account for the future. He then requested him to withdraw, ordered Chresimus to bring his double tablets, and delivered to him money and jewels to be saved for Lycoris and himself. Having pressed the hand of the veteran, who wept aloud, he demanded to be left alone. The domestic loitered for a while, and then retired full of the worst forebodings.

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[5] Suet. *Aug.* 66, says only: *Gallo quoque et accusatorium denunciationibus et senatus consultis ad necem compulso.* Dio. Cass. liii. 23, is more explicit: *Καὶ ἡ γερουσία ἅπασα ἀλῶναί τε αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις, καὶ φυγεῖν τῆς οὐσίας στερηθέντα, καὶ ταύτην τε τῷ Αὐγούστῳ δοθῆναι, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς βουθυτῆσαι ἐψηφίσατο.* It is nowhere said that Augustus was the direct cause of his death, or that he acceded to it; from his complaints after it took place, we may rather conclude the contrary.

[6] Dio. Cass. supra: *Καὶ ὁ μὲν περιαλγήσας ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑαυτὸν προκατεχρήσατο.* Amm. Marc. xvii. 4: *stricto incubuit ferro.* Ovid, *Amor.* iii. 6, 63:

Sanguinis atque animæ prodige, Galle, tuæ.

Gallus fastened the door, and for greater security placed the wooden bar across it. He then wrote a few words to Augustus, begging him to give their freedom to the faithful servants who had been in most direct attendance upon him. Words of farewell to Lycoris filled the other tablets. After this, he reached from the wall the sword, to the victories achieved by which he owed his fatal greatness, struck it deep into his breast, and as he fell upon the couch, dyed yet more strongly the purple coverlet with the streams of his blood.

The lictor, sent to announce to him the sentence of banishment, arrived too late. Chresimus had already, with faithful hand, closed the eyes of his beloved master, and round the couch stood a troop of weeping slaves, uncertain of their future lot, and testifying by the loudness of their grief, that a man of worth was dead.

SCENE THE TWELFTH.

THE GRAVE.

THE intelligence of the melancholy end of Gallus soon reached Augustus, and made the stronger impression on him, from several influential voices having been already raised in disapproval of the senate's premature and severe decree, and expressing doubts as to the sincerity of his accusers. Now that Gallus himself had decided matters in such a way as allowed of no recall or mitigation of his sentence, and that the emperor had no longer any anxiety for his own safety, the consciousness of great injustice having been committed, took its place. A true version of what had passed at the house of Lentulus soon got abroad, and it became by degrees established that Gallus was much less guilty than had been supposed, and that he had fallen a victim to an intrigue, which the hostilely-disposed senate had embraced as a welcome opportunity for his destruction[1]. Augustus then loudly lamented the fate, which robbed him alone, among all men, of the liberty of being angry with his friends, according to his own measure and will[2]. He

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[1] The base conduct of the senate in the condemnation of Gallus, is well described by Dio. Cass. liii. 24. *Τὸ δὴ τῶν πολλῶν κίβδηλον καὶ ἐκ τούτου διηλέγχθη, ὅτι ἐκεῖνόν τε, ὃν τέως ἐκολάκευον, οὕτω τότε διέθηκαν, ὥστε καὶ αὐτοχειρίᾳ ἀποθανεῖν ἀναγκάσαι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν Λάργον ἀπέκλειναν, ἐπειδήπερ αὔξειν ἤρχετο· μέλλοντές που καὶ κατὰ τούτου τὰ αὐτά, ἄν γέ τε τοιοῦτόν οἱ συμβῇ, ψηφιεῖσθαι.*

[2] See Suet. *Aug.* 66. *Sed Gallo quoque et accusatorum denunciationibus et senatus consultis ad necem compulso, laudavit quidem pietatem tantopere pro se indignantium: cæterum et illacrimavit et vicem suam conquestus est, quod sibi soli non liceret amicis, quantum vellet, irasci.* Whether the complaint of Augustus was sincere, whether his grief was real or pretended, whether he considered the fate of Gallus too hard, or whether, after all anxiety on his own account was at an end, he played the part of a magnanimous man, cannot be decided from the accounts given us. We must look for the truth in Dio. Cassius, according to whom Largus continued to rise in the emperor's favour, and so come to a decision as to the real feelings of Augustus.

firmly denounced the decree which made him master over the property of Gallus, and ordained that whatever disposition of it might have been previously made, should have full effect. The senate, with the same alacrity that they had entertained the accusation, now proceeded to declare that all guilt had been effaced by his death, and that nothing should stand in the way of an honourable funeral[3].

In the other parts of Rome the most violent indignation was excited by the news of the death of Gallus and of the treachery employed against him. Pomponius was nowhere to be found, but Largus was made to feel, in its full measure, the contempt due to his villany[4]. On his appearance next morning in the forum, a man with whom he was unacquainted stepped forward, and asked whether he knew him. On Largus replying in the negative, he called his companion as a witness, and made him sign his name to a tablet containing this avowal, in order to be secure against any charge which Largus might bring against him. Another, as Largus approached, held his hand before his mouth and nose, and advised the bystanders to do the same, since it was scarcely safe even to breathe in the vicinity of such a person. Sincere compassion for the unhappy fate of Gallus was everywhere evinced, and more especially among those classes which had not found in his advancement any cause of envy.

Profound quiet and sincere lamentation reigned in the

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[3] We need not stop to inquire how far truth has been set aside for this opportunity of describing a funeral. But if, according to Suetonius, a declaration was made by Augustus concerning the treachery employed against Gallus, then such a reparation would be not at all unlikely.

[4] These facts are related by Dio. Cass. liii. 24. *Ὁ μέντοι Προκούλιος οὕτω πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσχεν, ὥστ' ἀπαντήσας ποτὲ αὐτῷ τήν τε ῥῖνα καὶ τὸ στόμα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ τῇ χειρὶ ἐπισχεῖν· ἐνδεικνύμενος τοῖς συνοῦσιν, ὅτι μήδ' ἀναπνεῦσαί τινι παρόντος αὐτοῦ ἀσφάλεια εἴη. ἄλλος δέ τις προσῆλθέ τε αὐτῷ, καίπερ ἀγνὼς ὤν, μετὰ μαρτύρων καὶ ἐπήρετο. εἰ γνωρίζοι ἑαυτόν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐξηρνήσατο, ἐς γραμματεῖον τὴν ἄρνησιν αὐτοῦ ἐσέγραψεν. ὥσπερ καὶ ἐξὸν τῷ κακῷ καὶ, ὃν οὐκ ᾔδει πρότερον, συκοφαντῆσαι.*

house of misfortune. Before the doors the mournful cypress had some time before been placed,—a sign to all who approached, that one of the occupants of the house had passed into the region of shadows. Within doors, the men were engaged in anointing the body, and in endeavouring to efface the marks of the last struggle. They afterwards, with the help of Eros, placed on it the purple-edged *toga*, and adorned the brows with one of those garlands which the valiant warrior had gained in battle. This finished, they laid the corpse softly on its last bed, the purple coverlet of which left the ivory feet alone visible, and then set it down in the *atrium*, with the feet towards the door. Close by the body, Arabian incense[5] was burnt in a silver censer, and a slave performed his last offices to the departed, by driving away the flies from the hands and feet with a fan of peacock's feathers[6].

The corpse lay in state for several days, and during that time the remaining preparations were made for the funeral, which Chresimus had commissioned the *libitinarius* to celebrate with all the pomp suitable to the rank of the deceased. Authorized to do so by the emperor, the old man found some alleviation of his grief in the most careful fulfilment of this his last duty, and willingly sacrificed a portion of the half of the property which fell to his share, that nothing might be wanting which could increase the splendour of the solemnity.

About the fourth hour of the eighth day a herald proceeded through the streets, and with a loud voice

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[5] Arabia is, as is known, the fatherland of frankincense, and Saba was, according to Pliny, xii. 14, 30, the *regio turifera:* hence Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 116, says:

Solis est turea virga Sabæis.

[6] The use of fans, made of peacock's and other feathers, is well known. The custom here mentioned does not apply merely to the apotheosis of the emperors; in a decree of Justinian, *Cod.* vii. 6, 5, it is said, *Sed et qui domini funus pileati antecedunt vel in ipso lectulo stantes cadaver ventilare videntur, si hoc ex voluntate fiat vel testatoris vel heredis, fiant illico cives Romani.*

invited the populace to the funeral, and the games attendant upon it. 'A Quirite,' cried he, 'is dead. Now is the time, for any who have leisure, to join the funeral procession of Cornelius Gallus; the corpse is being carried from the house.' The summons was not without effect. A crowd of sight-seers and inquisitive people flocked towards the house and the *forum* to witness the spectacle, but many persons were to be seen clad in dark-coloured togas, a token that they wished to be not idle spectators, but assistants at the ceremony.

Meanwhile the *designator*, supported by some lictors, to keep off the crowd, had arranged the order of the procession, which already had begun to move from the house in the direction of the *forum*. In front marched a band of flute-players and horn-blowers, who by pouring forth alternately plaintive strains and spirit-stirring music, seemed at one time to express the sorrow and mourning of the escort, and at another to extol the greatness and worth of the deceased. Next followed the customary mourning-women, who, with feigned grief, chanted forth their untutored dirge of eulogy of the departed. Then came a number of actors, reciting such passages from the tragedians as were applicable to the present occurrence. The solemnity of the scene was interrupted only now and then by some witty buffooneries, whilst the leader endeavoured to represent the defunct in dress, gesture, and manner of speech. After these came swarms of hirelings; there followed no lengthy train of glorious ancestors, it is true, but freedmen bearing brazen tablets, on which were inscribed the victories gained by the deceased, and the cities he had conquered. These were succeeded by others, carrying the crowns won by his deeds of valour, and, in compliance with a wish which Gallus while living had often expressed, the rolls of his elegies, which, more enduring than martial renown and honours, have handed down his name to poster-

ity[7]. After all these came the *lectus* itself, with the corpse borne by eight freedmen, and followed by Chresimus, and, with few exceptions, the rest of the family, with hat on head, a sign of that freedom which had been bequeathed to them in their master's will. The cavalcade was finished by his friends, and many citizens who, though not intimate with Gallus, bewailed his death as a public calamity.

Having arrived at the *forum*, the bearers set the *lectus* down before the *rostra*, and the cavalcade formed a semicircle round it. A friend of many years' standing then mounted the stage, and pictured with feeling and eloquence the merits of the deceased, as a warrior, a citizen, a poet, and a man, throwing in but a slight allusion to the recent event. It was not one of those artificial panegyrics which too often sought to heap unmerited glory on the dead, at the expense of truth; but all who heard him were bound to confess that the words he spoke bore a simple and honest testimony to the life and actions of a deserving man.

This act of friendship having been performed, the procession was re-formed, and moved onwards to the monument which Gallus had erected for himself on the Appian Way[8]. There the funeral pile, made of dried fir-trees, and hung round with festoons and tapestry, had been erected, and the whole encompassed by a circle of cypress-trees. The bearers lifted the *lectus* upon it, whilst others poured precious ointments on the corpse from boxes of

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[7] Taken from Propertius, ii. 13, 25:—

Sat mea, sat magna est, si tres sint pompa libelli,
Quos ego Persephonæ maxima dona feram.

In the same place he mentions the *lances odoriferas*, which were carried in front.

[8] As Ovid says in that brilliant elegy, written in a just spirit of self-respect (*Amor.* i. 15):—

Cedunt carminibus reges regumque triumphi,
Cedat et auriferi ripa beata Tagi.

Although the poems of Gallus are almost unknown to us, yet his name still lives, and what Ovid sang is fulfilled:—

Gallus et Hesperiis et Gallus notus Eois;
Et sua cum Gallo nota Lycoris erit.

alabaster, and the bystanders threw frankincense and garlands upon it, as a last offering of affectionate regard. Chresimus, with the same faithful hands that had closed the eyes of the deceased, now opened them, that they might look upwards to heaven. Then, amidst the loud wailing of the spectators, and the sounds of the horns and flutes, he seized the burning torch, and with averted face held it underneath the pile, until a bright flame shot upwards from the dry rushes that formed the interior.

The pile was burnt to the ground, and the glowing ashes, according to custom, extinguished by wine. Some friends of the deceased, and Chresimus, collected the remains of his body, which were not more than sufficient to fill a moderate-sized urn, sprinkled them with old wine and fresh milk, dried them again in linen cloths, and placed them with *amomum* and other perfumes in the urn. This Chresimus having bedewed with a flood of tears, next deposited in the tomb, which on being opened sent forth odours from roses and innumerable bottles of ointment. The doors were again closed, and after pronouncing the last farewell to his manes, and receiving the purifying water, the assembled multitude departed on its way back to the city.

The procession was a numerous one; there had been wanting only one person—she who above all others seemed bound and entitled to fulfil the last offices to the manes of the deceased. Lycoris did not arrive in Rome till the rites had been accomplished. She had with difficulty escaped the traitor, whose inflamed passion had urged him even to offer her violence. Early in the morning of the succeeding day, Chresimus was seen to open the door of the monument, and to enter with her, that she might there weep hot tears of affliction over the ashes of Gallus.

EXCURSUSES.

EXCURSUSES ON THE FIRST SCENE.

THE ROMAN FAMILY.

THE word Family, the derivation of which from the Oscan *famel*, *famul*, is indubitable, signifies everything which an independent man has by private right *in potestate*, or which is under his control, as well persons (free or slaves) as articles of property; for instance, in the old legal form: *familia ad ædem Cereris—venum iret*, in Liv. iii. 55; and xlv. 40. In a more contracted sense, however, *familia* signifies, first, the whole collected society of a house, free and slaves, at the head of which stands a *paterfamilias;* as, for example, we frequently meet in the old legal forms with *familia et pecunia* (persons in opposition to property): Fest. *Sacratæ Leges*, 318; Cic. *de Invent.* ii. 50. Secondly, the free members united together by common descent, that is, either all the free persons ranged under one paterfamilias (Paul. Diac. p. 86), or in a wider acceptation, all the members of a larger family circle, who have a common ancestor, and bear therefore the same name, but are not under the authority of one paterfamilias (thus the *agnati*, who form a subdivision of a *gens*); and still more comprehensively, all the members of a gens, as in Liv. i. 7; ii. 49; ix. 33, where the Petilii and Fabii are signified by the word *familia*. Thirdly, the slaves belonging to a house (see the Excursus on the Slaves). Fourthly, the property of those belonging thereto, especially of the deceased, as in the term *familiæ herciscundæ*, the division of an inheritance, or *agnatus familiam habeto*, Liv. ii. 41; Ter. *Heaut.* v. 1, 36; Ulp. *Dig.* 50, 16, 195, § 1. (*Familiæ appellatio*) *varie accepta est; nam et in res et in personas diducitur. Ad personas autem refertur familiæ significatio ita, cum de patrono et liberto loquitur lex: ex ea familia*, etc. § 2. *Familiæ appellatio refertur et ad corporis cujusdam significationem, quod aut jure proprio ipsorum, aut communi universæ cognationis continetur*, etc.

Every free man, not in the *potestas* of another, but having a domestic position of his own, was considered as a paterfamilias, whether he were really a father or not. Ulp. *Dig.* 50, 16, 195, § 2. *Paterfamilias appellatur, qui in domo dominium habet* (cf. Sen. *Epist.* 47), *recteque hoc nomine appellatur, quamvis filium non habeat; non enim solam personam ejus, sed et jus demonstramus. Denique et pupillum patrem appellamus. Ut cum paterfamilias moritur, quotquot capita ei subjecta fuerunt, singulas familias incipiunt*

habere, singuli enim patrumfamiliarum nomen subeunt, etc. So also the sons, if married, and having children themselves, became *patresfamiliarum*, but not until they were freed from the *patria potestas*, which happened with the death of the father, or in the particular case of the son becoming a *flamen dialis* (or the daughter a *virgo vestalis*); or lastly, by emancipation under the form of a thrice-repeated sale and freedom.

If we add to the nearest members of a family, as children and grandchildren, the number of slaves and clients, such a Roman family assumes the position of a small state, in which the paterfamilias ruled with patriarchal authority. Cicero, *de Sen.* ii., so describes the house of Appius Cæcus: *Quatuor robustos filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, tantas clientelas Appius regebat et senex et cæcus—tenebat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos; metuebant servi, verebantur liberi, carum omnes habebant; vigebat illa in domo patrius mos et disciplina.* A further account of a man at home is given in the discussion of the various relations in which the members of a family stand to each other. We shall next consider the women, then the children, the slaves, and, lastly, the clients.

EXCURSUS I. SCENE I.

THE WOMEN AND ROMAN MARRIAGE.

WHILST we see that in most of the Grecian states, and especially in Athens, the women (i. e. the whole female sex) were little esteemed and treated as children all their lives, confined to the *gynœkonitis*, shut out from social life, and all intercourse with men and their amusements, we find that in Rome exactly the reverse was the case. Although the wife is naturally subordinate to the husband, yet she is always treated with open attention and regard. The Roman housewife always appears as the mistress of the whole household economy, instructress of the children, and guardian of the honour of the house, equally esteemed with the *paterfamilias* both in and out of the house. Plut. *Rom.* 20: *Ἀλλὰ μέντοι πολλὰ ταῖς γυναιξὶν εἰς τιμὴν ἀπέδωκαν, ὧν καὶ ταῦτά ἐστιν· ἐξίστασθαι μὲν ὁδοῦ βαδιζούσαις, κ.τ.λ.* The women continued, it is true, as a rule, out of public life, as custom kept them back, yet they might appear and give evidence in a court of law. The cases in which they appeared as complainants or defendants, extremely seldom occurred before the time of the decline of the Republic (although it was not forbidden by law, as we learn by Plutarch, *Num. c. Lyc.* 3); for the examples which Val. Max. viii. 3; Cic. *Brut.* 58; Quinct. *Inst.* i. 1, give, belong to a later period; and what Val. Max. iii. 8, 6, relates of Sempronia, is of an entirely different nature. Originally, women had even the right of appearing to complain for another (*pro aliis postulare*), but they very rarely made use of it, and it was afterwards forbidden by a prætorian edict, because Apania made a shameless use of this permission. (Val. Max. viii. 3, 2; Ulp. *Dig.* iii. 1, 1.) Afterwards they appeared frequently, and in all times, in court as witnesses, or to intercede for their relatives. Cic. *Verr.* i. 37, says: *Cur (cogis) sodalis uxorem, sodalis socrum, domum denique totam sodalis mortui contra te testimonium dicere? cur pudentissimas lectissimasque feminas in tantum virorum conventum insolitas invitasque prodire cogis?* but it by no means follows that this was merely an exception; amongst us, also, women always appear reluctantly in court. See also Suet. *Cæs.* 74; *Claud.* 40; Tac. *Ann.* iii. 49; Paul. *Dig.* xxii. 5, 18; Ulp. *Dig.* xxviii. 1, 20. We find even vestals appearing, in order to intercede in behalf of their relatives, or to give evidence, as in Cic. *p. Font.* 17: *Tendit ad vos virgo vestalis manus supplices*, etc. And Tacitus mentions as an

instance of the pride of Urgulania, that she would not appear as a witness (*Ann.* ii. 34): *Cæterum Urgulaniæ potentia adeo nimia civitati erat, ut testis in causa quadam, quæ apud senatum tractabatur, venire dedignaretur: missus est prætor, qui domi interrogaret, cum virgines Vestales in foro et judicio audiri, quoties testimonium dicerent, vetus mos fuerit.* As the vestal Tarratia was expressly allowed this *privilegium* of bearing testimony by the lex Horatia, it might be supposed that women generally had not this right; but it must be remembered that the capability of bearing witness is here to be understood in a wider sense, which also includes the power of being a witness at an act of emancipatio.

Walking abroad was only limited by scruple and custom, not by law or the jealous will of the husband. The women frequented public theatres as well as the men, and took their places with them at festive banquets. Setting aside the licence of later times, we find great freedom in these matters in the days of the republic. Cic. *p. Cœl.* 8: *Est enim dictum ab illis fore qui dicerent, uxores suas a cœna redeuntes attrectatas esse a Cœlio.* Val. Max. iii. 1, 2. Cicero relates an interesting trait in the life of Q. Cicero, *ad Att.* v. 1: *Prandimus in Arcano. Nosti hunc fundum: quo ut venimus, humanissime Quintus, Pomponia, inquit, tu invita mulieres, ego accivero pueros. At illa audientibus nobis, Ego sum, inquit, hic hospita: id autem ex eo, ut opinor, quod antecesserat Statius, ut prandium nobis videret. Tum Quintus, En, inquit mihi, hæc ego patior quotidie. Dices, quid quæso istuc erat? magnum: itaque me ipsum commoverat, sic absurde et aspere verbis vultuque responderat: dissimulavi dolens. Discubuimus omnes præter illam, cui tamen Quintus de mensa misit, illa rejecit.* Even the vestals participated in the banquets of the men, Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 8. In ancient drawings we see the women at table beside the men.

In her own house the woman was not confined to particular separate apartments, but in ancient times, at least, her own place of abode was in the most important part of the house, the atrium. Corn. *Præf.*: *Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium aut cujus materfamilias non primum locum tenet ædium atque in celebritate versatur?* Here, in the midst of her slaves, she pursued her domestic occupations; here stood the *lectus genialis* or *adversus*, in ancient times the real, afterwards the symbolical bridal bed, her own proper place of honour. We find it so even in Cicero's time, in the house of M. Æmilius Lepidus, who, as interrex, was insulted by the Clodiani. Cic. *p. Mil.* 5: *Deinde omni vi janua expugnata et imagines majorum dejecerunt et lectulum adversum uxoris ejus Corneliæ fregerunt, itemque telas, quæ ex vetere more in atrio*

texebantur, diruerunt. So Lucretia is represented in Liv. i. 57: *Nocte sera deditam lanæ inter lucubrantes ancillas in medio ædium* (atrio), *sedentem inveniunt.* And in a fragment quoted by Gell. xvi. 9, the materfamilias appears sitting on this lectus: *Materfamilias tua in lecto adverso sedet.*

As regards conjugal fidelity, we may safely conclude that in the earlier times excesses on either side seldom occurred. When morals began to deteriorate, we first meet with great lapses from this fidelity, and men and women outbid each other in wanton indulgences, Sen. *Ep.* 95. The original modesty of the women became gradually more rare, whilst luxury and extravagance waxed stronger, and of many women it could be said, as Clitipho complained of his Bacchis, Ter. *Heaut.* ii. 1, 15, *Mea est petax, procax, magnifica, sumptuosa, nobilis.* Many Roman ladies, to compensate for the neglect of their husband, had a lover of their own, who, under the pretence of being the lady's procurator, accompanied her at all times. See Mart. vi. 61; xii. 38; Hor. *Epod.* 8, 12. As a natural consequence of this, celibacy continually increased amongst the men, and there was the greatest levity respecting divorce.

Notwithstanding this more independent position of the female sex, Roman marriage appears to have had very severe forms in relation to the woman, but these are seen in a milder light, when the potestas of the paterfamilias is rightly understood. The subject may be divided into *matrimonium justum* (also *legitimum*) and *non justum.* The first (*justæ nuptiæ* in Cic. *de Rep.* v. 5; Gai. *Inst.* i. 55) occurred only when the *connubium* was competent to both parties, i. e. an equal right on either side to fulfil a lawful marriage according to the Roman rites. In ancient times equality of condition was required, so that both patricians and plebeians married only amongst their own class. By the *Lex Canuleia*, 309 A. U. C. 445 B. C., connubium between patricians and plebeians was authorised, but the necessity of citizenship still remained (with some exceptions made afterwards, as in the case of senators and their children, who might not intermarry with freedmen). The matrimonium non justum, on the other hand (*uxor injusta*, Ulp. *Dig.* xlviii. 5, 13), in which connubium was wanting on one side, as in the case of marriage between patricians and plebeians before the lex Canuleia, and between Romans and *peregrini*, was certainly, in a moral point of view, an equally lawful and binding marriage, but it was not valid *jure gentium*, and it wanted the important consequences, as regards civil rights, of the *patria potestas* and *manus.* Actual marriage, with the rights of having children, was the privi-

lege of the free alone, whilst slaves could live in a *contubernium:* see the Excursus on the Slaves.

The matrimonium justum could be performed in two ways (Quinct. v. 10, 62, *duæ formæ sunt matrimoniorum*), either with *conventio in manum*, or without it. By the stricter form of marriage the woman came *in manum viri* (*in manu esse, in manum convenisse, alieno juri subjectum esse*, see Liv. xxxiv. 2), i. e. she quite passed out of her own family (*familia mutatur* through *capitis diminutio minima*, Ulp. xi. 13) and into that of her husband, who treated her as his daughter, and exercised over her a kind of *patria potestas*, which Livy, xxxiv. 7, calls *servitus muliebris*. Ter. *Andr.* i. 5, 60: *Te isti virum do, amicum, tutorem, patrem.*—As the common expression potestas in a more limited sense stands also for patria potestas and *servitus*, so does manus in a more limited sense for the power which in the stricter form of marriage the husband obtained over the wife. Potestas also is used for manus in Tac. *Ann.* iv. 16, *in potestate viri;* and Serv. on *Virg. Æn.* iv. 103, *coëmptione facta mulier in potestatem viri cedit.* And inversely manus is used in a wider sense for potestas by Gell. xviii. 6. Yet potestas and manus are entirely different, Gai. i. 109; and as the *mancipio datus* is only *in loco servi* and not *servus*, so the wife is but *filiæ loco*, Gai. i. 111. The husband had the potestas of punishment and correction not merely in the marriage with manus, but in each kind of marriage, so the right is not a consequence of the manus. But in this he was limited by the ancient family tribunal, and he could decide nothing without the consent of his own and his wife's *cognati*. Probably in the marriage with manus the cognati of the husband, in that without manus those of the wife, were principally necessary, as in the latter case she still remained in the power of her father. Dionys. ii. 25: *οἱ συγγενεῖς μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐδίκαζον.* Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 32, *Is* (Plautius) *prisco instituto propinquis coram de capite famaque conjugis cognovit.* Gell. x. 23; Suet. *Tib.* 35; Val. Max. ii. 9, 2. The husband never decided by himself, except when he discovered his wife in adultery, and then he had liberty to put the guilty one to death, Gell. x. 23. It is not improbable that the wife might be given mancipio, in order, for instance, to indemnify by her labour for the injuries she had caused, *noxæ dare.*

Many learned treatises have appeared in Germany, tracing the difference between marriage with and without manus, both amongst patricians and plebeians, and showing that amongst the former no marriage was celebrated without, nor amongst the latter with, until by degrees the manus was introduced amongst the plebeians also.

But it is not to be supposed that variations in an institution so deeply rooted in the life of a nation, could rest on rank and position, and not rather on differences of race, since it is impossible that a people, originally one and the same, could have had two such heterogeneous views respecting marriage. The plebeians and patricians were not of a different race—at least not the Latin and Sabine members of each class—but of different rank, and with different political privileges. In the rights of family they were equal, and the marriage with manus was, like the patria potestas, an original and fundamental right of all Roman citizens.

In order to contract this marriage with manus particular ceremonies were necessary, which did not occur in that without it. The marriage was valid only through the *consensus* of both parties; i. e. it resulted from the acquiescence contracted on either side to cohabit *ad individuam vitæ consuetudinem* and *liberorum quærendorum causa*, without any proper celebration of wedding solemnities being prescribed. Quinct. *Decl.* 247: *Fingamus enim, nuptias quidem fecisse nullas, coïsse autem liberorum quærendorum gratia, non tamen uxor non erit, quamvis nuptiis non sit collocata.* If the marriage were effected with manus, the special formalities must, as a matter of course, follow on the consensus of the parties, with which they were either allied, or which came afterwards. These forms, which differed very much from each other, were called *confarreatio*, *coëmptio*, and *usus*. Gai. i. 109, 110, *Olim itaque tribus modis in manum conveniebant: usu, farreo, coëmptione.* Serv. on *Virg. Georg.* i. 31; Boeth. *Comm. Top.* ii. p. 299. The first rested on a religious basis; both the others on civil law, though in different ways; for whilst in the coëmptio a contract, in the usus a sort of prescription, brought the woman *in manum mariti.* In the usus, marriage and manus took place at the same time, i. e. the celebration of the marriage and manus was included in one and the same act: not so the coëmptio, from which not marriage, but only manus proceeded; so that the marriage must have either immediately preceded, or followed it. By virtue of its sacramental character (ἱεροὶ γάμοι) the confarreatio effected an inviolable and sacred union. This intimate association of the parties married, in both earthly and sacred relations, was only possible by the entrance of the wife into the family of the husband. This was effected by the manus, which must necessarily be connected with the marriage. The forms of divorce show the correctness of this hypothesis, for *diffarreatio* was an actual divorce and loosing of the manus, whilst *remancipatio* dissolved only the manus, not the marriage.

The confarreatio was of Sabine, not, as is commonly believed,

of Etruscan origin, for in the Etruscan marriage, according to Varro, a pig—in the confarreatio a sheep—was slaughtered; the two are therefore quite different. On the other hand, in the Sabine marriage fire and water were used, Dionys. ii. 30; which elements in the confarreatio could not be done without: Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* iv. 103. A religious view of marriage also is most consistent with the devout character of the Sabines, whose influence on the formation of the most ancient civil relations of the Romans is undoubted. This form of Roman marriage is commonly considered the oldest. Dionys. ii. 25, says: *ἐκάλουν δὲ τοὺς ἱεροὺς οἱ παλαιοὶ γάμους Ῥωμαϊκῇ προσηγορίᾳ περιλαμβάνοντες φαῤῥάκια, ἐπὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ φαῤῥὸς, ὃ καλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς ζεάν*, an explanation which refers to the laws already given by Romulus: *γυναῖκα γαμετὴν κατὰ νόμους ἱεροὺς συνελθοῦσαν ἀνδρὶ κοινωνὸν ἁπάντων εἶναι χρημάτων τε καὶ ἱερῶν.* This does not, however, imply that the confarreatio was originally the only kind of marriage, but the law assigns only to this sort of marriage the *communio bonorum et sacrorum.* The second form, which probably had its origin among the Latins—and was originally perhaps a real purchase of the wife by the husband—afterwards became a regular form of marriage under the name coëmptio. In early times a less strict form of marriage had existed, which was probably introduced into Rome by the Etruscans (as that nation did not recognize the father's power over the family), or resulted from the marriages with foreigners and clients. For such marriages the civil right *usus* was afterwards introduced, in order that they should not be altogether free from the stringent consequences of the Roman marriage. That other forms besides the confarreatio existed even in the oldest times, appears from the story of the rape of the Sabines, since those marriages could scarcely come altogether under that head. To this difference Dionys. refers when he says, ii. 30, that the marriages with the ravished women will be consecrated *κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους ἑκάστης ἐθισμούς.* Against the antiquity of the confarreatio (under Romulus) it has been stated, that it was performed by the *Pontifex Maximus*, and that the *pontifices* were first instituted by Numa. The whole mystical religious ceremonial agrees certainly more with the institutions of Numa, but it might have previously existed as a form of marriage on a religious basis, and may have been made still more religious by Numa.

Confarreatio was always a privilege of the patricians, and even after the lex Canuleia gave the plebeians connubium with them, it could not be adopted either in mixed marriages or amongst the plebeians. Cicero, *pro Flacco*, 34: *O peritum juris hominem! Quid? ab ingenuis mulieribus hereditates lege non veniunt? In manum, inquit,*

convenerat. Nunc audio, sed quæro, usu an coëmptione? Because Cicero does not name confarreatio as the third means by which the woman could come in manum, many have concluded that this was no form of marriage, but only a religious ceremony, which accompanied the legal act of coëmptio. Such a conclusion is, however, unnecessary, because there could be no doubt about a confarreatio having taken place, which was celebrated by the *rex sacrorum* (Serv. on *Virg. Georg.* i. 31), even by the *pontifex maximus* and *flamen dialis.* Cicero could not mention confarreatio, because the husband of Valeria, who inherited the property of Flaccus, was of plebeian extraction. If this explanation be not accepted, we must account for the omission of the confarreatio, by suggesting that in the time of Cicero it was quite out of use in ordinary life, and was restricted to the marriage of the priests.

The entire ceremony of confarreatio, which was closely connected with the *jus auspiciorum* and the *sacra gentilicia,* did not befit a plebeian or mixed marriage, and in the Twelve Tables it was expressly stated as the ground of connubium being refused (the connubium was not however first forbidden by them, but had never taken place, cf. Dionys. i. 60), *quod nemo plebeius auspicia haberet, ideoque decemviros connubium diremisse, ne incerta prole auspicia turbarentur*, Liv. vi. 6; cf. vi. 41; x. 8. With the increasing levity of the women, marriage with the inconvenient *conventio in manum* became more rare, and the form of confarreatio very soon disappeared in common life (on account of the *ceremoniæ difficultates*, Tac.), so that persons were often wanting for the patrician priesthood. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 16: *Nam patricios confarreatis parentibus genitos tres simul nominari, ex quibus unus legeretur* (*flamen dialis*), *vetusto more; neque adesse, ut olim, eam copiam, omissa confarreandi adsuetudine aut inter paucos retenta.* This form was confined to the marriage of priests, as Gai. i. 102 remarks of his own time; and Boëthius, *Comm. Top.*, says, *sed confarreatio solis pontificibus conveniebat.*

The marriage with confarreatio was never celebrated without splendid nuptials (*nuptiæ*), which was not the case in the other forms of marriage. Respecting confarreatio in general, Gai. says, i. 112. *farreo in manum conveniunt per quoddam genus sacrificii, in quo farreus panis adhibetur, unde etiam confarreatio dicitur. Sed complura preterea hujus juris ordinandi gratia cum certis et solennibus verbis præsentibus decem testibus aguntur et fiunt.* Ulp. ix. 1; Plin. *H. N.* xviii. 6: *Quin et in sacris nihil religiosius confarreationis vinculo erat, novæque nuptæ farreum præferebant.* Serv. *in Virg. Georg.* i. 31. *Farre* (nuptiæ fiebant) *cum per Pontificem Maximum et dialem*

flaminem per fruges et molam salsam conjungebantur, unde confarreatio appellabatur, ex quibus nuptiis patrimi et matrimi nascebantur. Little is known of the remaining ceremonies; but we must distinguish those general wedding-usages, which depended on the caprice of each particular couple, from that which was peculiar and necessary to the confarreatio.

The ceremonious fetching of the bride from her paternal house (Fest. *ex gremio matris*) to that of the bridegroom, called *deductio* (the expression *uxorem ducere* is only an abridgment of *domum uxorem ducere*, or *deducere*, Plaut. *Aul.* ii. 1, 88; *Trin.* v. 2, 64), took place in all kinds of marriages, without, however, being necessary. This ceremony regularly occurred in the evening (Catull. lxii. 1) under the protection of Juno Domiduca, or Iterduca (Aug. *Civ. D.* vi. 9), by torchlight, and accompanied by relations and friends, amongst whom the *pronubæ* dared not fail. These women, who conducted the bride to the *thalamus nuptialis*, were permitted to have been only once married. Varro on *Virg. Æn.* iv. 166; Fest. and Paul. Diac. p. 242; Tertull. *Exhort. Cast.* 13; Isidor. ix. 8. In the confarreatio the deductio had an especially religious character, on account of the escort of *pueri patrimi et matrimi*, whom we find, however, in the time of the emperors in other marriages also, when many rites of confarreatio had passed over into the other forms of celebrating marriage. Fest. 245: *Patrimi et matrimi pueri prætextati tres nubentem deducunt; unus qui facem præfert ex spina alba, quia noctu habebant, duo qui tenent nubentem.—Spina alba, ἄκανθα λευκή, Cnicus Acerna*, Linn. Lady's thistle had also a mysterious signification, e. g. as assistance against the *strigæ*, Ovid. *Fast.* vi. 129, 165; Plin. *H. N.* xvi. 18, 30, *spina nuptiarum facibus auspicatissima.* Besides these three, another accompanied them called *puer Camillus*, who was a servant of the flamen (Macrob. *Sat.* xiv. 8: *Romani quoque pueros et puellas nobiles et investes Camillos et Camillas appellant, flaminicarum et flaminum præministros;* Paul. Diac. 43, describes Camillus as simply *puer ingenuus*, i. e. patrician, Dionys. ii. 22: perhaps the *Camelæ virgines* are the same in Paul. 63), and in a particular basket, called *cumerus*, carried the spinning apparatus of the bride. Varro, i.; vii. 34: *Itaque dicitur nuptiis Camillus qui cumerum fert, in quo quid sit in ministerio plerique extrinsecus nectunt.* Paul. Diac. 63: *Cumeram vocabant antiqui vas quoddam, quod opertum in nuptiis ferebant, in quo erant nubentis utensilia, quod et Camillum dicebant eo quod sacrorum ministrum κάσμιλον appellabant.* What is to be understood by *utensilia*, we see in Plut. *Qu. Rom.* 31: Λύτη (the bride) εἰσφέρει μὲν ἠλακάτην καὶ τὴν ἄτρακτον, ἐρίῳ δὲ τὴν θύραν περιστέφει τοῦ ἀνδρός; and Plin. *H. N.* viii. 48, 74: *Inde*

factum, ut nubentes virgines comitaretur colus comta et fusus cum stamine.

As amongst the Greeks the conducting home of the bride took place whilst the Hymenæus was being sung, so the deductio of the Roman bride was, in accordance with an old custom, accompanied by the singing of a celebrated song *thalassio* and playing on the flute. See *nuptiales tibiæ* in Auct. *ad. Her.* iv. 33, and Plaut. *Cas.* iv. 3, 1:

> Age tibicen: dum illam educant huc novam nuptam foras,
> Suavi cantu concelebra omnem hanc plateam hymenæo.

See also Mart. i. 36, 42; Plut. *Rom.* 15, *Pomp.* 4; Euseb. *Chron.* 27. Some derive the thalassio from the rape of the Sabines, and give the most wonderful explanations of it. Liv. i. 4; Dionys. ii. 30; Plut. *Qu. Rom.* 81. This rite was, however, not peculiar to the confarreatio, but common to all marriages. The same is true of another old custom, that the bride, having arrived at the house of the bridegroom festively adorned to receive her (Juv. vi. 79, 227), ornamented the doorposts with *laneæ vittæ*, and anointed them with *oleum*. Plin. xxviii. 9, 37; Lucan. ii. 355, &c. Equally general was the custom, which was referred by the Romans to the rape of the Sabines, of carrying the bride over the threshold. Plut. *Qu. Rom.* 29: *Διὰ τί τὴν γαμουμένην οὐκ ἐῶσιν αὐτὴν ὑπερβῆναι τὸν οὐδὸν τῆς οἰκίας, ἀλλ' ὑπεραίρουσιν οἱ προπέμποντες; πότερον ὅτι τὰς πρώτας γυναῖκας ἁρπάσαντες οὕτως εἰσήνεγκαν;* Varro, on *Virg. Ecl.* xiii. 29, otherwise explains it. But the true explanation doubtless is, that they wished to avoid the bad omen, which it would have been considered, if the bride on entering had accidentally stumbled with her foot on the threshold. Plaut. *Cas.* iv. 4, 1: *Sensim super attolle limen pedes, nova nupta, sospes iter incipe hoc, ut viro tuo semper sis superstes.* Catull. lxi. 166: *Transfer omine cum bono limen aureolos pedes rasilemque subi forem.* Whether the bride was after this carrying across obliged first to step on a sheepskin, as has been thought from Plut. *Qu. Rom.* 81, *την νύμφην εἰσάγοντες νάκος ὑποστρωννύουσιν*, is uncertain, as these words may be understood as applying to the skin spread over the seat of the bridal pair. Varro's account, *Non.* xii. 50, is obscure: *Nubentes veteri lege Romana asses tres ad maritum venientes solere pervehere, atque unum quem in manu tenerent tanquam emendi causa marito dare, alium quem in pede haberent in foco Larum familiarum ponere, tertium quem in sacciperione condidissent compito vicinali solere resonare.*

The chief solemnity of the confarreatio occurred in the house of the bridegroom, but we are not acquainted with the *certa et solemnia verba*, of which Gaius speaks. First, the bride saluted the

bridegroom, who approached her with the mystical form: *Ubi tu Caius ego Caia*, which was also used in the coëmptio. Quinct. *Inst.* i. 7, 28, says: *Quia tam Caias esse vocitatas, quam Caios, etiam ex nuptialibus sacris apparet*, and from this we might suppose that this form belonged only to religious marriages but *nuptialia sacra* are merely solemn marriage ceremonies generally, without the force of confarreatio. Plut. *Qu. Rom.* 30: *Διὰ τί τὴν νύμφην εἰσάγοντες λέγειν κελεύουσιν· Ὅπου σὺ Γάϊος, ἐγὼ Γαΐα.* But Cicero, *pro Mur.* 12, supplies the direct proof of the use of this form in the coëmptio, where he says: *Quia in alicujus libris exempli causa id nomen invenerant, putarunt, omnes mulieres, quæ coëmptionem facerent, Caias vocari.* In less binding marriages, this formula, of which Plutarch gives the following explanation, was not used: *ὅπου σὺ κύριος καὶ οἰκοδεσπότης, καὶ ἐγὼ κυρία καὶ οἰκοδέσποινα.* This could only be said in strict marriage.

The bridegroom doubtless replied to this address of the bride in an equally measured symbolical form, which, however, has not been preserved. The general notion, that he gave to her a key or the key of the house, does not seem to be correct. Paul. Diac., who has been referred to, says in fact something entirely different, p. 56: *Clavim consuetudo erat mulieribus donare ob significandam partûs facilitatem.* It was a symbolical gift, which signified something besides the house-government, but whether the bridegroom gave it, and on the wedding-day, he does not inform us. It is more certain that the bridegroom received the bride with water and fire, and that he presented these two elements to her touch,—a very significant ceremony, although we are without any accurate information about it, at least as regards the fire. Varro, in a fragment on *Virg. Æn.* iv. 104, says: *Aqua et igni mariti uxores accipiebant. Unde et hodie faces prælucent et aqua petita de puro fonte per puerum felicissimum vel puellam, quæ interest nuptiis, de qua solebant nubentibus pedes lavari.* He seems to think that the symbolical torch may have been a remnant of the old times, and the ceremony of fire another. Another passage confirms this: *Igitur duplex causa nascendi ignis et aqua: ideo ea nuptiis in limine adhibentur.* Ovid, *Fast.* iv. 792, *his* (*aqua et igne*) *nova fit conjux.* Propert. iv. 3, 13; Stat. *Silv.* i. 2, 4; Plut. *Qu. Rom.* 1: *Διὰ τί τὴν γαμουμένην ἅπτεσθαι πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος κελεύουσι;* Hence the form, *aqua et igni accipit*, Scæv. *Dig.* xxiv. 1, 66. Paul. Diac. 2: *Aqua et igni tam interdici solet damnatis, quam accipiuntur nuptæ, videlicet quia hæc duæ res humanam vitam maxime continent.* This is clearly the right meaning of this symbol, which is also explained by Serv. on *Virg. Æn.* xii. 119, and iv. 103; Lactant. *de Orig. Error.*; Isidor. v. 27. Paul. Diac. 87: *Facem in nuptiis in honorem Cereris præferebant; aqua*

aspergebatur nova nupta, sive ut casta puraque ad virum veniret, sive ut ignem atque aquam cum viro communicaret. The ceremony of water and fire always continued in the confarreatio: in other forms of marriage that of the torch, by the light of which the bride was brought to the bridegroom's house (*faces nuptiales*). Ovid. *Fast.* ii. 558; Lucan. ii. 356; Catull. lxi.; Cic. *pro Clu.* 6; Tac. *Ann.* i. 37, &c. Fest. 289: *Rapi solet fax, qua prælucente nova nupta deducta est, ab utrisque amicis, ne aut uxor eam sub lecto viri ea nocte ponat, aut vir in sepulchro comburendam curet, quo utroque mors propinqua alterius utrius captari putetur.*

Next followed the religious solemnities under the direction of the Pontifex Maximus and the Flamen Dialis, in the presence of ten witnesses, who represented as many curiæ or gentes. The auspices were also taken, without which, even in later times, marriages in general were not concluded. Cic. *de Div.* i. 16: *Nihil fere quondam majoris rei, nisi auspicato, ne privatim quidem gerebatur, quod etiam nunc nuptiarum auspices declarant, qui re omissa nomen tantum tenent.* So too Val. Max. ii. 1, 1: *Quo ex more nuptiis etiamnum auspices interponuntur. Qui quamvis auspicia petere desierint, ipso tamen nomine veteris consuetudinis vestigia usurpant.* See also Plaut. *Cas.* prol. 86; Cic. *pro Clu.* 5; Juv. x. 335; Lucan. ii. 371; Symm. *Ep.* vi. 3; and Serv. on *Virg. Æn.* iv. 374, who relates that thunder interrupted the ceremony. We may conclude, from the account of the marriage ceremonies between Messalina and Silius, that the auspices had certain forms of words to pronounce: at the confarreatio this was certainly the case. Tac. *Ann.* xi. 27: *Haud sum ignarus, fabulosum visum iri—consulem designatum* (*Silium*) *cum uxore principis predicta die, adhibitis qui obsignarent, velut suscipiendorum liberorum causa convenisse atque illam audisse auspicum verba, subiisse, sacrificasse apud deos*, etc. Suet. *Claud.* 26, *dote inter auspices consignata*, from which we see that the auspices effected the *dotis constitutio.* Tac. i. 37, describes a similar case. The whole of the ceremony is unfortunately not known to us, but two acts of it are certain, viz., first, the joint eating of bread by the newly married, from which the whole form received its name, as Dionys. ii. 25 relates, *τὸ δὴ κοινωνοὺς τῆς ἱερωτάτης τε καὶ πρώτης τροφῆς γενέσθαι γυναῖκας ἀνδράσι, καὶ ἐπὶ πολλῇ συνελθεῖν τύχῃ, τὴν μὲν ἐπίκλησιν τῆς κοινωνίας τοῦ φαρροῦς εἶχεν*, etc.; secondly, the joining together of hands, at the confarreatio, probably by the priest, which the sarcophagi, and wall-paintings representing marriage, show. This custom was common to all marriages. There was also another ceremony, confined to the confarreatio, of which Serv. on *Virg. Æn.* iv. 37, gives an account:

Mos apud veteres fuit Flamini et Flaminicæ, ut per farreationem in nuptiis convenirent, sellas duas jugatas ovili pelle superinjecta poni ejus ovis, quæ hostia fuisset, et ibi nubentes velatis capitibus in confarreatione Flamen et Flaminica residerent. The newly married couple then sat for a time, perhaps during the remainder of the ceremony, on two chairs standing near to each other and covered by the same skin, signifying, that although the man and woman occupied two different parts of the house, that they were nevertheless firmly bound by one common bond. The sheepskin afterwards served also as a *cervical*, as the *κῶδια* amongst the Greeks filled the place of cushions on the couches. It is an error to derive *conjugium* and *conjugare* from these *sellis jugatis*, and equally so to suppose that the yoke was placed upon the pair, although Servius says *propter jugum, quod imponebatur matrimonio conjungendis.*

At the celebration of the wedding a contract of marriage (*tabulæ nuptiales, matrimoniales, dotales*) concerning the *dos* was entered into, and sealed by those present as witnesses, with the assistance of the auspices. These contracts were not known in the earlier periods, and were also unnecessary in the marriage with manus, but the more common the form without manus became, the more was the want of such agreements felt. On many monuments of art we see these tabulæ in the hand of the bridegroom. To this custom, Suet. *Claud.* 26, refers: *dote inter auspices consignata;* and more clearly, Juv. ii. 119:

> Signatæ tabulæ, dictum! Feliciter, ingens
> Cœna sedet, gremio jacuit nova nupta mariti.

Also ii. 200; ix. 75; Tac. *Ann.* xi. 30. These tabulæ however were not absolutely necessary, nor were they sufficient to compel the completion of the marriage. Papin. *Dig.* xxxix. 5, 31; and Quinct. *Inst.* v. 11, 32. *Nihil obstat, quo minus justum matrimonium sit mente coëuntium, etiamsi tabulæ signatæ non fuerint. Nihil enim proderit signasse tabulas, si mentem matrimonii non fuisse constabit.*

What is related as to the dress of the bride refers to all kinds of marriage. She wore a white *tunica recta* or *regilla*, and veil and hair-net of bright yellow. Fest. 36: *Regillis, tunicis albis, et reticulis luteis* (*κεκρύφαλος*) *utrisque rectis, textis susum versum a stantibus pridie nuptiarum diem virgines indutæ cubitum ibant ominis causa, ut etiam in togis virilibus dandis observari solet.* We must not limit the use of the regilla to the day before the wedding: Plin. *H. N.* viii. 48, 74. *Ea prima texuit rectam tunicam, quales cum toga pura tirones induuntur novæque nuptæ.* The derivation of regilla, and the quantity of the first syllable, are doubtful. It is commonly derived from the same root as *recta*, as if diminutive. According

to Plaut. *Epid.* ii. 2, 39, it comes from *regina*, as he places it in opposition to *mendicula*. *Quid erat induta? an regillam indiculam an mendiculam impluviatam? ut istæ faciunt vestimentis nomina.* Isidor. xix. 25, and Non. xiv. 13, gives the same etymology. Plaut. besides says *regillam tuniculam.* The *regilla* and (*tunica*) *recta* differ from others chiefly in the way in which they were woven, on a *tela*, the *stamen* of which was not drawn horizontally, but vertically, and on which they wove upwards from below, *ἄνω ὑφαίνειν.* Fest. 277: *Rectæ appellantur vestimenta virilia, quæ patres liberis suis conficienda curant animis causa, ita usurpata quod a stantibus et in altitudinem texuntur.* This regilla was fastened by a woollen girdle (thence Juno Cinctia gen.), which was tied in a Hercules' knot. Paul. Diac. 63: *Cingulo nova nupta præcingebatur, quod vir in lecto solvebat, factum ex lana ovis. Hunc Herculaneo modo vinctum vir solvit ominis gratia, ut sic ipse felix sit in suscipiendis liberis, ut fuit Hercules, qui septuaginta liberos reliquit.*

The veil, or *flammeum*, which the bride wore at the wedding, was yellow. Paul. 89: *Flammeo amicitur nubens ominis boni causa, quod eo assidue utebatur flaminica*, i.e. *flaminis uxor, cui non licebat facere divortium.* It is more correct to say that the flaminica and the bride wore this colour because it was of good import. Plin. *H.N.* xxi.: *Lutei* (*coloris*) *video honorem antiquissimum in nuptialibus flammeis totum feminis concessum.* Cf. Petron. 26; Juv. vi. 224; *Schol.* Suet. *Ner.* 28; Tac. *Ann.* xv. 37; Lucan. ii. 261; Catull. and Martial frequently. It has been affirmed from Seneca, *Hippol.* 322, that the shoes (*socci*) were also yellow, but the passage refers not to a bride's clothing, but to the dress of Hercules, as a woman in the presence of Omphale. Catull. however, lxi. 10, makes Hymenæus wear yellow shoes, and in the Aldobrandinian marriage the bride has them. They are now frequently found in paintings at Herculaneum and Pompeii.—The peculiar dressing of the hair is quite certain. Fest. 339: *Senis crinibus* (three locks on each side, as the oldest statues show) *nubentes ornantur, quod is ornatus vetustissimus fuit; quidam, quod eo vestales virgines ornentur.* In this the common instruments were not used, but the symbolical *hasta cœlibaris*, for which Paul. Diac. *h. v.* 62, gives very odd and contradictory reasons. Plut. *Qu. Rom.* 86; Ovid. *Fast.* ii. 559.

After the confarreatio was ended—as in all other marriages—a banquet followed (*cœna nuptialis*, Plaut. *Curc.* v. 2, 60; *epulæ geniales*, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* ii. 327, at which five wax-lights were burned, Plut. *Qu. Rom.* 2), and when that was concluded, nuts (*nux juglans*) were distributed. Something similar (*καταχύσματα*) took place at the marriage of the Greeks; see Becker's Charicles,

translated by Metcalfe, p. 356. Serv. on *Virg. Ecl.* viii. 30; Catull. lxi. 128; Plin. *H. N.* xv. 22, 24.

At length the *pronubæ* led the bride to the *lectus genialis* (*collocare in lecto*, Donat. on *Ter. Eur.* iii. 5, 45; Paul. Diac. s. v. *genialis*, 94; Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* ii. 361). Before the door they sang hymeneal and indecent songs (*Fescennina*) Claud. *Fesc.* iv. 30:—

> Ducant pervigiles carmina tibiæ,
> Permissisque jocis turba licentior
> Exsultet tetricis libera legibus.

The lectus genialis was carried into the atrium on the day of the wedding, perhaps by the mother, or the relatives, of the bride; but in later days this became merely symbolical. Cic. *pro Clu.* 5: *Lectum illum genialem, quem biennio ante filiæ suæ nubenti straverat, in eadem domo sibi ornari et sterni expulsa atque exturbata filia jubet: nubet genero socrus.* Paul. *v. genialis*, 94: *Gen. lectus, qui nuptiis sternitur in honorem genii.* Arnob. *adv. Gen.* ii. 67: *Cum in matrimonia convenitis, toga sternitis lectulos et maritorum genios advocatis.* Hor. *Ep.* i. 1, 87, *lectus genialis in aula est*, meaning that a person is married. We know no more about this custom, but from some passages it would seem that it occurred only in the marriage with manus. For instance, Arnob. iv. 20, says, *Usu, farre, coëmptione, genialis lectuli sacramenta condicunt*, but these words are not to be taken so strictly, any more than the *in matrimonia convenire* previously quoted. It is natural that when the binding forms of marriage went out of use, many peculiar customs were retained, as the sacrifice with the assistance of the priest, and the *Camillus* and *Camilla*. The lectus genialis, or adversus, remained in its place as long as the woman continued in marriage; or even until the man married again. The *sternere* then took place again; Prop. iv. 11, 85:—

> Seu tamen adversum mutarit janua lectum
> Sederit, et nostro cauta noverca toro.

The lectus is called adversus, because it stood in the atrium opposite the *janua*.

On the following morning the young wife began her management of the house by a sacrifice at the altar of her husband: Macrob. *Sat.* i. 18; Plut. *Qu. Rom.* 2. On the same day an after-ceremony of the marriage, called *repotia*, took place in the men's apartments. Fest. p. 281: *Repotia postridie nuptias apud novum maritum cœnatur, quia quasi reficitur potatio.* Porphyr. on *Hor. Sat.* ii. 2, 60, *Dies post nuptias.* On the contrary, Donat. and Acron. interpret it differently: *Repotia dicuntur septimus dies, quo nova solet nupta redire ad parentes suos*, the first visit therefore to the parental house. Auson. *Epist.* ix. 50, says indefinitely, *Conjugioque dapes*

aut sacra repotia patrum, which may be taken either in the sense of Donat. and Acron., or as a celebration after the birth of a child.

Lastly, we must notice, that the choice of the day for the wedding was not a matter of indifference. They avoided as unlucky the Calends, Nones, and Ides, and the day following them: Macrob. *Sat.* i. 15, 16; Paul. Diac. 179; Gell. v. 17; Varr. *L. L.* vi. 29; Ovid. *Fast.* i. 57; Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 25; likewise the Feriæ, Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 25. To this rule the day after the Ides of June formed an exception. The month was also carefully selected, and May was not lightly chosen: Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 85; Ovid. *Fast.* v. 487. So, too, the first half of June was avoided, whilst the second was chosen: Ovid. *Fast.* vi. 221.

The second form which effected conventio in manum (but not marriage) was the coëmptio. This form was adopted in order to bring about manus without marriage; therefore in such cases the formless contract of marriage, through *consensus* or *domum ductio*, must have preceded. The ceremonies were those just described (viz. deductio with Thalassio, lifting over the threshold, the salutation with Caius and Caia, the presence of the auspices, the joining of hands, the dress of the bride; incidents and external forms, which depended on the taste and the means of those about to be married); but in place of a religious marriage, a simple civil contract was entered into, which merely determined the proportion of dependence of the young woman. It was a symbolical sale, *per æs et libram, patre vel tutoribus auctoribus.* Gai. i. 113: *Coëmptione in manum conveniunt per mancipationem*, i.e. *per quandam imaginariam venditionem, adhibitis non minus quam quinque testibus, civibus Romanis puberibus, item libripende præter mulierem eumque, cujus in manum convenit.* Serv. on *Virg. Æn.* iv. 103: *Coëmptio enim est, ubi libra atque æs adhibetur, et mulier atque vir in se quasi emptionem faciunt.* Boëthius on Cic. *Top.* 3, p. 299: *Quæ in manum per coëmptionem convenerant, eæ matres fam. vocabantur; quæ vero usu vel farreo, minime. Coëmptio vero certis solemnitatibus peragebatur et sese in coëmendo invicem interrogabant* (i.e. in coëmptio they mutually asked each other); *vir ita; an mulier sibi materfamilias esse vellet: illa respondebat, velle. Itaque mulier viri conveniebat in manum et vocabantur hæ nuptiæ per coëmptionem, et erat mulier materfamilias viro loco filiæ. Quam solemnitatem in suis institutis Ulpianus exponit.* Boëthius is wrong in confining confarreatio to the marriage of priests; in believing that the woman could come in manum only by coëmptio; and in reckoning as materfamilias only her who *coëmptione convenit.* The last error is easily cleared up when we reflect that in the time of Boëthius this form no longer existed, and that he knew it only by tradition;

that confarreatio had long been used only for the marriage of priests, and that usus no longer led to manus. Gai. i. 113. As at coëmptio this form was especially used, *Visne mihi esse materfamilias?* he thought that only such women were called by that name. But we get the correct idea from Cic. *Top.* 3: *Genus enim est uxor; ejus duæ formæ: una matrumfamilias, earum, quæ in manum convenerunt* (usu, farreo, coëmptione): *altera earum, quæ tantummodo uxores habentur* (quæ in manum non convenerunt). Gell. xviii. 6, also explains: *Matremfamilias appellatam esse eam solam, quæ in mariti manu mancipioque esset.* The term *matrona* is only a more comprehensive designation for every decent woman. Cic. *pro Cœl.* 13: *Petulantes facimus, si matremfamilias secus, quam matronarum sanctitas postulat, nominamus.* Every materfamilias is also a matrona, but not the reverse.

The third form by which a woman came in manum was the usus or prescription. When she had entered into a free marriage only, but remained a whole year with the man without having been absent three days from his house, that constituted manus. Gai. i. 111: *Usu in manum conveniebat, quæ anno continuo nupta perseverabat, nam velut annua possessione usu capiebatur, in familiam viri transibat, filiæque locum obtinebat. Itaque lege XII. Tabularum cautum erat, si qua nollet eo modo in manum mariti convenire, ut quotannis trinoctio abesset atque ita usum cujuscunque anni interrumperet.* This period did not consist of three days, or thrice twenty-four hours, but three whole nights following each other, as is proved by the decision of Gell. iii. 2, and Macrob. *Sat.* i. 3, that the woman had not committed a valid *usurpatio trinoctii quæ Kalendis Januariis apud virum causa matrimonii esse cœpisset, et ante diem* iv. *Kal. Jan. sequentes usurpatum isset* (i.e. who left her husband's house in order to interrupt the *usucapio*). *Non enim posse impleri trinoctium, quod abesse a viro usurpandi causa ex XII. Tabulis deberet, quoniam tertiæ noctis posteriores sex horæ alterius anni essent, qui inciperet ex Kalendis.*

Besides these stricter forms of marriage, by which the woman came *in manum mancipiumque mariti*, there existed a less binding one, in which both parties stood in an equal position towards each other, viz. matrimonium justum, without conventio in manum. The woman remained in *potestate patris aut tutoris*, and retained the free disposition of her property. Such are the women whom Cicero describes as *uxores tantummodo*, in opposition to the materfamilias. So Gell. xviii. 6, *in matrimonium tantum convenire*, in opposition to *in manum convenire*. This form was very early introduced into Rome by the Peregrini, or by the Etruscans, who emigrated to Rome, where it was in time acknowledged as a lawful

marriage, provided that the conditions, as equality of position and citizenship, were the same on both sides. This free marriage became more binding after living together for one unbroken year, but even if the *usurpatio trinoctii* occurred, the free marriage still continued. In later times, when the conventio in manum was found inconvenient, they returned to this form of marriage, so that under the middle emperors no other existed, with the exception of the confarreatio for the priests. The marriage ceremonies, which were the same both with and without manus, have already been described.

Many sarcophagi illustrate the Roman marriage ceremonies, but they chiefly belong to more recent times, in which marriage without manus nearly always occurred. We find, however, in all of them, that the bride and bridegroom stretch forth their hands, being introduced to each other by Juno Pronuba; and that the preparation of sacrifices by the priests and the Camilli, and the Hymenæus, are not omitted.

The *Concubinatus* was merely a sexual living together of two persons who had no connubium. This was of two kinds: first, in a narrower and strictly legal sense, when a civis, unmarried, wished to live with one not equal to him in position, as a *peregrina, liberta, serva,* or *humilis, abjecta fœmina,* without considering her as his wife (to a certain extent looked upon as a left-handed marriage, *inæquale conjugium,* or *licita consuetudo*). Secondly, in a wider and not legal sense, when a married man lived with a mistress besides his wife, or unmarried with two mistresses. The first does not appear to have been considered criminal, or even contrary to decency, for we find inscriptions on graves to the 'beloved concubine;' the second was always condemned, and fell under the head of *stuprum,* particularly if the concubine belonged to the *honeste viventes.* The woman who lived with a married man was called *pellex.* Paul. Diac. p. 222: *Pellices nunc quidem appellantur alienis succumbentes, non solum fœminæ, sed etiam mares. Antiqui proprie eam pellicem nominabant, quæ uxorem habenti nubebant. Cui generi mulierum etiam pœna constituta est a Numa Pompilio hac lege: Pellex aram Junonis ne tangito; si tanget, Junoni crinibus demissis agnum fœminam cædito.* So Gell. iv. 3: *Pellicem autem appellatam probrosamque habitam, quæ juncta consuetaque esset cum eo, in cujus manu mancipioque alia matrimonii causa foret, hac antiquissima lege ostenditur,* etc. Later, the concubine was called by a *paulo honestiore nomine,—amica.*

BETROTHING AND DIVORCE.

MARRIAGE, in Greece, or at least in Athens, required, to be valid, to be preceded by a solemn betrothal; see Becker's *Charicles*, translated by Metcalfe, p. 351. Amongst the Romans this was not essential, but solicitation for the bride was made to her father, or in case of his death to her brother or guardian, and his consent must be obtained. Dio. Cass. xlviii. 44; lix. 12; lxiii. 13. From the usual form of stipulation, *spondesne? spondeo*, the whole act was called *sponsalia;* the betrothed were called *sponsa* and *sponsus*, more anciently *procus*. Another expression was *conventæ conditio*, which act preceded the betrothal, and consisted in negotiating the amount of the *dos*, the time of its payment, and so on. Paul. Diac. p. 62: *Conventæ conditio dicebatur, quum primus sermo de nuptiis et earum conditione habebatur*. The form of these sponsalia is shown in many instances by the comic writers, as Plaut. *Aul.* ii. 2; iii. 5, 2; *Curc.* v. 2, 74; *Pœn.* v. 4; *Trin.* v. 2, 33; especially *Trin.* ii. 4, 98:—

> *Ph.* Sine dote posco tuam sororem filio.
> Quæ res bene vortat! habeon', pactam? Quid taces?
> *St.* Proh dii immortales, conditionem quojusmodi!
> *Ph.* Quin fabulare, dii bene vortant: spondeo.

And *Pœn.* v. 3, 36:—

> *Ag.* Audin' tu patrue? dico, ne dictum neges:
> Tuam mihi majorem filiam despondeas.
> *Ha.* Pactam rem habeto. *Ag.* Spondes igitur? *Ha.* Spondeo.

Cf. Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 69.

The sponsalia were celebrated as a family holiday and with a banquet, as Cicero writes, *ad Qu. Cur.* ii. 6. Family mourning was suspended for that day, Suet. *Oct.* 53. The bride frequently received an espousal ring, *annulus pronubus*, which was likewise a symbolical pledge of sincerity, Juv. vi. 25; Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 1, 4; Tertull. *Apolog.* 6. The bridegroom also received a present from the bride, Dionys. iii. 21. In later times, valuable articles were mutually given as securities (*arra*), which the member who drew back from the performance of the contract forfeited. Hence it follows, that the engagement, though entered into by the appointed words, or even in writing, was not binding on either person, and in Rome, as little as in Athens, could an action be brought either *ex sponsu* or *ex stipulatu*. Juv. vi. 200:—

> Si tibi legitimis pactam junctamque tabellis
> Non es amaturus, ducendi nulla videtur
> Causa.

Either person could retract the engagement, *renuntiare* or *remit-*

tere repudium, Plaut. *Aul.* iv. 10, 53; Ter. *Phorm.* iv. 3, 72: *nuntiam remittere et sponsalia dissolvere.* Ulp. *Dig.* xxiii. 1, 110. *Repudium* was also said of divorce, Modestin. *Dig.* i. 16, 101: *Divortium inter virum et uxorem fieri dicitur; repudium vero sponsæ remitti videtur, quod et in uxoris personam non inepte cadit.* For examples of retracted betrothal, see Plaut. *Cat. Min.* 7; Suet. *Cæs.* 21, *Oct.* 62; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 3, 9; Dio. Cass. xlvi. 56, &c. This betrothal was not entirely without legal validity, although only so long as the engagement between the bride and bridegroom was not broken off, and it was considered disgraceful during its continuance to enter into a second engagement, and infidelity on the part of the bride was even regarded as *adulterium.*

According to a custom of the ancient Latins, the person who suffered by the drawing back of the other party from the engagement, had a ground of action, and the judge compelled the person who thus retracted without sufficient cause, to pay a sum of money (*litem pecunia æstimabat*). After the union of Latium with Rome, this *jus sponsaliorum* ceased, Gell. iv. 4.

The terms *sperata*, *pacta*, *sponsa*, *destinata* refer to the espousals, and not to the different forms of marriage, or to the various stages of the engagement.

In the same manner as the promise made at the espousals could be dissolved, so was also divorce from marriage always possible, without any one being authorized by the civil power to oppose it. This freedom was, however, much restrained by the moral feeling of the people and the great respect they entertained for the sacredness of the marriage bond. Add to this, there was the family council of relatives which must always be consulted before a divorce, and the fear of the Censor's reproof, which followed a divorce on insufficient grounds. This freedom of divorce appears too, if the explanation of Dionysius be correct, not to refer to confarreatio, ii. 25: *Εἰς σύνδεσμον ἀναγκαῖον οἰκειότητος ἔφερεν ἀδιαλύτου καὶ τὸ διαιρῆσον τοὺς γάμους τούτους οὐδὲν ἦν.* We must, however, recollect that in his time confarreatio was confined to the marriages of priests, which were always indissoluble; he could also easily err, by taking as an example of the old confarreatio the marriage of a flamen and flaminica. Therefore a union of the passage of Dionysius with Plut. *Rom.* 22, does not so decidedly negative it, as is supposed. Plut. says: *Ἔθηκε δὲ καὶ νόμους τινάς, ὧν σφοδρὸς μέν ἐστιν ὁ γυναικὶ μὴ διδοὺς ἀπολείπειν ἄνδρα, γυναῖκα δὲ διδοὺς ἐκβάλλειν ἐπὶ φαρμακείᾳ τέκνων ἢ κλειδῶν ὑποβολῇ καὶ μοιχευθεῖσαν*, which account agrees well with that of Dionysius, since Plutarch does not, like him, speak exclusively of marriage by con-

farreatio, but of marriage generally. It were absurd to suppose that the marriage should continue binding, if such crimes as those named occurred. This law of Romulus moreover decreed, that if a man should separate for any other reason, one half of his property should fall to his repudiated wife, and the other be dedicated to Ceres. And hence, in order to prevent hasty marriage, it was made, as much as possible, indissoluble.

There are also other instances to show that release from marriage occurred in the earlier times of the Republic, and that the Twelve Tables contained directions on the subject. The account of Sp. Carvilius Ruga, A.U.C. 520 or 523, having been the first to put away his wife, certainly is opposed to this idea. Dionys. ii. 25, says this in the most decided way: *ὁμολογεῖται ἐντὸς ἐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακοσίων μηδεὶς ἐν Ῥώμῃ διαλυθῆναι γάμος.—πρῶτος ἀπολῦσαι λέγεται τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα Σπούριος Καρ. ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἀφανὴς, ἀναγκαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν τιμητῶν ὀμόσαι τέκνων ἕνεκα γυναικὶ μὴ συνοικεῖν.* But the last words are either corrupt or contain an error, as the account of Gell. xvii. 2, shows: *Anno deinde* P. R. C. *quingentesimo undevicesimo Sp. Carv. Ruga primus Romæ de amicorum sententia divortium cum uxore fecit, quod sterilis esset jurassetque apud censores, uxorem se liberorum quærendorum causa habere.* Val. Max. ii. 1, 4, also mentions the year 520; but, on the other hand, we find another important example in Plutarch, agreeing that the first divorce, that of Sp. Carvilius, took place in the year 230. This year has indeed every probability against it, as the separation of Carvilius would have taken place in the time of the Kingdom, whilst the whole account refers to that of the Republic, namely, to the period when the Censorship was separated from the Consulate. Sulpicius, too, quotes the authority of Gellius as by far the most important. On the other hand, again, no one will believe it likely that for 520 years together, until some 150 years before Cicero, no divorce should have taken place in Rome. The whole matter seems to rest on a misunderstanding of the second passage of Gell. iv. 3. From this it appears probable, that the divorce of Carvilius took place under particular circumstances, different from those of the more ancient divorces, whence it came to pass that his divorce, which in some respects was the first of its kind, came to be considered the first generally. Sulpicius does not affirm that it was the first divorce, else Gellius would not merely say: *Quia profecto nihil desiderabantur* (viz. rei uxoriæ actiones et cautiones) *nullis etiam tunc matrimoniis divertentibus*, i.e. Gellius infers merely from the non-existence of the cautiones rei uxoriæ, that divorces came into use later. Probably Sp. Carvilius was the first who separated

from his wife for a reason different from those originally in force, namely, with the selfish object of retaining the dos, whilst he justified himself upon pretended religious scruples. His sophistry led to the desired result, but the right feeling of the people manifested itself in loud disapprobation of his conduct, and the cautiones rei uxoriæ were therefore soon introduced, in order to prevent similar consequences. Through these circumstances, and the fact that few have the cautiones dated, the divorce of Carvilius obtained celebrity, and so it may easily happen that after two hundred years and more, people should entertain the idea that it had been the first of all. That this divorce in some respect was the first, many learned men agree: one states, that it was the first *sterilitatis causa;* another, without consulting the judgment of cognati; a third, of a binding marriage, and so on.

Let us return now to the demonstration of the early divorce, and refer first to the case related by Val. Max. ii. 9, 2: *Horum severitatem M. Valerius Maximus et C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus censores in consimili genere animadversionis imitati L. Antonium senatu moverunt, quod quam virginem in matrimonium duxerat, repudiasset, nullo amicorum in consilium adhibito.* It would be false to suppose from this that divorces were uncommon or forbidden. We must, in the first place, recollect that the *nota censoria* is by no means regarded as *judicium*, as the instructive passage in Cic. *pro Clu.* 42—48, shows. The sentence of the Censor is entirely subjective, and has therefore but a limited importance. So it does not follow from the *animadversio censoria* against Antonius, that he did anything forbidden and liable to punishment, when he separated from his wife; but there was something reprehensible in the manner in which he did it, as we learn from Val. Max. himself, when he adds: *Nullo amicorum in consilium adhibito.* A family consultation was always held in such case, and thence it is said of Carvilius: *De amicorum sententia.* See the early part of this Excursus. Antonius' manner of proceeding was arbitrary and harsh, and thence the whole affair caused animadversio censoria. This divorce took place A.U.C. 447, some fifty years before the first Punic war.

But other proof exists, that in much earlier times divorce was properly established and strictly ordained by laws. Cicero, *Phil.* ii. 28, says jokingly of Antonius, who had dismissed Cytheris under the same formalities as those of divorce: *Illam suam suas res sibi habere jussit, ex duodecim tabulis claves ademit, exegit.* From this mention of the Twelve Tables, it follows that the proper relations of those who separated were therein contained, as well perhaps as certain formalities to be observed. Into the grounds on which a

divorce was to be obtained, inquiry was made sometimes by the council of cognati; at others by the judge in the *judicium de moribus*, after the introduction of cautionês et actiones rei uxoriæ. This last, however, only occurred when the pecuniary affairs of the two separating parties, as in the case of the return of the dos, could not be settled by friendly arbitration. The question then was, whether it was the fault of the husband or of the wife, that led to the divorce (*utrius culpa divortium factum*, Quinct. iii. 4, 11). On the part of the woman, the causes were, besides capital offences, adultery and drinking, and the latter was very severely punished in ancient times. Plin. *H. N.* xiv. 13: *Cn. Domitius judex pronuntiavit: mulierem videri plus bibisse quam valetudinis causa, viro inscienté, et dote multavit.* See Gellius x. 23, and Cato's speech there.

That divorces became much more frequent after the Punic wars is explained by the decay of manners then introduced, and by the marriage ties becoming more and more lax. The Censor's reproof was no longer dreaded, and we find that at that time divorce occurred on account of the most trivial circumstances. Val. Max. vi., out of many, selects three examples of the kind, that of Sulpicius Gallus, who *uxorem demisit, quod eam capite aperto foris versatam cognoverat;* secondly, of Q. Antistius Vetus, *quod illam in publico cum quadam libertina vulgari secreto loquentem viderat;* thirdly, of P. Sempronius Sophus, *qui conjugem repudii nota affecit, nihil aliud quam se ignorante ludos ausam spectare.* It is, besides, doubtful whether the causes here assigned were not a mere pretence. In the last period of the Republic, divorce prevailed to a frightful extent; marriage was thoughtlessly entered upon, and dissolved at pleasure. Sylla, Cæsar, Pompey, Cicero, and Antony, put away their wives, and Augustus and his successor followed their example. At that time this also occurred on the women's part, without any fault being committed by their husbands. It had previously been far more difficult for them to dissolve a marriage, and the husband's want of fidelity gave them no authority, as Plaut. *Men.* iv. 6, 1, says:—

> Ecastor lege dura vivunt mulieres
> Multoque iniquiore miseræ quem viri.
> Nam si vir scortum duxit clam uxorem suam,
> Id si rescivit uxor, impune est viro;
> Uxor viro si clam domo egressa est foras,
> Viro fit causa, exigitur matrimonio.
> Utinam lex esset eadem quæ uxori est viro! *etc.*

In Cicero's time and afterwards, separations by the women are often mentioned, as Cic. *ad Fam.* viii. 7; *ad Att.* xi. 23 (in this

case with reason); *pro Clu.* 5; Mart. *Ep.* vi. 7; x. 41. Sen. *de Ben.* iii. 16: *Numquid jam ulla repudio erubescit?—non consulum numero, sed maritorum annos suos computant et exeunt matrimonii causa, nubunt repudii.*

The most common term for the dissolution of marriage was *divortium*, which properly means a separation which took place with the consent of both the parties concerned. Paul. *Dig.* i. 16, 161: *Div. ex eo dictum est, quod in diversas partes eunt qui discedunt.* Modest. 101: *Div. inter virum et uxorem fieri dicitur.* Cf. Isidor. ix. 8. So also *discidium*, which was also generally used when the separation was mutual. These words were commonly joined with *facere.* On the other hand *repudium* refers to a divorce on one side, and is therefore used only of the party by whom it was caused. So the term used was not *repudium facere*, but *repudium mittere, remittere, dicere, scribere, nuntiare, renuntiare; nuntium remittere* was also similar; see Plaut. *Aul.* iv. 10, 53, 69; Ter. *Phorm.* iv. 3, 72; Cic. *ad Att.* i. 13; xi. 23; *de Orat.* i. 40; *Top.* 4; Suet. frequently. Besides these expressions, there were *exigere* and *ejicere* said of the man, Cic. *Phil.* ii. 28, 38; *discedere* of the woman, Ter. *Andr.* iii. 3, 36, which differed from each other, as in Greek did ἐκπέμπειν or ἐκβάλλειν and ἀπολείπειν. It has been, without sufficient reason, suggested, that *divortium* was said especially of the women, *repudium* of the men; and also that the former refers to divorce from strict, the latter from free, marriage.

The formula of separation either by mutual consent, or by the desire of one party, as given in the Twelve Tables, was: *Tuas res tibi habeto.* This applied as well to the man who wished to separate as to the woman; see Cic. *Phil.* ii. 28; Plaut. *Amph.* iii. 2, 47: *Valeas, tibi habeas res tuas, reddas meas;* also *Trin.* ii. 1, 31: *Tuas res tibi habe.* See also *Mart.* x. 41; Quinct. *Decl.* 262, &c. The woman resigned the key, but it is doubtful whether this formality was prescribed by the Twelve Tables. Sometimes also this order was accompanied by another, to quit the house (*foras exi*), which the woman alone could give, if she were mistress of the house; see Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* iv. 6, 62; cf. Plaut. *Cas.* ii. 2, 31; Mart. xi. 104. Written notices also, or verbal ones by a messenger, came into practice; whence the expressions *renuntiatio* or *nuntium remittere.* The contract made on the conclusion of the marriage was generally destroyed (*rumpere tabulas nuptiales*) Juv. ix. 75; Tac. *Ann.* xi. 30. When the marriage had been solemnly entered upon with manus, this simple formula was not sufficient to dissolve it. Therefore confarreatio required a formal *diffarreatio.* Paul. Diac. p. 74: *Diff. genus erat sacrificii, quo inter virum et mulierem fiebat dissolutio.*

Dicta diff., quia fiebat farreo libo adhibito. The same solemnities and persons which occurred at the confarreatio must be repeated at the diffarreatio. *Sacerdos confarreationum et diffarreationum*, Orell. *Inscr.* 2648. Beyond this nothing is known on the subject, as what Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 50, relates of Domitian, refers to the divorce of a flamen dialis: *οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς παρεγένοντο τῇ τοῦ γάμου διαλύσει πολλὰ φρικώδη καὶ ἀλλόκοτα καὶ σκυθρωπὰ δρῶντες.*

When the manus of the woman had been by mancipatio, divorce ensued by the preceding simple formula; but manus continued until taken away by a formal remancipatio. Fest.: *Quæ mancipata sit ab eo qui in manum convenerit.* See also the imperfect passage of Gai. i. 137. We are not told by which form the manus by usus was unloosened. Probably a simple declaration was sufficient.

The divorced wife could marry again, so too could the widow after the full time of mourning; but in the early days, when marriage had a higher sanction, this could not be done without prejudice to the character of the woman. A woman *multarum nuptiarum*, as Cic. *ad Att.* xiii. 29, says, received no respect, Plut. *Qu. Rom.* 102. Tertull. *de Exhort. Cast.* 13, *de Monogam.* 13, places her in contrast to *univira*, which expression is also found on inscriptions. A woman married for the second time could not be a pronuba or touch the statue of *Pudicitia*, of *Fortuna Muliebris*, or *Mater Matuta*, Liv. x. 23; Fest. *Pudic.* p. 242, 245. On the second marriage there were some external forms less full of honour than on the first: see Serv. on *Virg. Æn.* xi. 476; Prop. iv. 11, 85; iv. 8, 27.

CELIBACY.

VOLUNTARY celibacy was considered, in very early times, as censurable and even guilty. Sozom. *h. e.* i. 9, mentions an old law on the subject; and Dionys. ix. 22, speaks of a family law relating to it in the *gens Fabia.* From Festus, p. 379, we learn that there was a celibate fine. *Uxorium pependisse dicitur, qui, quod uxorem non habuerit, res populo dedit;* and the censors, whose attention was turned to the maintenance and increase of the population, watched over the ministration of these old decrees. Cic. *de Leg.* iii. 3; Val. Max. ii. 9, 1. *Camillus et Postumius censores æra pœnæ nomine eos qui ad senectutem cœlibes pervenerant, in ærarium deferre jusserunt;* 403 B.C.; 351 A. U. C. Hortatory speeches from the censors to the people, *de ducendis uxoribus* and *de prole augenda*, also took place. In Suet. *Oct.* 89, Q. Cæcilius Metellus says:

Si sine uxore possemus, Quirites, esse, omnes ea molestia careremus; sed quoniam ita natura tradidit, ut nec cum illis satis commode nec sine illis ullo modo vivi possit, saluti perpetuæ potius quam brevi voluptati consulendum; cf. Gell. i. 6; Liv. *Ep.* lix.; Sueton. *Oct.* 89. It was quite a Grecian view of the case to consider a wife as a necessary evil. Menand. p. 190: *ἀνάγκη γὰρ γυναῖκ' εἶναι κακὸν, ἀλλὰ εὐτυχής ἐσθ' ὁ μετριώτατον λαβών*; see Becker's *Charicles*, translated by Metcalfe, p. 346. In the general deterioration of manners, and especially after the civil wars, the number of unmarried increased extraordinarily, and even before Juvenal's time marriage was so critical a matter that one might well call out

> Certe sanus eras! Uxorem, Postume, ducis?
> Dic, qua Tisiphone, quibus exagitare colubris?

The demands which women, especially those of rank, made, were, in the time of Plautus, of such a kind that the taste for marriage became nearly lost. See *Aulul.* iii. 5, *Mil.* iii. 1, 91. If the wife brought an important dowry, the position of the husband in the house was frequently not the most agreeable. Hence Demænetus complains in Plaut. *Asin.* i. 1, 74: *Argentum accepi; dote imperium vendidi;* and *Epid.* ii. i. 11, where Apœcides remarks: *Pulcra edepol dos pecunia est*, Periphanes replies: *quæ quidem pol non maritata est.* Juvenal vi. 460, *Intolerabilius nihil est quam femina dives*, and Mart. viii. 12:

> Uxorem quare locupletem ducere nolim,
> Quæritis? uxori nubere nolo meæ.

Learned women were dreaded. *Sit non doctissima conjux*, Mart. ii. 90, makes a condition. See Juv. vi. 448:

> Non habeat matrona, tibi quæ juncta recumbit,
> Dicendi genus, aut curtum sermone rotato
> Torqueat enthymema, nec historias sciat omnes:
> Sed quædam ex libris et non intelligat.

As the view implying censure had entirely passed away, Cæsar sought to encourage marriage by rewards; but Augustus published, through the *lex Julia et Papia Poppæa*, some very stringent and even ridiculous decrees against celibacy. And, on the other hand, certain advantages accrued to those who had many children, *jus trium liberorum.* These laws, however, do not seem to have had much result, as we see from Tac. *Ann.* iii. 25. They were defeated by the emperors themselves, who often granted the jus trium liberorum to persons who had very few or no children, or were not even married.

CHILDREN.

If the Roman custom in relation to marriage and the position of women generally, is decidedly to be preferred to that of the Greeks, it cannot be denied that the reverse was the case as regarded the relations of children, as the arbitrary power which the father had over them in Rome was a flagrant injustice: the freedom of an individual was thus limited in a most unjust manner, and the child held in an unnatural dependence on his father. The great mistake consisted in the Roman father considering the power which Nature imposes as a duty on the elders, of guiding and protecting a child during infancy, as extending over his freedom, involving his life and death, and continuing during his entire existence. The Grecian law differed in two respects from the Roman: first, that the father's power ceased with the son's independence, and this he attained either by arriving at a certain period of life, or by marriage, or by being entered on the list of citizens. Secondly, the Grecian father had merely the right of terminating the relation between child and parent, by banishing him from his house, or disinheriting him, without daring to injure either his liberty or life.

The *patria potestas* of the Romans was in theory indeed very different from absolute possession (*dominium*), but in reality it approached very near to it, especially in ancient times; only the latter extended over things, the former over persons. Consequently this potestas gave the father the right over the life and liberty of his child. Dion. ii. 26, after drawing attention to the difference of the Grecian laws, says: *ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων νομοθέτης ἅπασαν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔδωκεν ἐξουσίαν πατρὶ καθ' υἱοῦ καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον, ἐάν τε εἴργειν, ἐάν τε μαστιγοῦν, ἐάν τε δέσμιον ἐπὶ τῶν κατ' ἀγρὸν ἔργων κατέχειν, ἐάν τε ἀποκτιννύναι προαιρῆται, κἂν τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττων ὁ παῖς ἤδη τυγχάνῃ, κἂν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις ἐξεταζόμενος, κἂν διὰ τὴν εἰς τὰ κοινὰ φιλοτιμίαν ἐπαινούμενος.* This law, said to be as early as Romulus, but at any rate very ancient, was revived in all its severity in the Twelve Tables. Dionys. ii. 27: *οἱ λαβόντες παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς συναγωγῆς τε καὶ ἐπιγραφῆς αὐτῶν* (i. e. *νόμων*) *δέκα ἄνδρες ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνέγραψαν νόμοις.* He then controverts the possible notion that the Decemvirs introduced this, by citing an institution of Numa: *ἐὰν πατὴρ υἱῷ συγχωρήσῃ γυναῖκα ἀγαγέσθαι κοινωνὸν, ἐσομένην ἱερῶν τε καὶ χρημάτων κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, μηκέτι τὴν ἐξουσίαν εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ πωλεῖν τοὺς υἱούς.* This power quite agreed with the ancient severity (see Liv. i. 26, where Horatius says, *Se filiam jure cæsam judicare, ni ita esset, patrio jure in filium animadversurum fuisse*), but it was afterwards

recognized by law, as the usual form of adoption shows. *Orat. pro Domo* 29: *Credo enim, quanquam in illa adoptione legitime factum est nihil, tamen te esse interrogatum: auctorne esses, ut in te P. Fonteius vitæ necisque potestatem haberet, ut in filio*, and the complete form in Gell. v. 19: *Velitis jubeatis, ut L. Valerius, L. Titio, tum jure legeque filius siet, quam si ex eo patre matreque familias ejus natus esset, utique ei vitæ necisque in eum potestas siet, uti patri endo filio est. Hæc ita, ut dixi, vos Quirites rogo.* The unnatural part of this decree was somewhat modified, in that the right of life and death belonged in fact to that of discipline and punishment, which was permitted by the State to the paterfamilias, and as the father could not act on his own judgment, but must, conformably to custom, summon a family council, as e. g. Val. Max. v. 8, 2: *Cassius filium—adhibito propinquorum et amicorum consilio affectati regni crimine domi damnavit verberibusque affectum necari jussit.* On the killing of Sp. Cassius Viscellinus by his father, see Liv. ii. 41; Dionys. viii. 79; Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 4. This judgment is mentioned by Val. Max. v. 8, 3, where he says of T. Manlius Torquatus, *ne consilio quidem necessariorum indigere se credidit*, as his son had been accused by the Macedonians on account of extortion. The father sat in judgment for three days, hearing witnesses and so on, and at last banished his son from his presence, whereupon he killed himself; so Cic. *de Fin.* i. 7. Val. Max. relates another instance, v. 9, 1. L. Gellius held judgment on his son, *pæne universo senatu adhibito in consilium*, and after careful inquiry, *absolvit eum tum concilii tum etiam sententia sua.* See also Quinct. *Decl.* viii. 4, and 356. Other examples are related, of sentence being passed on sons by their fathers, without mention of the family council, and probably because the official position of the father rendered such aid unnecessary, as in the harsh judgment of Brutus and T. Manlius Imperiosus: see also Liv. iv. 29. In capital offences too the father could by himself inflict punishment, as it is deemed more proper that he should himself condemn his son, than that he should come himself as his accuser. So Sall. *Cat.* 39 relates: *Fuere tamen extra conjurationem complures, qui ad Catilinam initio profecti sunt: in his A. Fulvius senatoris filius quem retractum ex itinere parens necari jussit.* Cf. Dio. Cass. xxxviii. 36, and Val. Max. v. 8, 5, and vi. 1, 3. Sen. *de Clem.* i. 14, 15, relates two instances of a father's judgment in the time of Augustus. In the latter case the father condemned the son for parricide, letting him off with exile only. A solemn family council also preceded, to which the emperor was invited; there the kindness of the father openly prevailed, and whilst he made use of his right, he protected his son from the punishment which he would have found in the

public court of justice. The second case proves the harshness and misuse to which this right could be applied. *Erixonem equitem Rom. memoria nostra, quia filium suum flagellis occiderat, populus in foro graphiis confodit. Vix illum Augusti Cæsaris auctoritas infestis tam patrum quam filiorum manibus eripuit.* But after all, not one case of absolute death is mentioned, but only of cruel punishment. Tac. *Ann.* xvi. 33, gives another example: *Montanus patri concessus est, prædicto, ne in republica haberetur.* That is wrong, however: on the contrary, the son was pardoned from respect to his father. See Quinct. *Decl.* viii. xix. &c. If a misuse of the patria potestas occurred in earlier times, the censor could resent it, Dionys. xx. 3; Oros. v. 16, even speaks of a public indictment; in later days the emperor saw to it, as it is related of Trajan and Hadrian. In the two hundredth year of the empire this power was taken away from the father by law.

Although the right of sale undeniably existed, and was recognized by the Twelve Tables, no instance of it exists; and we may therefore suppose that it was early abolished, and used only as a form in the emancipatio. Numa even seems to have limited this right, according to Dionys. ii. 27; so too Plut. *Num.* 17. In the form of mancipatio, the father had the right to sell the son three times; after the third time he did not again come into the patria potestas. So the Twelve Tables decreed: *Si pater filium ter venum duit, filius a patre liber esto,* Ulp. x. 1; Gai. i. 132. Plaut. *Stich.* i. 1, 54; 2, 11; *Trin.* ii. 2, 20, speaks generally of the obedience due from children to their father.

From the patria potestas must be entirely separated the right with which we frequently meet in antiquity, of killing or exposing new-born children. In Rome it did not exist to so great an extent as elsewhere. Romulus is said to have interdicted sons and first-born daughters from being killed, Dionys. ii. 28. On the other hand, it seems to have been commanded that the deformed should be put to death, Cic. *de Leg.* iii. 8; Liv. xxvii. 37; Sen. *de Ira*, i. 18. That the exposure and murder of the new-born was not unfrequent, even in the most important families, many instances show; as Dio. Cass. xlv. 1, and the *Lex Gentilicia* of the Fabii, Dionys. ix. 22: *τὰ γεννώμενα ἐπάναγκες τρέφειν*; see Plaut. *Cas.* prol. 41, 79; *Cist.* i. 3, 17, 31; Ter. *Heaut.* iv. 1, 37. Whether the *columna lactaria* mentioned by Paul. Diac. p. 118, is connected with this custom, is not certain.

The son remained in the father's power until his death, unless either of them had suffered a *capitis diminutio.* The patria potestas ceased if the son became a flamen dialis. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 16;

Gai. iii. 114. Other dignities made no difference, see Val. Max. v. 4, 5. In the case of a daughter it ceased when she entered into marriage with manus, or became a vestal virgin. Gell. i. 12: *Eo statim tempore sine emancipatione ac sine capitis minutione e patris potestate exit.* Ulp. x. 5: *In potestate parentum esse desinunt et hi, qui Flamines Divales inaugurantur, et quæ Virgines Vestæ capiuntur.* Gai. i. 130.

If a father wished to renounce the patria potestas over his son, it must be done either by adoption (by which he passed into another potestas) or by the formality of emancipation. This consisted in selling the son three times to a *pater fiduciarius*, who manumitted him according to a previously-made contract after the first and second mancipation; but after the third he mancipated him back to the father, on which the latter became his pater, and manumitted him *in libertatem.* This minuteness was the consequence of the directions of the Twelve Tables, that the father should three times sell his son. Ulp. x. 1: *Liberi parentum potestate liberantur emancipatione,* i. e. *si posteaquam mancipati fuerint, manumissi sint. Sed filius quidem ter mancipatus, ter manumissus sui juris fit. Id enim lex* xii. *tabularum jubet his verbis: Si pater filium ter venum duit, filius a patre liber esto. Ceteri autem liberi præter filium tam masculi quam feminæ una mancipatione manumissioneque sui juris fiunt.*

EXCURSUS II. SCENE I.

EDUCATION.

NOTWITHSTANDING the harsh power which amongst the Romans the paterfamilias possessed over his familia, it must not be forgotten that in the house far more of real family life occurred, and that a more strong and sacred band bound together the different members of the house amongst the Romans than amongst the Greeks. The chief cause of this was the higher dignity of the housewife, whose influence asserted itself happily in the education of the children, not only as a mother during their earliest years, but also in superintending them during their riper years. The eulogy which Tac. *Agric.* iv. bestows on the mother of Agricola, in a sadly degenerate age (*mater Julia Procilla fuit raræ castitatis. In hujus sinu indulgentia educatus per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit*), carries us back to the oldest and better days of the Republic. So says also the author *de Caus. corr. Eloq.* 28: *Jam primum suus cuique filius ex casta parente natus in cella emptæ nutricis sed gremio ac sinu matris educabatur, cujus præcipua laus erat tueri domum et inservire liberis.* If history gives few examples of celebrated women, and their power over their children, like that of Cornelia and Veturia, we must reflect that such relations were very seldom mentioned, and only in connection with conspicuous persons and events; but from those few we may understand the general character of the household relations.

The expression *tollere* and *suscipere liberos* (analogous to τέκνα ἀναιρεῖσθαι) shows that amongst the Romans a similar custom to that of the Greeks prevailed after the birth of the child, with regard to the declaration of the father, as to whether he would bring up the child as his own. Plaut. *Amph.* i. 3, 3; *Cist.* ii. 3, 8; *Truc.* ii. 4, 45; *Most.* i. 2, 41; Ter. *Heaut.* iv. 1, 15; *Andr.* i. 3, 14; *Hec.* iv. 1, 56; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 5, 45. What August. *de Civ. Dei*, iv. 11, relates of a divinity *Levana* (*levat infantes de terra*), as if the presider over this ceremony, may well refer to ancient times; but the name is not mentioned elsewhere. What Varro xii. 36, says, refers to this: *Natus si erat vitalis ac sublatus ab obstetrice, statuebatur in terra, ut auspicaretur rectus esse.* The number of tutelary gods recognized by the Romans for special cases, and particular moments of life, was so extraordinarily great, that there is an appearance of truth about the saying of the pontifices, *Singulis actibus proprios deos præesse.*

Macrob. *Sat.* i. 17: *Unius dei effectus varios pro variis censendos esse numinibus.* From the earliest childhood there were besides Levana, *Vagitanus*, or *Vaticanus* (*penes quem essent vocis humanæ initia*). Varr. in Gell. xvi. 7; *Cunina* (*cunas administrat*), August. *de Civ. Dei*, iv. 11, *Potina Edusa*, or *Educa* (*escam præbet*) and *Cuba*, Non. ii. 310: *Edusam et Potinam deas præsides vult haberi puerorum Varro: Quum primo cibo et potione initiarent pueros, sacrificabantur ab edulibus Eduscæ, a potione Potinæ.* Donat. on Ter. *Phorm.* i. 1, 15: *Legitur apud Varronem initiari pueros Eduliæ et Poticæ et Cubæ, divis edendi et potandi et cubandi, ubi primum a lacte et a cunis transierunt*, etc.

Nine days after the birth of the boys (*nundinæ*), and eight after that of the girls, the *lustratio* took place, and at the same time the ὀνοματοθεσία, *nomen accipiebant.* Hence the day was called *dies lustrica, dies nominum, nominalia.* In this ceremony there was also a special divinity, *Nundina:* Macrob. *Sat.* i. 16: *Est etiam Nundina Romanorum dea, a nono die nascentium nuncupata, qui lustricus dicitur; est autem dies lustricus, quo infantes lustrantur et nomen accipiunt.* The *dies lustricus* was celebrated as a family holiday, and small gifts were presented to the child by the parents and relatives, and even by the slaves, and this was repeated in after years on the birth-day. This was a Grecian custom originally, but it also took place amongst the Romans. Plautus mentions as play things of this kind, *Rud.* iv. 4, 110, *ensiculus aureolus literatus*, with his father's name. *Duæ connexæ maniculæ; sucula argentea; bulla aurea. Ep.* v. 1, 33: *aurea lunula et anellus aureus.* The children, as amongst the Greeks (ἀναγνώρισματα), carried these toys suspended from their necks (Plaut. *Mil.* v. 6), and being of metal, they were called from their clanking (*a crepando*), *crepundia.* Works of art, representing children with such crepundia on their necks, have been preserved.

The bulla aurea which Plautus mentions, signifies most certainly that this was a Roman custom; being introduced by the Etruscans into Rome, it was a distinction of children of high birth unknown to the Greeks. This bulla was a round, flat case of gold (Isidor. xix. 31), an amulet, which sometimes opened, and was worn by children suspended round the neck, and hung directly on the breast. Prop. iv. 131; Plut. *Qu. Rom.* 101; and Mac. *Sat.* i. 6, make various attempts to explain the meaning which had long passed away, and of a custom which was no longer intelligible. It is certain that the bulla aurea, with the *toga prætexta*, which was worn at the same time by children, was introduced by the Etruscans; hence Juv. calls it *aurum Etruscum;* and that it was a pre-

servative against fascination, and therefore properly hung around children. For that reason also, the *Triumphator* wore it during that ceremony: see Plut. *Rom.* 25, and Macrob. i. 6, who names Tarquinius Priscus as the one through whom the use of it by children came into vogue. Originally, the bulla with the prætexta was worn only by children of patrician birth (Liv. xxvi. 36, says, by the sons of senators), but the prætexta by knights also. Cic. *Phil.* ii. 18, *Tenesne prætextatum te decoxisse?* In the second Punic war, however, the prætexta was worn by the children of *libertini*, born in a lawful marriage, and instead of the bulla aurea one of leather was hung round the neck. Juv. v. 164:

> . . . . quis enim tam nudus, ut illum
> Bis ferat, Etruscum puero si contigit aurum,
> Vel nodus tantum et signum de paupere loro?

In Cicero's time we find both bulla and prætexta dependent on the census, and the bulla in no case limited to patrician families. Cic. *Verr.* i. 44: *Eripies igitur pupillæ togam prætextam? detrahes ornamenta non solum fortunæ sed etiam ingenuitatis?* 58: *neque tam commovebat, quod ille cum toga prætexta, quam quod sine bulla venerat. Vestitus enim neminem commovebat is, quem illi mos et jus ingenuitatis dabat. Quod ornamentum pueritiæ pater dederat, indicium atque insigne fortunæ, hoc ab isto prædone ereptum esse, graviter et acerbe homines ferebant.* The *pupillus* had lost the bulla with his fortune, but the prætexta remained to him as *ingenuus*. It is not correct, however, to suppose that the bulla was generally the sign of Roman freedom, and that every ingenuus wore it, although this might be concluded from Suet. *De Clar. Rhet.* 1. Statues of young Romans with the bulla are common. Such bullæ, of various sizes with the ornaments, have been found at Herculaneum, as well as in Etruscan tombs.

After the dies lustricus followed the announcement of the children (*professio*), in order that they might be entered in the public registers, which were connected with the chronicles of the day, or *acta publica*. This took place formally and regularly after the time of M. Antonius Philosophus, as Capitol. c. 9, relates: *Inter hæc liberales causas ita munivit, ut primus juberet apud præfectos ærarii Saturni unumquemque civium natos liberos profiteri intra tricesimum diem, nomine imposito. Per provincias tabulariorum publicorum usum instituit, apud quos idem de originibus fieret, quod Romæ apud præfectos ærarii.* The object of this register was to afford means of proving the age and condition of a person, and the arrangement was extended over the whole empire. Instances are to be found in Appul. *Apolog.* p. 92; Serv. on *Virg. Georg.*

ii. 502; *Dig.* xxvii. 1, 2 (παιδογραφία), xxii. 3, 29 (*in actis profiteri*), xxii. 3, 16 (*matris professio*). That this plan of Antonius was only a revival of a custom introduced by Servius Tullius is not true. Dionys. iv. 15, says, according to L. Piso, that Servius had ordered, that on the birth of every child a certain piece of money should be delivered at the *ærarium* of the temple of Juno Lucina, as on each death at that of Venus Libitina, and on the putting on of the *toga virilis*, at that of Juventus, and gives as the object: ἐξ ὧν ἤμελλε διαγνώσεσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὅσοι τε οἱ σύμπαντες ἦσαν καὶ τίνες ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν στρατεύσιμον ἡλικίαν εἶχον. But Dionys. does not relate that the direction of these registers was mixed up with the alms at the temple. The two institutions were quite different. Servius Tullius ordained the alms at the temples for births, deaths, and so on, only with the political subordinate aim of knowing the number of those who were born, and dead, and engaged in military service, and thence of reckoning the amount of the whole population. M. Anton. Phil. founded a special register of births, in order more securely to settle the actions about *status* (*causæ liberales*), and at the same time to prevent them as much as possible. Serv. Tullius had a political object in his institution, which ceased with the introduction of the census: he wished to come at a preparation for the census, or a temporary substitute for it, since the census-lists contained all that he wanted in a more certain form. M. Anton. Phil. aimed at something more enduring, which could not be superseded by any other institution. It was an enlargement of the custom, general since the time of Cæsar, to make known the chief family events, as births, marriages (Juv. *Sat.* ii. 136), divorces (Sen. *De Ben.* iii. 16), &c., in the chronicles of the day (or *acta diurna, publica, urbana, populi*). This depended on the will of each person, but was always common, partly because these public and authorized announcements accommodated differences concerning status, and partly because after such open communications only the rewards decreed by the lex Julia and Papia Poppæa were granted. Of such announcements Juv. speaks, ix. 84:

> Tollis enim et libris actorum spargere gaudes
> Argumenta viri.....
> Jura parentis habes, propter me scriberis heres, *etc.*

Spargere clearly signifies the diffusion by means of the acta publica. See Petron. *Sat.* 53, and Suet. *Tib.* 5, *Cal.* 8, 25, 26. The passage in Cap. *Gord.* 4 (of the time after Antoninus) shows the identity between the earlier and later *professiones: cum apud præfectum ærarii more Romano professus filium publicis actis ejus nomen insereret. Professus* denotes the announcement to which

everybody was subject; *publ. acta*, the registration in the chronicle. The father himself could also put out an announcement of the birth of his child, *instrumentum*, which, like every other *testimonium*, was signed by witnesses, Apul. *Apol.* p. 92.

In ancient times the Roman mother always nursed the child herself, not as the Greeks did: see Becker's *Charicles*. Afterwards wet-nurses became very common, especially in the higher ranks, and the nurse was herself called mother. Plaut. *Mem.* prol. 19.

> Ita forma simili pueri, uti mater sua
> Non internosse posset qua mammam dabat,
> Neque adeo mater ipsa quæ pepererat.

See Quinct. *Inst.* i. 1; Gell. xii. 1; Auct. *Dial. de Orat.* 28, 29. Plut. *Cat. Maj.* 20, specially mentions that Cato was nursed and tended by his mother.

Of the earliest bringing up very little more is related. It was entirely domestic; even the parents themselves educated the children, and did not commit them to slaves. They were also very careful in the selection of the attendants who were necessary to take charge of the children, lest their improper words and incorrect speech should exercise a bad influence. Of this great care Plautus speaks, *Mil. Glor.* iii. 1, 109.

> At illa laus est magno in genere et in divitiis maximis
> Liberos hominem educare, generi monumentum et sibi.

Hence the expression *in gremio matris educari*, Cic. *Brut.* 58; Auct. *Dial. de Orat.* 28. The state took no notice of this, as that would not have agreed with the idea of patria potestas, Plut. *Lyc. et Num. comp.* 4: yet later the Censor could interfere, when the state seemed liable to suffer injury by the frequent indulgence and effeminacy in education; Plut. *Cat. Maj.* 16, 17; Dionys. xx. 3. At any rate the state deemed itself bound to look after the schools. Cic. *De Rep.* iv. 3. *Principio disciplinam puerilem ingenuis, de qua Græci multum frustra laborarunt, et in qua una Polybius noster nospes nostrorum institutorum negligentiam accusat, nullam certam aut destinatam legibus aut publice expositam, aut unam omnium esse voluerunt.* Schools existed in early times, of course as private undertakings. The first mention made of them in history is on the occasion of the violence offered to Virginia by Appius Claudius. Liv. iii. 44: *Virgini venienti in forum* (*ibi namque in tabernis literarum ludi erant*) *minister decemviri libidinis manum injecit.* (The expression *in tabernis* can be merely a topographical designation, as *tab. veteres et novæ;* but in Suet. *De Ill. Gr.* 18, it is said *deinde in pergula docuit.*) Dionys. xi. 28: *ταύτην τὴν κόρην ἐπίγαμον οὖσαν ἤδη θεασάμενος Ἄππιος Κλαύδιος ἀναγινώσκουσαν ἐν γραμματιστοῦ—*

ἦν δὲ τὰ διδασκαλεῖα τῶν παίδων τότε περὶ τὴν ἀγοράν.—If this account sounds somewhat strange, we are supplied with an example not much later, of school instruction out of Rome, Liv. v. 27: *Mos erat Faliscis, eodem magistro liberorum et comite uti, simulque plures pueri, quod hodie quoque in Græcia manet, unius curæ demandabantur: principum liberos, sicut fere fit, qui scientia videbatur præcellere, erudiebat.* Plut. *Cam.* 10. The same of Tusculum, in Lib. vi. 25. Plaut. *Merc.* ii. 2, 32: *Hodie ire in ludum occœpi literarium.* But in another passage it appears that we must understand instruction in the house. Plaut. *Bacch.* iii. 3, 27:

> Inde de hippodromo et palæstra ubi revenisses domum,
> Cincticulo præcinctus in sella apud magistrum assideres:
> Cum librum legeres, si unam peccavisses syllabam,
> Fieret corium tam maculosum, quam est nutricis pallium,

is a Greek and Roman custom here mixed: for how does the Palæstra apply to Rome, and the second verse to Greece?

Doubtless elementary schools existed from this time downwards, to meet the wants of the less opulent. Horace, who had been brought by his father to Rome, because the school at Venusium was of an inferior sort, describes how the boys sauntered to school with their satchels and counting-tables. *Sat.* i. 6, 72:

> Noluit in Flavi ludum me mittere, magni
> Quo pueri, magnis e centurionibus orti,
> Lævo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto
> Ibant octonis referentes Idibus æra.

To such hedge-schools he refers with horror. *Epist.* i. 20, 17:

> Hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem
> Occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.

Like Horace, Ovid was also brought with his brother from Sulmo to Rome. Martial frequently refers to them. It is, however, certain that subsequently the children of the higher and more opulent classes received their first education through a tutor at home. When Quinct. discusses the question, *Inst. Or.* i. 2, *Utiliusne sit domi atque intra privatos parietes studentem continere, an frequentiæ scholarum et velut publicis præceptoribus tradere*, and decides in favour of the latter, he had not elementary education in his mind. He certainly says not *juvenes*, but *pueros;* but his arguments, derived from the higher grammatical and rhetorical studies, show that he referred to *prætextatos*, and not little boys. But long before this time prudent fathers employed teachers in the house to give their sons their first instruction. Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 14, 40: *Itaque cum L. Paulus devicto Perseo petisset ab Atheniensibus, ut sibi quam probatissimum philosophorum mitterent ad erudiendos liberos*, etc. Plin. *Epist.* iii. 3, says of the son of Corellia Hispulla, *Adhuc illum*

pueritiæ ratio intra contubernium tuum tenuit; præceptores domi habuit; jam studia ejus extra limen proferenda sunt; jam circumspiciendus rhetor Latinus, etc. So Cic. *pro Lig.* 7, *Hæc ego novi propter omnes necessitudines, quæ mihi sunt cum L. Tuberone: domi una eruditi, militiæ contubernales*, etc., but this must be understood only of later instruction; and so Ovid. *Trist.* iv. 10, 15.

Protinus excolimur teneri, curaque parentis
Imus ad insignes Urbis ab arte viros.

The elder Cato instructed his son himself, although he had engaged a Grecian grammarian, who was the teacher of other boys. Plut. *Cat. Maj.* 20: *ἐπεὶ δ' ἤρξατο συνιέναι, παραλαβὼν αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκε γράμματα. Καίτοι χαρίεντα δοῦλον εἶχε γραμματιστήν, ὄνομα Χίλωνα, πολλοὺς διδάσκοντα παῖδας.*

It was not till after the subjection of southern Italy, which brought the Romans into closer contact with the Greeks, and made them acquainted with their arts and sciences, that they felt the necessity of having domestic *pædagogi*, by associating with whom the children might become accustomed to the Greek tongue at an early age. This principally happened in noble families, where the Greek became the ordinary form of speech as with us the French is. Quite after the manner of the present day, Quinctilian complains that the children were taught Greek, before Latin, their mother-tongue. *Inst. Or.* i. 1, 12; *A Græco sermone puerum incipere malo, quia Latinus, qui pluribus in usu est, vel nobis nolentibus se præbet: simul quia disciplinis quoque Græcis prius instituendus est, unde et nostræ fluxerunt.* We must not, however, suppose that the knowledge of the Greek language was widely spread. Many passages of Cicero show that a comprehension of it by the majority of people was not to be presumed; as, for example, *Verr.* v. 57. *ἐδικώθησαν, inquit, h. e. ut Siculi loquuntur, supplicio affecti ac necati sunt.* In the provinces there were people who acted as interpreters to the prætors and others. Ib. *Verr.* iii. 37: *A. Valentius est in Sicilia interpres; quo iste interprete non ad linguam Græcam sed ad furta et flagitia uti solebat.* Cicero was accustomed, when he wrote anything in his letters which if they should be broken open or fall into wrong hands he did not wish to be read, to use the Greek tongue. Cicero himself received a complete Grecian education. Suet. *de Clar. Rhet.* 2: *De hoc* (Plotio) *Cicero ad M. Titinnium sic refert: equidem memoria teneo, pueris nobis primum Latine docere cœpisse L. Plotium quendam; ad quem cum fieret concursus, quod studiosissimus quisque apud eum exerceretur, dolebam mihi idem non licere. Continebar autem doctissimorum hominum auctoritate, qui existimabant, Græcis exercitationibus ali melius ingenia posse.* The pedagogues, who were often surly, presumptuous, and ignorant,

accompanied the boys to school (*pedisequus puerorum*), as did also a slave on most occasions; the *nutrices* likewise accompanied the girls, App. *B. C.* vii. 30. They remained also during the time of instruction, Suet. *Ill. Gramm.* 23, *Remnius Palæmon Vicentinus, mulieris verna, primo ut ferunt textrinum, deinde herilem filium dum comitatur in scholas, literas didicit.* The pedagogues in Plaut. and Ter., as Lydus, pedagogue of Pistoclerus in Plaut. *Bacch.* i. 2; iii. 1, are taken from Grecian models.

The schools were only private undertakings, and sometimes without even an authority from the state. It has been frequently remarked as very strange, that Sp. Carvilius, the freedman brought into notice by his divorce, should have been the first to teach in Rome for money. Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 59: ὀψὲ δ' ἤρξαντο μισθοῦ διδάσκειν καὶ πρῶτος ἀνέῳξε γραμματοδιδασκαλεῖον Σπόριος Καρβίλιος, κ.τ.λ. If Plutarch does not altogether err, we must understand this of a higher school, which at that time were first introduced. Elementary schools had been long before established, and who will believe that the teachers therein had taught gratuitously?

Next come under consideration the originally sole elementary schools of the *ludi magistri*, or of the *literatores* and *grammatistæ*, as they were afterwards called, where the children first learnt their letters, and then to read and write. That happened, it seems, at least from the seventh year of age. Quinct. i. 1, 18: *Quidam literis instituendos qui minores septem annis essent non putaverunt:* for them this was too late a period. The gradual steps of the old education are related by Varro: *educit enim obstetrix, educat nutrix, instituit pædagogus, docet magister.* This primary instruction was, as Plato recommended, pursued, if not generally yet to a certain extent, as an amusement. To this Hor. *Sat.* i. 1, 25, refers:

> . . . ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi
> Doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima.

and further, Quinct. i. 1, 26: *Non excludo autem, id quod est notum, irritandæ ad discendum infantiæ gratia eburneas etiam literarum formas in lusum offerre, vel si quid aliud, quo magis illa ætas gaudeat, inveniri potest, quod tractare, intueri, nominare jucundum est.* It appears from Quinct. that in learning to read, the method of syllables was adopted, whilst amongst the Greeks that of letters appears to have been generally used. See Becker's *Charicles*, translated by Metcalfe, p. 188.

In writing they used wax tablets, on which the characters were marked (*puerile præscriptum*), Sen. *Ep.* 94: *præformatæ literæ*, Quinct. v. 14, 31, when the teacher often guided the pupil's hand. Vop. *Tac.*: *Quibus ad subscribendum magistri literarii manus teneant.*

Quinct. i. 1, 27, recommended a means of facilitating the commencement: *Cum vero jam ductus sequi cœperit, non inutile erit, eos tabellæ quam optime insculpi, ut per illos velut sulcos ducatur stylus. Nam neque errabit, quemadmodum in ceris, continebitur enim utrinque marginibus, neque extra præscriptum poterit egredi et celerius ac sæpius sequendo certa vestigia firmabit articulos, neque egebit adjutorio manum suam manu superimposita regentis.*

Arithmetic was, as amongst the Greeks, generally carried on in two ways, either by making signs with the fingers, each denoting a certain figure, hence Cic. *ad Att.* v. 21: *hoc quid intersit, si tuos digitos novi, certe habes subductum.* Ovid. *ex P.* ii. 3, 18:

> At reditus jam quisque suos amat et sibi quid sit
> Utile, sollicitis supputat articulis.

Plut. *Apopth. reg. Orat.* p. 691: *Κάθαπερ οἱ τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν δάκτυλοι νῦν μὲν μυριάδας, νῦν δὲ μονάδας τιθέναι δύνανται.* Or by a counting-table and stones, *abacus* and *calculi.* On this table perpendicular lines were drawn, and the value of the stone was according to the division in which it was placed. See Becker's *Charicles*, translated by Metcalfe, p. 188. Alciphr. *Epist.* 26: *οἱ περὶ τὰς ψήφους καὶ τῶν δακτύλων τὰς κάμψεις.* Particular value was set upon counting, hence Hor. *ad Pis.* 323, complains:

> Romani pueri longis rationibus assem
> Discunt in partes centum diducere: dicat
> Filius Albini: si de quincunce remota est
> Uncia, quid superat? Poteras dixisse triens: Eu!
> Rem poteris servare tuam. Redit uncia, quid fit?
> Semis.

We know not whether Horace referred to instruction in arithmetic in the description of the school at Venusia. *Sat.* i. 6, 72. Schol. Cruq. explained *tabula* as a counting-board (abacus), and *loculi* have been taken for the bags which held the stones. But Hermann describes tabula as a writing-table generally, and loculi, pockets for school utensils. It was not usual in Rome for the children of substantial parents to carry their own books and writing materials to school, for which purpose there were special slaves, *capsarii*, Juv. x. 117:

> Quem sequitur custos augustæ vernula capsæ.

Suet. *Ner.* 36: *Constat quosdam cum pædagogis et capsariis uno prandio necatos.*

Such schools were usually managed by one teacher, who however occasionally had an assistant, *hypodidasculus.* Cic. *ad Fam.* ix. 18: *Sella tibi erit in ludo tanquam hypodidasculo proxima: eam pulvinus sequetur.* This might, perhaps, mean a scholar of more mature age, who assisted the master; so is the *sella proxima* best

explained. Afterwards there were particular teachers for writing and arithmetic. Mart. x. 62:

> Nec calculator nec notarius velox
> Majore quisquam circulo coronetur.

In the edict of Diocletian, p. 22, the *magister* was distinct from the *calculator*.

These elementary teachers, or *ludi magistri*, were not celebrated for their humanity. Blows were a very common mode of punishment, and the masters were represented as *clamosi* and *plagosi*. Martial, who lived in the neighbourhood of one, at the *pila Tiburtina* in the seventh district, the present Piazza Barberina, says, ix. 68:

> Quid tibi nobiscum est? ludi scelerate magister,
> Invisum pueris virginibusque caput?
> Nondum cristati rupere silentia galli,
> Murmure jam sævo verberibusque tonas.

xii. 57:

> Negant vitam ludi magistri mane, nocte pistores.

v. 84:

> Jam tristis nucibus puer relictis
> Clamoso revocatur a magistro.

The name of Orbilius Pupillus, whom Horace, whose teacher he had been, calls *plagosum*, is specially infamous, *Ep.* ii. 1, 70. Suet. *de Ill. Gr.* 9: *Fuit autem naturæ acerbæ non modo in antisophistas, quos omni sermone laceravit, sed etiam in discipulos, ut Horatius significat, plagosum eum appellans, et Domitius Marsus scribens:*

> Si quos Orbilius ferula scuticaque cecidit.

Quinct. i. 3: *Cædi vero discentes, quamquam et receptum sit et Chrysippus non improbet, minime velim.* The *ferula* was the general instrument of punishment, the stalk of the *ferula communis*, *νάρθηξ*. Isidor. xvii. 9: *a feriendo ferulam dicunt, hac enim pueri vapulare solent.* Mart. x. 62: *ferulæque tristes, sceptra pædagogorum.* Juv. i. 15: *manum ferulæ subduximus.*

After the boy had learned the elements, he attended the schools of the grammarians and still higher rhetoricians. Appul. *Flor.* 20: *Prima cratera literatoris ruditatem eximit, secunda grammatici doctrina instruit, tertia rhetoris eloquentia armat.* Here the instruction was doubtless less theoretical than practical. For the formation of the mind and disposition and taste, certain poets were explained (Cic. *Tusc.* ii. 2), in early times, chiefly Greek, as Homer, with whom they began, and this continued later also. Hor. *Ep.* ii. 2, 42:

> Romæ nutriri mihi contigit atque doceri,
> Iratus Graiis quantum nocuisset Achilles.

Plin. *Ep.* ii. 14, *sic in foro pueros a centumviralibus causis auspicari, ut ab Homero in scholis.*

The masterpieces of Roman literature were also adopted, as Virgil, Suet. *de Ill. Gram.* 16; Quinct. i. 8, 5. Prose writers were also selected, as Cicero, which follows from the commentaries of Asconius. Æsop's Fables, which Quinctilian, i. 8, recommends as mental exercises, were commonly used at first. Orthography and the rules of Grammar were often dictated as exercises. Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1, 69:

> Non equidem insector delendave carmina Livi
> Esse reor, memini quæ plagosum mihi parvo
> Orbilium dictare.

Dictation lessons were also frequently learnt by heart. Cic. *ad Qu. fr.* iii. 1, 4: *Meam* (*orationem*) *in illum pueri omnes tanquam dictata perdiscant.* As with us the Ten Commandments are learnt by heart, the *leges duodecim Tabularum* were by the Roman boys. Cic. *de Leg.* ii. 23: *Discebamus enim pueri duodecim, ut carmen necessarium, quas jam nemo discit.* It is curious that the mode of instruction of the Latin rhetoricians, when they began to teach, incurred the public disapproval, or at least the censure of a portion of the political powers. In the year 662, the Censors Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus and L. Licinius Crassus, according to Suet. *de Cl. Rhet.* 1, thus expressed their disapprobation: *Renunciatum est nobis, esse homines, qui novum genus disciplinæ instituerunt, ad quos juventus in ludos conveniat; eos sibi nomen imposuisse Latinos rhetores: ibi homines adolescentulos totos dies desidere. Majores nostri quæ liberos suos discere et quos in ludos itare vellent, instituerunt. Hæc nova, quæ præter consuetudinem ac morem majorum fiunt, neque placent, neque recte videntur. Quapropter et iis qui eos ludos habent et iis qui eo venire consueverunt, videtur faciendum ut ostendamus nostram sententiam; nobis non placere.* The same edict is also in Gell. xv. 11, and we learn from Auct. *Dial. de Caus. cor. Eloq.* 35, that this disapprobation arose principally from the sophistical nature of the instruction: *At nunc adolescentuli nostri deducuntur in scenas scholasticorum, qui rhetores vocantur, quos paulo ante Ciceronis tempora exstitisse* (Cicero was born 648, and the edict followed in 662; the time also agrees with this, and with the account of Suet. *de Cl. Rhet.* 2), *nec placuisse majoribus nostris, ex eo manifestum est, quod L. Crasso et Domitio censoribus cludere, ut ait Cicero ludum impudentiæ jussi sunt.* See Cic. *de Or.* iii. 24. The boys attended the schools of the rhetoricians before they had put on the *toga virilis.* Ovid says, *Trist.* iv. 10, 15:

> Protenus excolimur teneri, curaque parentis
> Imus ad insignes Urbis ab arte viros.
> Frater ad eloquium viridi tendebat ab ævo.

v. 27:

> Interea tacito passu labentibus annis
> Liberior fratri sumta mihique toga est.

The instruction in the schools began very early in the morning. Juv. vii. 222:

> Dummodo non pereat, mediæ quod noctis ab hora
> Sedisti, qua nemo faber, qua nemo sederet,
> Qui docet obliquo lanam deducere ferro;
> Dummodo non pereat totidem olfecisse lucernas,
> Quot stabant pueri, cum totus decolor esset
> Flaccus, et hæreret nigro fuligo Maroni.

Matutinus magister, in Mart. ix. 30, refers to this, as also xiv. 223:

> Surgite! jam vendit pueris jentacula pistor,
> Cristatæque sonant undique lucis aves.

Among the Greeks also instruction began early, and Solon was induced to pass a law forbidding schools from opening before sunrise.

In many schools the pupils were arranged in classes, according to their ability, especially when they advanced to higher instruction. Quinct. i. 2, 23: *Non inutilem scio servatum esse a præceptoribus meis morem; qui, quum pueros in classes distribuerent, ordinem discendi secundum vires ingenii dabant.* The classes were not separated, but only certain divisions formed, which were taught at the same time. Rewards were given as early as the time of Augustus. So relates Suet. *de Ill. Gr.* 17, of Verrius Flaccus: *Namque ad exercitanda (excitanda?) discentium ingenia æquales inter se committere solebant, proposita non solum materia, quam scriberent, sed et prœmio, quod victor auferret. Id erat liber aliquis antiquus pulcher aut rarior.*

At certain times—the *Saturnalia* and *Quinquatria*—the scholars had holidays. The former were originally celebrated on one day only; afterwards on three; and, as it seems, extended even to seven days. Macrob. *Sat.* i. 10. The latter lasted five days in March, and were in honour of Minerva. Both are frequently mentioned, as Mart. v. 84:

> Jam tristis nucibus puer relictis
> Clamoso revocatur a magistro.

Plin. *Ep.* viii. 7: *Tu in scholas te revocas, ego adhuc Saturnalia extendo.* Hor. *Ep.* ii. 2, 197:

> Ac potius, puer ut festis Quinquatribus olim,
> Exiguo gratoque fruaris tempore raptim.

Symm. *Ep.* v. 85: *Nempe Minervæ tibi solemne de scholis notum est, ut fere memores sumus etiam procedente ævo puerilium feriarum.*

It may naturally be supposed also that on other holidays, as during the Games for instance, instruction ceased. It was not generally the case, however, as Hermann supposes, that the Roman youth had a four months' holiday in the summer. The frequently quoted verse of Horace: *Ibant octonis referentes Idibus æra*, gave rise to this supposition. He hence concluded that the boys paid only for eight months' tuition; and that four, from the Ides of June to those of October, were holidays. This being the time of the olive and vine season would be well adapted for holidays; this he argues is confirmed in Mart. x. 62:

> Albæ leone flammeo calent luces,
> Tostamque fervens Julius coquit messem.
> Cirrata loris horridis Scythæ pellis
> Qua vapulavit Marsyas Celenæus,
> Ferulæque tristes, sceptra pædagogorum
> Cessent et Idus dormiant in Octobres:
> Æstate pueri si volent satis discunt.

On this Rader remarked, *Nam a Julio ad Octobrem usque scholæ cessabant.* Hermann's opinion was backed by Orelli and Wüstermann. Obbarius and Jahn agreed with Hermann about the holidays, but refer Horace's words not to the money paid by the boys for instruction, but to sums in arithmetic, and computations of monthly accounts, set every month to the boys; so that the line in question would be intended to show the sordid, low sort of education given the boys, in contradistinction to the higher and nobler methods of instruction at Rome. The explanation of Hermann, however, is more probable; namely, that Horace's meaning is this: The boys in the elementary schools in the country bring, on the Ides of each of the eight months, their small payment for tuition, *æra:* which is used in the same sense in Juvenal vii. 217. He further hints, in these lines, partly at the lower class of education given in these country schools (loculi and tabula also refer to it), as compared with the higher grade of education at Rome (*ærtes, quas doceat quivis eques atque senator semet prognatos*), and partly to the humbler outward circumstances of the boys (who carry their own satchels without any attendant, pay the trifling sum monthly, and have only eight months' schooling), as compared with the more brilliant condition of things at Rome, where the boys have an attendant, pay by the year, and do not remain four months away from school; as was the case in the elementary schools alone, and which Horace, as well as Martial, alludes to. In the higher class of schools no such interruption took place, as will presently appear. We are not aware what the pay for tuition

amounted to; at all events it varied a good deal, and in the elementary schools was very trifling. Juv. vii. 228:

> Hæc, inquit, cures, et cum se verterit annus,
> Accipe victori populo quod postulat aurum.

Whence we see that the payments for tuition were made annually, at the termination of the school-year; which probably began in March, after the Quinquatria. Juv. x. 114. Ovid (*Fast.* iii. 829) addresses the teachers at the Quinquatria,

> Nec vos turba Deam, censu fraudata, magistri
> Spernite, discipulos attrahit illa novos.

The payment was made therefore in March, and not in June, as is clear from Macrobius, i. 12, where he adduces this fact to prove that originally March was the first month of the year: *hoc mense mercedes exsolvebant magistris.* He evidently alludes here to the custom of his time. So that the monthly payments, and four months' holidays, apply to the lower schools only; and it is manifest, from the value the boys set on the few days of the Quinquatrus and Saturnalia, that there were not many holidays in the higher Roman schools. The vintage and olive harvest would of course not cause the boys of these schools, most of whom belonged to the better classes, to stay away from school. The line in Juv. x. 116,

> Quisquis adhuc uno partam colit asse Minervam,

does not refer to the payment for tuition, but to the entrance-fee, *Minerval*, paid by each scholar. Varro, *R. R.* iii. 2; Tertull. *de Idol.* 10.

The conclusion of boyhood was commemorated, as among the Greeks, by a certain solemnity; the exchanging the prætexta for the toga virilis, and called *tirocinium fori;* Hor. *Sat.* i. 2, 16. The year when this took place is still a mooted question. Many have supposed it at the completion of the fourteenth and commencement of the fifteenth year (Vales. on *Damasc. de Inst. Cæs. Aug.;* Ferrar. *de re Vestiar.* ii. 1. Dodwell, *Prælect. Camden.* v. 1—6); judging from the case of Augustus. But this has been disproved by Norisius, *Cenot. Pisan.* ii. 4. Others, as Gruchius, Salmasius, and Manutius, defer it till the completion of the sixteenth year. Most critics have declared for the beginning of the sixteenth year. According to Boettiger, *De originibus Tirocinii apud Romanos*, it took place in early times at the end of the sixteenth year, and in later, when the fifteenth year was completed. On the other hand, Prof. Klotz assumes that such a year was not at all fixed, but that it depended in every case on the father, who introduced his son into public life, sooner or later, according to his discretion. Each of these three last opinions is in some respects

true. It seems that a distinction must be drawn between the oldest and the later times. In the former, the tirocinium probably took place on the completion of the sixteenth year, Liv. xxii. 57; with this year commenced the duties of military service, and their appearance in public generally. Val. Max. v. 4, 4; iii. 1, 3. Notwithstanding, many assumed the toga virilis at the end of their fifteenth year, as Cicero, Virgil, Persius, Augustus, Cicero's son, and, in later times, M. Aurelius; Capitol. 4; Tertull. *de vel. virg.* 11; Oudendorp *ad Suet. Oct.* 8. So that, although in early times the rule was at the completion of the sixteenth year, yet, later, the close of the fifteenth was most usual. Nor is this contradicted by the passage in Cicero, *p. Sext.* 69: *cui superior annus idem et virilem patris et prætextam populi judicio togam dedit;* for it always depended on the *judicium patris*, whether the son might take the toga virilis at fifteen or not; thus Caligula was twenty years old before Tiberius allowed him to lay aside the toga prætexta (Suet. *Cal.* 10). Prior to the emperors it certainly did not happen before the fifteenth year; and even under Claudius, this was on an exception. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 41, *virilis toga Neroni maturata;* he was only fourteen years old. Suet. *Claud.* 43. As a certain year is fixed for coming of age, which, however, can fall earlier, if the father will it, so was it also with the tirocinium fori at Rome. The proper day for the ceremony was the *Liberalia*, the sixteenth of March. Ovid. *Fast.* iii. 771. Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 1. It most likely began with a domestic sacrifice at the altar of the Lares, where the youth deposited the *insignia pueritiæ*, and dedicated his bulla to these deities. Prop. iv. 1, 131:

> Mox ubi, bulla rudi demissa est aurea collo,
> Matris et ante deos libera sumpta toga.

Pers. v. 30:

> Cum primum pavido custos mihi purpura cessit,
> Bullaque succinctis Laribus donata pependit.

The youth wore a tunica recta or regilla on the occasion, *ominis causa*. Paul. v. *regillis*, p. 286. Plin. *H. N.* viii. 48. Augustus wore on this day, a tunica with *latus clavus*, Suet. *Aug.* 94. According to Propertius, the change of toga took place at home; but a ceremony was also performed in the forum, after the domestic one was completed. The toga virilis, now assumed, differed from the toga of boyhood, in being white without a purple stripe; hence called pura, Cic. *ad Att.* v. 20; ix. 17, 19; Phil. ii. 18; also *libera*, because he now began a freer, less restrained course of life. Boettiger derives the expression from the connection with the *sacra Bacchica;* but as Ovid, who was uncertain about the reason of its

taking place at the liberalia, attempted four different explanations, without giving this one, surely it would be a very bold step to fall in with Boettiger's opinion. Ovid's expression (*Trist.* v. 777) just reverses the matter:

> Sive quod es Liber, vestis quoque libera per te
> Sumitur, et vitæ liberioris iter.

The toga is not then called libera from liberalia, but because, being libera, it is given in the liberalia: in this sense only could Ovid have used the comparative *liberior toga*. The expression is explained by Plutarch: *περὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν*, c. 1. *ὅτε τῶν προσταττόντων ἀπήλλαξαι, τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ἀπειληφὼς ἱμάτιον*. Comp. Pers. *Sat.* v. 30; Terent. *Andr.* i. 1, 25; Mart. ix. 28. The *adolescens*, clothed in this dress, was then led to the forum (*deduci in forum*), Sen. *Ep.* 4; Suet. *Aug.* 26; Com. *Tib.* 15; *Nero*, 7.

As the Romans always set great store upon a numerous escort on all public occasions, regarding it as a manifestation of popular favour; so on this, care was taken that the youth should appear in the forum with becoming pomp and a crowded retinue; and persons of the lower orders, who were not related to the parties, were pressed into the service. Cic. *p. Mur.* 23. Whether the youth was introduced before the tribunal of the prætor, is uncertain; at all events, this had nothing to do with his enrolment into the list of burghers. Neither was it at all necessary that the tirocinium should take place at Rome, Cic. *ad Att.* v. 20; ix. 7; and 19, *Arpini togam puram dedi*.

After this visit to the forum, the cavalcade proceeded to the Capitol, to offer a sacrifice, App. *B. C.* iv. 30; where by the word *ἱεροῖς* we must understand the Capitol, as is clear from Suet. *Claud.* 2, and Val. Max. v. 4, 4. *Cotta eo ipso die, quo togam sumpsit virilem, protenus ut e Capitolio descendit, C. Carbonem, a quo pater ejus damnatus fuerat, postulavit.* This passage further shows that with the tirocinium commenced the entrance into public life, *forum attingere*, or *in forum venire*. Cic. *ad Fam.* v. 8; xiii. 10; xv. 6; *Brut.* 88. But it must not be supposed that the *tirones* immediately took an active share in public life, or made their essay as orators, &c. Doubtless they were entitled to do so, but seldom made use of their right. Thus Hortensius was nineteen, before he made his first appearance, Cic. *Brut.* 64; and yet (88) we read *cum admodum adolescens orsus esset in foro dicere.* Like as at Athens, so at Rome, there was a year of transition or probation, during which the behaviour of the adolescens was carefully noted; and, at least in ancient times, the *cohibere brachium* and exercises in the Campus Martius were prescribed to him; as a sign of modest

demeanour. Cic. *p. Cœl.* 5: *Nobis quidem olim annus erat unus ad cohibendum brachium toga constitutus, et ut exercitatione ludoque campestri tunicati uteremur*, etc. Orators, who wished to describe the character of their opponent, often began *a toga pura.* Cic. *ad Att.* vii. 8, *accusatio Pompeii usque a toga pura.* Cic. *Phil.* ii. 18.

At the same time, the young man frequented the forum and the tribunals, to fit himself by this means for public life. He was often escorted thither under the care of a person of respectability, whom his father had selected for the purpose (*deducere*). *Dial. de Caus. corr. Eloq.* 34. Thus Cicero says of himself, *de Amic.* 1: *Ego autem a patre ita eram deductus ad Scævolam sumpta virili toga, ut quoad possem et liceret, a senis latere nunquam discederem;* and of the father of Cælius, *p. Cœl.* 4.

The education was still not looked upon as complete, and instruction continued to be given as before, though the youth was now rather a listener than a pupil, and it stood entirely at his option what rhetorician or philosopher he might choose to attend. Cic. *Brut.* 89, and Ovid. *Tr.* iv. 29, *et studium nobis, quod fuit ante, manet.* After the subjugation of Greece, it was not uncommon for persons who wished to give their sons a more polished education, to send them to Athens. See Cicero *ad Att.* xii. 32, where others, such as Bibulus, Acidinus, Messala, are mentioned. So Cicero himself, *Brut.* 91; Plut. *Cic.* 4; so Atticus, *Corn.* 2. Ovid also went thither, *Trist.* i. 2, 77. Horace says of himself, *Epist.* ii. 40:

> Romæ nutriri mihi contigit atque doceri,
> Iratus Graiis quantum nocuisset Achilles.
> Adjecere bonæ paullo plus artis Athenæ;

ib. 81. See the following works on Roman education: Ernesti, *de Disciplina privata Rom.* in his *Opuscula.* Bonnell. *de Mut. sub primis Cæs. eloq. Rom. condit. imprimis de Rhet. Scholis.* Wittich, *de Grammatistarum et Grammaticorum apud Rom. scholis.*

EXCURSUS III. SCENE I.

THE SLAVES.

THE third essential part of the Roman family are the Slaves. As a body, belonging to one and the same individual, they are called *familia*. Paul. v. *familia*, p. 86; Ulp. *Dig. L.* 16, *servitutum quoque solemus appellare familias*. Plaut. *Mil.* ii. 3, 80. One slave cannot be called a familia, no more than two, Ulp. *Dig. L.* 16, 40, *ne duo quidem;* though Paul. *Rec. Sent.* v. 6, 3, says: *Familiæ autem nomine etiam duo servi continentur*. But this apparent contradiction is explained by Cic. *pro Cœc.* 19.

In contradistinction to the free members of the family, the slaves were called *servi;* in reference to their servitude, *famuli;* and to their proprietorship, *mancipia*, or usually *pueri;* as among the Greeks, δοῦλοι, οἰκέται, θεράποντες, ἀνδράποδα, παῖδες. As Aristotle, *De Rep.* I. 3, says, οἰκία δὲ τέλειος ἐκ δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων: so it was among the Romans. But though both nations assumed the right and necessity of slaves, yet the Greek differed greatly from the Roman in the use of them. Except in the latest times, when Greek customs were superseded by Roman ones, the Greek looked on his slaves as a source of revenue. They must work for the master as mechanics, and so forth: and he trafficks with their industry, or makes them pay him a certain sum *per diem*, or lets them out to others for hire. A few only, viz. the regular οἰκέται, are used as domestics. See Becker's *Charicles*, translated by Metcalfe, p. 273. The Roman knew nothing of this sort of traffic in slave-labour. All his slaves were the immediate ministers of his wants, or his luxuries and comforts.

There is one view of Roman life of which the moderns can scarcely form any satisfactory idea: we can hardly imagine how the almost incredible number of servants and attendants, kept in the houses of the rich and noble to wait on a few persons, could find occupation; nor how the extraordinary division and subdivision of labour was prevented from causing far more trouble and confusion than it promoted comfort and punctuality. In order to obtain as comprehensive a view of the subject as possible, it will be best not to treat of the individual classes, as chance may offer; but to go at once through the whole familia, according to its different divisions, and the avocations of their members. We shall, however, only consider the slaves in reference to their domestic arrange-

ments, position with regard to their master, and occupation; and shall exclude all consideration of the legal part of the subject, as *servitus justa et injusta*, *manumissio*, etc.

The Slave-family, considered in this point of view, has been treated of by Pignorius (*De servis et eorum apud veteres ministeriis*), Titus Popma (*De operis servorum*), and Gori, in the explanation of the *Columbarium libertorum et servorum Liviæ Augustæ*. All three treatises are to be found in Poleni, *Suppl. ad Grœv. thess. antt. Rom.* iii. See also Blair, *An Enquiry into the state of Slavery among the Romans*. Edinb. 1833.

As regards the method of acquiring slaves by the master, the general rule laid down (*Inst.* i. 3), *servi aut nascuntur, aut fiunt*, is here applicable, since the master acquired them either by purchase or birth.

They could be bought also, *sub corona*, as prisoners of war (*captivi, jure belli capti*), Cato *in Gellius* vii. 4; Liv. v. 22. The expression *sub corona* is explained by two old authors, of a chaplet, worn on the head of those for sale. Cæl. Sabinus *in Gell.* vii. 4; and ib. Cato *de re Mil.*, who quotes Plautus: *Præco ibi adsit cum corona, quique liceat, veneat.* The explanation of *corona militum* is thus done away with. Slaves were in general sold by the dealer, *mango, venalitius* (*venales* being opposed to *merces;* Plaut. *Trin.* ii. 2, 51: *Mercaturamne an venales habuit, ubi rem perdidit?*) who exposed them openly in the slave market, where they were sold by the *præco*. They were first stripped, and placed on a wooden scaffold, *catasta*, their feet being whitened (Tib. ii. 2, 59: *quem sæpe coegit Barbara gypsatos ferre catasta pedes*). This was only done to slaves just arrived, Juv. i. 111; or they were put on an elevation of stone (hence *de lapide emtus*, Cic. *in Pis.* 15; Plaut. *Bacch.* iv. 7, 17), so that every one could see and touch them, *nudare, contrectare*. See Casaub. *ad Pers.* vi. 77; Boettig. *Sab.* ii. 204; Sen. *Ep.* 80. Mart. vi. 66, describes a scene, where the præco, as an incentive to purchasers, *bis, terque, quaterque basiavit* the girl who was for sale Those who were on sale bore a tablet on their neck, *titulus*, upon which not only their name and capabilities, but their corporeal blemishes, and any vice they might happen to have, were inscribed. Cic. *de Offic.* iii. 17: *Sed etiam in mancipiorum venditione fraus venditoris omnis excluditur, qui enim scire debuit de sanitate, de fuga, de furtis, præstat edicto ædilium.* The words of the edict are to be found in Gell. iv. 2. Comp. Hor. *Epist.* ii. 2, 14; Prop. iv. 5, 51:

> . . . quorum titulus per barbara colla pependit,
> Cretati medio quum saliere foro;

which last line shows that they were trotted out to show their paces,

as horses with us. Menand. *Fragm.* p. 69. See also Sen. *Ep.* 47. The vendor was responsible for the correctness of the account given, *præstabat;* Cic. *de Off.* iii. 17. If he declined doing so, the slave was sold *pileatus.* See Gell. vii. 4. The same edict also forbad *ne veterator pro novitio veniret. Dig.* xxi. 1, 37, 65.

The *mancipia viliora* only came into the slave-market, as the most beautiful and expensive were sold in the *tabernæ* by private contract. Thus Mart. ix. 60, says of Mamurra, who went about the *septa*, scrutinized everything, and bought nothing,

> Inspexit molles pueros oculisque comedit;
> Non hos quos primæ prostituere casæ,
> Sed quos arcanæ servant tabulata catastæ,
> Et quos non populus, nec mea turba videt.

The price of such slaves was sometimes immense. In Hor. *Epist.* ii. 2, 5, a favourite slave is put up at 8,000 H. S., sixty-four pounds; while Martial, i. 59, and xi. 70, mentions, *pueros centenis millibus emtos* (eight hundred pounds), and iii. 62, *centenis quod emis pueros et sæpe ducenis.* Comp. Sen. *Epist.* 27; Gell. xv. 19.

The Romans, like the Greeks, obtained most of their slaves from Asia. Syrians, Lydians, Carians, Mysians, and especially Cappadocians, are mentioned. See Cicero's humorous description of the four chief countries of Asia, *p. Flacco*, 27: *Quis unquam Græcus comœdiam scripsit, in qua servus primarum partium non Lydus esset?* Ib. *pro Quint.* 6. *e Gallia pueros.* But these slaves, of Celtic or Germanic origin, were usually employed in agriculture; Varro, *R. R.* 1, 1: *Galli appositissimi ad jumenta.* Negroes, *Æthiopes*, were articles of luxury, Mart. vii. 87: *fruitur Canius Æthiope.* Under the emperors, Numidians were used as outriders. Their native country was always announced at the sale. Ulp. *Dig.* xxi. 1, 31.

The rule, that a Roman could not be the slave of another Roman, was more strictly observed than the like principle in Greece. See *Charicles.* An insolent debtor might be made over to his creditor (*addicere*); he could not, however, become his slave, but must, as the phrase went, be sold abroad (*trans Tiberim*). Gell. xx. 1, 45: *Trans Tiberim venum ibant.* This was the case also when a Roman citizen was sold by the state. See Val. Max. vi. 3, 4; Cic. *de Or.* i. 40. But the Romans did not hesitate to make slaves of Italian prisoners of war belonging to other states. Cic. *p. Cluent.* 7, where Aurius, a youth of Lavinium, taken in war, becomes the slave of the senator Sergius. The Greek rule was, that no Hellene could be the slave of an Hellene; the Roman, that no Roman *citizen* could serve another. Plau. *Trin.* ii. 4, 144.

Vernæ, seldom *vernaculi* (Mart. x. 3), were the children resulting from the *contubernium* among the slaves, opposed to slaves got by purchase. In some respects they were very valuable, as from having grown up in the family, they became acquainted with all the household matters, and best calculated for discharging the duties of attendants. Hence Horace (*Epist.* ii. 26) mentions as a recommendation *verna ministeriis, ad nutus aptus heriles.* But for the same reason they took many liberties, and their forwardness became a proverb. Mart. i. 42, x. 3; Heind. *ad. Hor. Sat.* ii. 6, 66: *vernæ procaces.* Tacit. *Hist.* ii. 88. Sen. *de Prov.* i.: *Cogita, filiorum nos modestia delectari, vernaculorum licentia.* Comp. also Heyne *ad Tibull.* i. 5, 26, *garrulus verna.* Hence *vernilia dicta* are used for *scurrilia* (*dicta*). Festus, p. 372: *Vernæ, qui in villis vere nati.* So also Nonius, i. 206. Though the derivation of the word is obscure, yet its ancient signification was evidently 'native,' or 'indigenous,' in opposition to 'stranger.' So Mart. i. 76, calls a real Roman-bred, *Numæ verna.* The name means therefore one born in the house of his master; if he changed hands, he was no longer verna in respect to the new familia. The corresponding Greek word is οἰκότριψ, explained by the Grammarians as δοῦλος οἰκογενής.

There was no difference in the position of a slave who happened to come into a man's possession *hereditate*, or by any other means; and he was always reckoned either with the *emti* or *vernæ*.

The whole body of slaves belonging to one master was divided into the *familia urbana* and *familia rustica*, not simply from their different places of residence, but also on account of their different occupation. Fest. 166: *Urbana familia et rustica, non loco sed genere distinguitur.* Hence the familia urbana might accompany the master into the country, and yet not be called rustica. Our business at present is chiefly with the urbana.

The simplicity of the more ancient times was unacquainted with such a concourse of slaves (Sen. *de Tranq.* 8), and even consuls took the field accompanied by but few. Appul. *Apol.* 430. And of these few, perhaps only one was used for personal attendance on himself, whence are to be explained the names *Caipor*, *Lucipor*, *Marcipor*, *Publipor*, *Quintipor*. Quinct. *Inst.* i. 4, 7: *In servis jam interdicit illud genus, quod ducebatur a domino, unde Marcipores, Publiporesque.* Plin. (xxxiii. 1, 6), when talking of sealing up the cells, says, *Hoc profecere mancipiorum legiones et in domo turba externa ac servorum quoque causa nomenclator adhibendus. Aliter apud antiquos singuli Marcipores Luciporesve dominorum gentiles omnem victum in promiscuo habebant.* The old-fashioned

manner of attendance at a meal is drawn in lively colours by Juv. xi. 145, seq.

> Plebeios calices et paucis assibus emtos
> Porrigit incultus puer, atque a frigore tutus;
> Non Phryx, aut Lycius, non a mangone petitus
> Quisquam erit in magno. Cum posces, posce Latine.
> Idem habitus cunctis, tonsi rectique capilli,
> Atque hodie tantum propter convivia pexi.

Towards the end of the Republic, however, it became very different, and it was then considered reprehensible not to have a slave for every sort of work. Thus Cicero says in his description of the loose household arrangements of Piso, *idem coquus, idem atriensis:* and Horace (*Sat.* i. 3, 12) appears to consider ten slaves the minimum, even for one of restricted means, and (in *Sat.* i. 6, 107) talks of the ridicule thrown on Tullius the prætor, because he had no more than five slaves to accompany him from the Tiburtine villa to Rome. Cic. *pro Mil.* 10: *magno ancillarum puerorumque comitatu.* Vedius also travels with a great number of slaves; *ad Att.* vi. 1. But Cicero censures this extraordinary expense in servants indirectly, *de Leg. Agr.* ii. 28. In subsequent times the numbers mentioned are almost incredible. Thus Pliny (xxxiii. 10) relates, *C. Cæcilius Claudius Isidorus testamento suo edixit* (A. U. 744), *quamvis multa civili bello perdidisset, tamen relinquere servorum quatuor millia centum sedecim.* Tac. *Ann.* iii. 53; xiv. 43. Still greater numbers are adduced by Wüstemann (*Pal. de Scaur.* 228); but the accounts of Petron. 37, surpass everything; *familia vero, babæ! non me Hercules puto decimam partem esse, quæ herum suum novit.* Trimalchio (47) asks a house-slave; *Ex quota decuria es?* he answers; *e quadragesima:* (53), an *actuarius* reads aloud what has happened during the last few days on the estate of Trimalchio; and among other things, vii. *Kal. Sextiles in prædio Cumano, quod est Trimalchionis, nati sunt pueri* xxx, *puellæ* xl. This is no doubt an exaggeration, but only intelligible under the supposition of there really having been extraordinary numbers. Even under the Republic, Crassus did not consider him rich who could not *reditu annuo legionem tueri.*

Of course most of them were employed on country estates (Plin. *H. N.* xvii.); but hundreds were in the familia urbana; and, for the purpose of superintendence, it was necessary that they should be divided into *decuriæ;* but there were several particular classes, which ranked higher or lower, according to the functions assigned them. These classes were the *ordinarii* (with their *vicarii*), *vulgares, mediastini, quales-quales;* at least they are thus distinguished

by Ulpian, *Dig.* xlvii. 10, 15, *Multum interest, qualis servus sit; bonæ frugi, ordinarius, dispensator, an vero vulgaris, vel mediastinus, an qualisqualis.*

ORDINARII

appear to have been those upper slaves (*honestior*, Cic. *Parad.* v. 2), who superintended certain departments of the household; they were placed above the others (*cæteris præfecti erant*); and had their own slaves or vicarii, who were their own *peculium*, got by their own economy. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 7, 79: *Vicarius est, qui servo paret.* Comp. Martial ii. 18, 7, where the poet gives his patron notice, that he shall intermit his *opera togata*, because the other has also a *rex. Esse sat est servum; jam nolo vicarius esse.* These vicarii existed at an early period. Plaut. *Asin.* ii. 4, 28, *scio mihi vicarium esse*, and Cic. (*Verr.* iii. 28), where he wishes to mark the *vilitas* of Diognotus, a *servus publicus*, says *vicarium nullum habet, nihil omnino peculii.* The footing was similar when the master himself gave the *ordinarius* a slave as his immediate subordinate, who assisted him in his avocation, or supplied his place. The difference being, that the ordinarius was responsible for the vicarius to his master. Plaut. *Mil.* iii. 2, 12, *suppromus*, so *subcustos.* So Ballio, *Pseud.* ii. 2, 13, calls himself *Subballio*, the vicarius, as it were, of his master Ballio. The ordinarii were persons enjoying the master's special confidence, and entrusted by him with the management of his income and outlay; and they appointed and controlled the rest of the family, both in the house and at the villa. Suet. *Gall.* 12. This *procurator* must not be confounded with the like term, so often occurring in legal matters: the latter could only be a free man. *Dig.* iii. 3, Cic. *p. Cæc.* 20; *De liberis autem quisquis est, procuratoris nomine appellatur.* But the domestic procurators were slaves or freedmen, whom the master intrusted with the care of some part of the household. Cic. *de Or.* i. 58: *Si mandandum aliquid procuratori de agricultura aut imperandum villico sit. Ad Attic.* xiv. 16. Sometimes the procurator seems to have been the regular steward of the property. Pliny, *Ep.* iii. 19, says of the advantageous situation of two country properties, *posse utraque eadem opera, eodem viatico invisere, sub eodem procuratore ac pæne iisdem actoribus.* Still the word procurator does not seem to occur till later, in the sense of the person to whom the entire management of the familia is entrusted. Petr. 30; Sen. *Epist.* 14. Quinct. *Decl.* 345, *familiam per procuratores continetis.* Besides the procurator, the *actor* and *dispensator* are mentioned. The actor seems to have belonged chiefly to the familia rustica, and to have been about the same as

villicus. Colum. i. 7, ib. 8. *Idemque actori præcipiendum est, ne convictum cum domestico habeat.* In Scæv. *Dig.* xxxiii. 7, 20, both *actor* and *villicus* are mentioned, as if they were two different functions. The reason is, that on country estates there was, besides the villicus, who attended exclusively to the farming, a special accountant also. But the villicus might be actor also. He then had a procurator over him; but a villicus, actor, and procurator, never existed all three simultaneously. This is clear from Plin. *Ep.* iii. 19, and Colum. i. 6. The dispensator was the cashier and accountant, especially in the familia urbana, Cic. *ad Att.* xi. 1: *Nihil scire potui de nostris domesticis rebus, de quibus acerbissime afflictor, quod qui eas dispensavit, neque adest istic, neque ubi terrarum sit scio.* But there were also dispensatories of the familia rustica, Pompon. *Dig. L.* 16, 166. Both are joined by Cic. *de Rep.* v. 3. The dispensator may possibly have been under the procurator in particular instances, but generally himself submitted the accounts to his master's inspection. Suet. *Galb.* 12, *ordinario dispensatori breviarium rationum offerenti. Vesp.* 22, *admonente dispensatore quemadmodum summam rationibus vellet referri, Vespasiano, inquit, adamato.* So also (Cic. *Fragm. in Non.* iii. 18), *Quid tu, inquam, soles, cum rationem a dispensatore accipis, si æra singula probasti, summam, quæ ex his confecta sit, non probare?* Comp. Mart. v. 42. Juv. i. 91; vii. 219.

One of the principal domestics was the *atriensis*, who originally was the same as the dispensator and procurator. Thus in Plaut. *Asin.* ii. 4, the *pseudo-saurea*, as atriensis, receives and lends money, sells wine and oil, lends plate; in short, superintends the whole household affairs, *cui omnium rerum herus summam credidit.* Hence in *Pseud.* ii. 2, 13, he can be interchanged with the *cellarius* or *promus.*

H. Tune es Ballio? Ps. Imo, vero ego ejus sum Subballio.
H. Quid istuc verbi est? Ps. Condus promus sum, procurator peni.
H. Quasi te dicas *atriensem.* Ps. Imo, atriensi ego impero.

In later times there were doubtless special atrienses, to see that the *atrium* and *imagines*, as well as the whole house, were kept neat and tidy by the other slaves.

The cellarius, or promus, was he who had charge of the *cella penaria* and *vinaria*, and furnished the daily supply, and took charge of whatever remained. *Procurator peni*, Plaut. *Pseud.* ii. 2, 13. Hence also, *condus promus*, Plaut. *Capt.* iv. 2, 115.

Sume, posce, prome quidvis; te facio cellarium.

Upon which the Parasite (iv. 3, 1) says, *mihi rem summam credidit cibariam.* Comp. *Mil.* iii. 2, 11, 24, where mention is made of

a *suppromus*, who stood in much the same position to the promus as the *amanuensis* did to the dispensator. Colum. xi. 1: *Ut cibus et potio sine fraude a cellariis præbeantur.* Perhaps he also gave out the *demensum*, *cibum demensum*, to the familia.

Among the ordinarii may also be reckoned the *negotiatores*, slaves who conducted money transactions on account of their master (not *mercatura*. Ernesti, *Clav.* s. v. *negotiator*). See Obbar. *ad Hor. Ep.* i. 1, 45. That instances of this occurred in later times cannot be denied; but in more remote periods all *quæstus* was considered *indecorus* for the *ordo senatorius* (see Becker, *Vind. Comœd. Rom.* 74), and the *equites* were themselves the negotiatores, and did not employ their slaves for the purpose.

On account of the great number of slaves, who were no doubt sometimes very noisy, it became necessary to have *silentiarii*, who watched over the quiet of the household. Thus Salvian. *de Gub. Dei*, iv. 3, says: *Servi quippe pavent actores, pavent silentiarios, pavent procuratores; ab omnibus cœduntur.* This was written, it is true, in the fifth century; but Seneca also alludes to them, *Ep.* 47, and several inscriptions appear in Fabretti, 206, n. 54—56, and Orell. n. 2956.

The division of slaves into *decuriæ* probably rendered necessary an especial *decurio*, who stood at the head of each of them. Suet. *Dom.* 17: *Decurio cubiculariorum;* also in inscriptions, *lecticariorum*, etc. Usually, this refers to the *domus Augusta*, but these *decuriones* doubtless existed in other houses also. In a Pompeian inscription we read, *Quæres Fabium et Fallacem* (two slaves) *in decuria Cotini.*

There were also others in the familia, who worked in the capacity of artisans, especially in the country-houses, and were used for scientific purposes, or, as artists, ministered to the pleasures of their master. It is uncertain what rank these held, and whether they are to be reckoned among the ordinarii; in any case they were *honestiores.* Cicero (*Par.* v. 2) says, *Ut in magna* (stultorum) *familia sunt alii lautiores, ut sibi videntur, servi, sed tamen servi, atrienses ac topiarii*, etc. He then opposes to them those *qui non honestissimum locum servitutis tenent.*

If, however, it be taken for granted that ordinarius and vicarius were correlative terms, then these slaves may also be called ordinarii, for they often had vicarii. See Cic. *Verr.* i. 36: *Peculia omnium vicariique retinentur.* Cic. *p. Rosc. Am.* 41. The number of such slaves was great, but here only a few will be mentioned. First come the regular artists: *architecti*, *fabri*, *tectores*, *statuarii*, *pictores*, *cælatores*, *plumarii*, *topiarii* (ab hortorum cultura), *viridarii*, *aquarii* (for the last three, see Excursus on *The Gardens*); next come

symphoniaci, *ludiones*, *mimi*, *funambuli* or *schœnobatæ*, *petauristæ*, *saltatrices*, *gladiatores*; of a lower grade were *moriones*, *fatui* and *fatuæ*, *nani* and *nanæ*, or *pumiliones*. Further, those who took care of the library and works of art: *à bibliotheca*, *à statuis*, *à pinacotheca*, and the numerous class of *literati*, as *anagnostæ*, *librarii*, which has many meanings, *notarii*, *à studiis*, *à manu* or *ab epistolis*, to whom perhaps appertain the *tabellarii*. Lastly may be named the *medici*, with their different grades. These will be treated of first.

MEDICI, CHIRURGI, IATRALIPTÆ.

It was only at a late period that the study of Medicine attained to distinction in Rome, and then it was almost exclusively practised by foreigners. Pliny (xxix. 1, 6) relates that, according to the account of Cassius Hemina, the first Grecian physician, Archagathus, arrived in Rome from the Peloponnesus, in the year of the city 535. The astonishment, which the art at first excited, was soon changed into distrust, and in some cases into aversion. Cato earnestly warned his son against the Greek physicians and the study of medicine; no doubt many unprincipled acts were committed by them, and a considerable degree of charlatanry, at least, can be laid to their charge. We cannot therefore wonder that Plautus scourges them with jokes of no very delicate kind. *Menœchm.* v. 3—5:

> Lumbi sedendo, oculi spectando, dolent,
> Manendo medicum, dum se ex opere recipiat.
> Odiosus tandem vix ab ægrotis venit.
> Ait se obligasse crus fractum Æsculapio,
> Apollini autem brachium. Nunc cogito,
> Utrum me dicam ducere medicum, an fabrum.

One has only to read the following scenes to be convinced that the physician in this play has been the original of all the pedantic *médecins* and *charlatans* of Molière. Athenæus, xv. 666: *εἰ μὴ ἰατροὶ ἦσαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν τῶν γραμματικῶν μωρότερον.* Even in the time of Pliny, the Romans themselves attended but little to the art, though it was, as he testifies, very profitable; but it was perhaps for that reason lowered in the estimation of the old Romans. *Non rem antiqui damnabant, sed artem. Maxime vero quæstum esse immani pretio vitæ, recusabant.* Pliny gives an interesting account of the relation in which the patient stood to the physician, which may be well applied to our own times. He says, after remarking that the Romans did not follow the science with so much advantage, *Immo vero auctoritas aliter quam Græce eam tractantibus, etiam apud imperitos*

expertesque linguæ non est. Ac minus credunt, quæ ad salutem suam pertinent, si intelligunt. Itaque in hac artium sola evenit, ut cuicunque medicum se professo statim credatur. Nulla præterea lex est, quæ puniat inscitiam, capitale nullum exemplum vindictæ. Discunt periculis nostris et experimenta per mortes agunt, medicoque tantum hominem occidisse impunitas summa est. As the professional physicians, therefore, were not always looked upon with the most favourable eyes, the Romans used to employ trustworthy slaves, or freedmen, as house-physicians; and careful fathers of families also collected recipes of the best means to be adopted in particular cases. Thus Cato had a kind of recipe-book, *commentarium, quo mederetur filio, servis, familiaribus.* These slaves were called *medici*, and *medicæ* even are mentioned in inscriptions. Surgery, as well as physic, was practised by the medici, as we may see from passages in Plautus; but it is possible that others were specially employed in this department, and hence called *vulnerum medici, vulnerarii.* In inscriptions of the time of Tiberius, regular *chirurgi* occur; and Celsus (lib. vii.), gives as the qualities requisite: middle age, a steady hand, good eye, &c. About this time, physic generally began to be divided into different branches; doctors for diseases of the eye (*ocularii*, or *medici ab oculis*), as well as dentists, and others skilled in the treatment of any particular local disorder, are particularly mentioned. Mart. x. 56.

The *iatraliptæ* were probably at first doctors' assistants, who took care of the embrocations; but in later times they appear to have formed a distinct class of medical men. See Plin. xxix. 1, 2. The younger Pliny says (*Ep.* x. 4), *Proximo anno, domine, gravissima valetudine ad periculum vitæ vexatus iatralipten assumsi.* Respecting the *tabernæ medicorum* or *medicinæ* (as *tonstrinæ*), see Heind. *ad Horat. Sat.* i. 7, 3.

A second important class of well educated slaves were the

LITERATI,

of course, in quite a different sense from what it bears, Plaut. *Cas.* ii. 6, 49. Here it signifies those slaves, of whose literary acquirements and knowledge the master made use for his own purposes. The general meaning of the word is given by Suet. *de Ill. Gramm.* 4: *Appellatio Grammaticorum Græca consuetudine invaluit; sed initio literati vocabantur.* He then gives the distinction between *literatus* and *literator*, referring us to Orbilius: *non apud majores, cum familia alicujus venalis produceretur, non temere quem literatum in*

titulo, sed literatorem inscribi solitum esse; quasi non perfectum literis, sed imbutum. Previously, however, he gives the explanation of Cornelius Nepos (which differs from the above). *Cornelius quoque Nepos in libello, quo distinguit literatum ab erudito, literatos quidem vulgo appellari ait eos, qui aliquid diligenter et acute scienterque possint aut dicere aut scribere: cæterum proprie sic appellandos poetarum interpretes, qui a Græcis* γραμματικοί *nominantur; eosdem literatores vocitatos.* The explanation of Orbilius is more appropriate for the *servi literati.*

In the first place they were used as

ANAGNOSTÆ,

also called *lectores*, readers. Men of polite education used, when at their meals, or not in any other manner mentally occupied, and even in the baths, to have persons to read to them. Thus the younger Pliny relates of his uncle (*Ep.* iii. 5), *Super cœnam liber legebatur, adnotabatur, et quidem cursim. Memini quendam ex amicis quum lector quædam perperam pronunciasset, revocasse et repeti coëgisse*, etc. But then: *In secessu solum balinei tempus studiis eximebatur. Quum dico balinei, de interioribus loquor; nam dum distringitur tergiturque, audiebat aliquid, aut dictabat.* The same person says of himself (ix. 36), *Cœnanti mihi, si cum uxore, vel paucis, liber legitur;* and Cornelius Nepos relates of Atticus (c. 16), *Nemo in convivio ejus aliud* ἀκρόαμα *audivit, quam anagnosten. Neque unquam sine aliqua lectione apud eum cœnatum est.* Martial frequently alludes to this habit, and sometimes with complaints; for several persons only invited him to their tables to read to him their bad comedies, iii. 50. Augustus, when unable to sleep, used to send for lectores, or *confabulatores.* Suet. *Aug.* 78; Cic. *ad Att.* i. 12.

All the

LIBRARII

belong to this class. They were slaves used for writing, hence also called *scribæ*, but perfectly distinct from the *scribæ publici*, who were *liberi*, and formed a separate *ordo;* and also from the *bibliopolæ*, also called *librarii.* Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* The librarii again were called, according to the use they were put to, *ab epistolis; a studiis; a bibliotheca; notarii.* It will be best to explain these in the Excursuses on *The Library* and *Letter.*

Respecting the *Pædagogi*, see p. 188.

We now come to those who (frequently in no honourable manner)

served for amusement; for instance, at meals, when the business of the day was at an end, and everything was brought together that could serve for recreation. Of course, in the earlier times, such pleasures were unknown, and it was only after the war with Antiochus (when the former simplicity yielded generally to Asiatic luxury), that the enjoyment of the repast began to be heightened, not only by refinement in cookery, but also by all manner of shows and ἀκρόαματα, by artists hired for the occasion, or even kept among the regular retainers of the family. Livy, xxxix. 6. Of this kind were the *symphoniaci*, the corps of household musicians, the frequent mention of whom shows their general use. Cic. *Mil.* 21: *Milo, qui nunquam, tum casu pueros symphoniacos uxoris ducebat et ancillarum greges.* Petr. c. 33, 47, and Senec. *Ep.* 54, *in comissationibus nostris plus cantorum est, quam in theatris olim spectatorum fuit.* Cic. *Verr.* iii. 44; *Div.* 17; Ulp. *Dig.* vii. 1. This is what the *aliud* ἀκρόαμα alludes to, in the above-mentioned passage of Cornelius Nepos.

To these were added, in later times, *ludiones*, *mimi*, *funambuli*, or *schœnobatæ*, *petauristæ*, *saltatrices*, *gladiatores*, and such like; all of whom are found in the house of Trimalchio. They require no explanation; but on account of the *petauristæ*, we may quote Petron. 53: *Petauristarii tandem venerunt: baro insulsissimus cum scalis constitit, puerumque jussit per gradus et in summa parte odaria saltare; circulos deinde ardentes transire et dentibus amphoram sustinere.* These were such arts as are practised by our mountebanks. According to Mart. (v. 12), Linus let seven or eight boys stand on his arms. Comp. Ter. *Hecyr.* i. ii. 26.

The taste for the deformed and idiotic *moriones*, *fatui*, and *fatuæ*, was still more strange. The moriones were perhaps originally regular Cretins, at least the term comprehends not only absurdity, but deformity; and Mart. vi. 39, describes one; *acuto capite et auribus longis, quæ sic moventur, ut solent asellorum.* But their absurdity was the chief point; and the stupider they were, the more valuable, as affording most opportunity for laughter. Mart. viii. 13, says,

> Morio dictus erat; viginti milibus emi.
> Redde mihi nummos, Gargiliane: sapit.

Comp. xiv. 210. Even in Seneca's house there was no lack of them, *Ep.* 50. *Harpasten, uxoris meæ fatuam, scis hereditarium onus in domo mea remansisse: ipse enim aversissimus ab istis prodigiis sum; si quando fatuo delectari volo, non est mihi longe quærendum: me rideo.* Pretty much on a par with those were the *nani* and *nanæ*, also *pumiliones*, dwarfs, who were especial favourites of the ladies.

Gell. (xix. 13) explains *νάνους*, *brevi atque humili corpore homines paulum supra terram exstantes.* Stat. *Silv.* i. 6, 57:—

> Hic audax subit ordo pumilonum,
> Quos natura brevi statu peractos
> Nodosum semel in globum ligavit.

It is true that Suetonius says of Augustus (*Aug.* 83), *pumilos atque distortos—ut ludibria naturæ malique ominis abhorrebat;* but still he had a court-dwarf, Canopas, the pet of his niece Julia; Plin. *H. N.* vii. 16, where cases are mentioned on purpose for these little men. Suet. *Tib.* 61. The nani differed from the *distorti.* Suet. *ib.* and Quinct. *Decl.* 298; *Inst.* ii. 5. These monsters used to learn to dance and play the castanets. Brouckh. *ad Prop.* iv. 8, 48. Later they used to enact fights. Stat. *ib.* Dio. Cass. lxvii. 8. Bronze statues of these abortions are still extant. Gori *Mus. Etr.* i. 76. They also occur in Pompeian frescoes, Casaub. *ad Suet. Oct.* 83. We must also reckon here the *Græculi*, or Greek house-philosophers, if the usage of which Böttiger speaks, *Sab.* ii. 36, be based on good ground, as in that case they would nearly represent the *Parasitæ.*

Essentially different from these were the class called

VULGARES,

under which name are to be understood those who had one low and definite occupation, either in or out of the house. To this class belonged, firstly the *ostiarius* or *janitor*, who constantly kept watch over the entrance of the house. In ancient times, and often even later, their attendance was secured by fastening them with a chain to the entrance, *Auct. de Clar. Rhet.* 3. *L. Otacilius serviisse dicitur, atque etiam ostiarius veteri more in catena fuisse.* Ovid, *Amor.* i. 161:—

> Janitor, indignum, dura religate catena.

Sagittar. *de Januis Vett.* xvi. 19. Later, however, he dwelt in the *cella ostiaria*, Sueton. *Vitell.* 16; Petr. c. 29. The dog mentioned by Suetonius belonged exclusively to the janitor; but besides this, like as the modern porter carries his staff of state, so did the ostiarius appear with his *virga* or *arundo*, though not as mere *insignia*, but in case of need to repel an intruder. Sen. *de Const. sap.* 14. Petr. c. 134: *arundinem ab ostio rapuit.* Cf. c. 98. Brouckh. *ad Propert.* iv. 7, 21.

The assertion of Wüstemann, founded on Tibull. i. 7, 76, and i. 6, 61, and Plaut. *Curc.* i. 1, 76: (*Anus hic solet cubitare custos, janitrix*), that females also served as door-keepers, deserves cor-

rection. In Plautus it refers to the house of a *leno*, who guards his *meretrices* with a *lena*. So in Appul. *Met.* i. p. 112, Fotis is the only maid in the house, and therefore must open the house-door. Again, Tibull. (i. 8, 76) refers only to the bolted door.

. . . nunc displicet illi,
Quæcunque apposita est janua dura sera.

So in i. 6, 61, the mother of Delia is meant, and not a *janitrix*:—

Hæc foribusque manet noctu me affixa.

In a Roman house, where numberless clients came to the *salutatio*, and *viri amplissimi* met to converse, a janitrix would have been a strange appendage. With equally little foundation, does Böttiger, *Sab.*, suppose a janitrix in the ante-room of the lady of the house. Such a female would have as little right to the appellation of janitrix, as the *cubicularius* to that of janitor.

Next came the *cubicularii*, who had the supervision of the sitting and sleeping rooms, and probably when the master was at home waited in the ante-chamber. In Suet. *Tib.* 21, and *Dom.* 16, they are termed *cubiculo præpositi*. They also announced visitors, Cic. *Verr.* iii. 4. *Hunc vestri janitores, hunc cubicularii diligunt; hunc liberi vestri, hunc servi ancillæque amant; hic cum venit, extra ordinem vocatur; hic solus introducitur, cæteri sæpe frugalissimi homines excluduntur.* From whence it seems clear that visitors were admitted according to the order of their arrival. Cic. *ad Att.* 2. Under the emperor there were special *servi ab officio admissionum*, in addition to the cubicularii, between whom and the *velarii* there would seem to have been but little difference.

Even when they went abroad without any pomp, one or more slaves were always in attendance, hence named *pedisequi*, who, as we learn from several inscriptions, were a particular class, and every slave who followed the master was not called by this name. S. Gori, *de Columb. Liv. Aug.*; Corn. Nep. *Att.* 13: *Namque in ea* (familia) *erant pueri literatissimi, anagnostæ optimi et plurimi librarii, ut ne pedisequus quidem quisquam esset, qui non utrumque horum pulchre facere posset.* Cic. *ad Att.* viii. 5; *Verr.* i. 36, *circum pedes.* That fashion required the attendance of slaves, and exempted the masters from the performance of even the most trifling exertions, we see from Martial ix. 60, 22: *asse duos calices emit et ipse tulit.*

Besides these, Romans of rank used a *nomenclator*. In the times of the Republic, those who desired to attain to high offices were obliged to observe many little attentions, not only to people of distinction, but also towards the common citizens. Their houses were open to the visits of everybody, and when they were out of doors they were expected to remember all their names, and to

say something agreeable to them. As it was impossible to recall at a moment the name and circumstances of each one, there were slaves, whose duty consisted in remembering the names of those whom they met, and informing their master. Cic. *Att.* iv. 1: *ad urbem ita veni, ut nemo ullius ordinis homo nomenclatori notus fuerit, qui mihi obviam non venerit.* Their memory became a proverb. Sometimes if his memory failed him, the nomenclator substituted some false name, Senec. *Ep.* 27: *vetulus nomenclator, qui nomina non reddit, sed imponit.* In houses where the *salutatio* was numerous, a nomenclator was requisite. Sen. *Epist.* 19: *habebas convivas, quos e turba salutantium nomenclator digesserit.* The nomenclator had another function to discharge (Petron. c. 47, and Plin. xxxii. 6, 21), viz. that of informing the guests what dishes were served up, and making known their several excellences. Comp. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 25, with Heindorf's remarks.

The *lecticarii* were the slaves who bore the *lectica*, and when the custom became by degrees more common, they were important functionaries: women were carried in the city, men outside of it and in the *gestationes*. The strongest and most imposing in appearance were chosen; Syrians, Celts, Germans, and especially Cappadocians. Sometimes six in number, at others eight, *lectica hexaphoros*, or *octaphoros*. The custom is described by Lucian, *Cynic*, 722; Senec. *Ep.* 31: *turba servorum lecticam per itinera urbana ac peregrina portantium.* For other passages, see Tit. Popma, *de Op. Serv.* in *Pol. Thes.* iii. 1366; comp. Lips. *Elect.* i. 19; Böttig. *Sab.* ii. 202. Before the lectica went *anteambulones*, in order to clear a road through a crowd. These were properly some of the class of poor clients, and not slaves. They did not always confine themselves to the customary words, *Date locum domino meo*, but occasionally made room with their elbows and hands, as related by Martial (iii. 46), who, in order to escape paying continually the *opera togata*, offers to his *rex* his freedman, who might even serve as a *lecticarius* or *anteambulo*. This led sometimes to disagreeable collisions. Pliny relates (*Ep.* iii. 14): *Eques Romanus a servo ejus* (Largii Macedonis), *ut transitum daret, manu leviter admonitus convertit se, nec servum, a quo erat tactus, sed ipsum Macedonem tam graviter palma percussit, ut pœne concideret.* Thus they went in the city, but on a journey the escort was much greater. The use of runners or outriders is not peculiar to modern times; the Romans also were fond of this species of display, at least as early as the first century after Christ, and the *cursores*, and *Numidæ*, who ran and rode in advance of the *rheda* or *carruca*, are frequently mentioned.

Thus Seneca (*Ep.* 87) says: *O quam cuperem illi* (Catoni) *nunc occurrere aliquem ex his Trossulis in via divitibus, cursores et Numidas et multum ante se pulveris agentem!* Sen. *Ep.* 126: *Omnes jam sic peregrinantur, ut illos Numidarum præcurrat equitatus, ut agmen cursorum antecedat.* Suet. *Ner.* 30; *Tit.* 9. Martial (iii. 47) says of one who takes with him from the city into the country the productions of the country: *Nec feriatus ibat ante carrucam, Sed tuta fœno cursor ova portabat*, and of himself (xii. 24), *Non rector Lybici niger caballi, Succinctus neque cursor antecedit.* Such luxury, however, was unheard of in the times of the Republic; for nothing can be inferred from the figurative speech of Cicero, *Verr.* v. 41. Still something like it is mentioned, Cic. *de Rep.* i. 12: *Puer nuntiavit venire ad eum Lælium;* this was a slave sent on before to announce his arrival.

We must here make mention of the *capsarii*, which has a variety of significations, as *capsa* itself is also used in divers senses. I. They who took care of the clothes of the bathers, and placed them in the capsa, as thieving was nowhere more prevalent than at the bath. See the commentators on Petron. 30, *Burm.* II. The slaves who followed the children to school, and carried in a capsa the articles required there. Juven. x. 117: *Quem sequitur custos augustæ vernula capsæ.* They are mentioned frequently in connection with the pædagogi. Suet. *Ner.* 36: *Constat quosdam cum pædagogis et capsariis uno prandio necatos.* III. The slaves who carried after their masters the *scrinium* (capsa, Cic. *Div. in Cæc.* 16), in which sense they were perhaps equivalent to the *scriniarii*, of whom mention is so frequently made in inscriptions; although under this appellation may also be understood those who were *custodes scriniorum.*

The *adversitores* were not a particular class of slaves. The master on arriving at his destination, for instance at the house of another, dismissed the *pedisequi*, with orders to return and escort him back. There is a clear passage in Plaut. *Mostell.* i. 4, 1, where Callidamatas visits Philolaches, and says to the slaves who had accompanied him, *Advorsum veniri mihi ad Philolachetem volo tempori;* hence, Phaniscus (who is on this account mentioned in the catalogue of the characters by the name of *adversitor*, which does not occur elsewhere) says, iv. 1, 24; *Nunc eo advorsum hero ex plurimis servis.* Comp. *Menæch.* ii. 3, 82; Ter. *Adr.* i. 1, 2. There appears to be no more mention of the custom after Terence; but, in later times, the slaves were retained in the house of the acquaintance, particularly at the *cœna*, when they took charge of their master's

clothes and *soleæ*, and stood behind him. Hence the expression, *a pedibus pueri*. The custom is clear; Martial, xii. 88,—

> Bis Cotta soleas perdidisse se questus,
> Dum negligentem ducit ad pedes vernam,

and other passages; and Seneca, *Benef.* iii. 26, 27, where two instances are to be found: first, that of Paulus, who *matellæ admoverat* the head of Tiberius, which he wore as a cameo in a ring. This was a sufficient offence for the *vestigator* Maro to found an accusation on; but the slave of Paulus had perceived his intent, and drew the ring from the finger of his master (*servus ejus, cui nectebantur insidiæ, ei ebrio annulum extraxit*); and secondly, the case of a *vir ordinis senatorii*, who had spoken against Augustus; *Ut primum diluxit, servus qui cœnanti ad pedes steterat, narrat, quæ inter cœnam ebrius dixisset.*

We cannot infer from Cic. *in Pis.* 9, where the name occurs, that they had regular *laternarii;* but it is evident that slaves preceded them with torches or lanterns as they went home. See Val. Max. vi. 8, 1; Juven. iii. 285; Petron. 79; Suet. *Aug.* 29: *Servum prælucentem.*

We have still to mention as slaves, used out of doors, the *salutigeruli pueri* of Plaut. *Aul.* iii. 5, 26, or *nuncii, renuncii*, Plaut. *Trin.* ii. 1, 22, something like errand-boys; and the *tabellarii*, of whom more will be said in the account of *The Letter.*

The names of the remaining vulgares, who had fixed household occupations, either explain their own meaning, or will partly be described in the account of the various parts of the household to which they belonged. Among these were all those who provided for the wants of the table, as *pistores, dulciarii, coqui, fartores, placentarii, tricliniarii*, with the *tricliniarcha, structores, carptores* and *scissores, a cyatho*, or *a potione*, and so on; or for clothes and ornaments, as *vestiarii, vestifici, pœnularii, a veste*, and *ad vestem*, also *vestispici, vestiplici, ab ornamentis, custodes auri, ornatrices, cosmetæ, tonsores, ciniflones, ad unguenta*, and others. These will be mentioned in the proper place.

It is difficult to say what difference, if any, there was between the class of Vulgares and the

MEDIASTINI.

IN the fragment of Ulpian, quoted before, they are connected with the vulgares by a *vel*, and not opposed to them by an *an;* and the question is, how far they were different from them. They occur

most frequently in the familia rustica. Cic. *Cat.* ii. 3, *exercitus collectus ex rusticis mediastinis;* Colum. ii. 13, *posse agrum ducentorum jugerum subigi duobus jugis boum, totidemque bubulcis et sex mediastinis;* id. i. 9, *separandi sunt vinitores ab aratoribus, iique a mediastinis.* But are also to be found in the familia urbana. Thus Horace (*Epist.* i. 14, 14) says to his villicus, who was formerly a mediastinus in the city,—

> Tu mediastinus tacita prece rura petebas:
> Nunc urbem et ludos et balnea villicus optas.

Dig. vii. 7, 6, and iv. 9, 1, where he says, *Cœterum si quis opera mediastini fungitur, non continetur* (edicto), *ut puta atriarii, focarii et his similes.* Whence it appears that mediastini were vulgares, but of the lower class, who were used for all sorts of common work, in the rustica as day-labourers, in the urbana as inferior house-slaves. They also appear to be alluded to in Cic. *Par.* v. 2, *Sed ut in familia qui tractant ista, qui tergunt, qui ungunt, qui verrunt, qui spargunt, non honestissimum locum servitutis tenent,* etc. The etymology given by Acro, and the Scholiast of Cruquius, on Hor. *Epist.* i. 14, 14, *qui in medio stat ad quævis imperata paratus,* appears not unsuitable, if not correct; while the second etymology, *in media urbe* (ἄστει) *viventes,* is absurd. Priscian confines the name to the *balneatores* who, as being of the lowest class of slaves, might possibly have belonged to them. Nonius, ii. 573, more correctly observes that they are *œdium quoque ministri.*

The last class of slaves that remain to be described are the

QUALES-QUALES,

who appear to be mentioned under this name only in the passage of Ulpian, before quoted: *Utrum ordinarius—an vulgaris vel mediastinus—an qualis-qualis.* It was either any slave one pleased, since there could scarcely be a class lower than the mediastini, or it was a kind of penal class, *qualiquali conditione viventes,* but did not include those who were compelled to labour as *vincti, compediti,* in the *pistrinæ, lapicidinæ, ergastula,* or *ruri;* for these are named immediately afterwards, and the *ergastula* are opposed to the rest of the family. Appul. *Apol.* 504: *Quindecim liberi homines populus est; totidem servi familia; totidem vincti ergastulum.* Comp. Lips. *El.* ii. 15.

Chief among the *ancillæ* or *servæ* are the *ornatrices,* who were employed about the apparel or ornaments, or in the toilette of their mistress; but their peculiar services will be explained in the Excursus on *The Female Dress,* and Böttiger has already gone deep into the

subject. We must just observe, however, in contradiction to his statement, that neither the *cosmetæ* (i. 22), nor the *ciniflones* (i. 144), were female slaves. Comp. Heindorf. *ad Horat. Sat.* i. 2, 98.

POSITION AND TREATMENT OF THE SLAVES.

THE way in which the Greeks treated their slaves was far more humane than among the Romans. The general notion of the ancients respecting slaves was, that they were entirely the property of their masters, who might make any use they thought fit of them, dispose of them according to their pleasure, and, if they chose, kill them. But, in Greece, though the slave had no political rights, yet his master respected his rights as a man. So that Gai. *Inst.* i. 52 (*apud omnes perœque gentes animadvertere possumus, dominis in servos vitæ necisque potestatem esse, et quodcunque per servum acquiritur, id domino acquiritur*), is not true of Athens, where the master could not kill his slave. Antiph. *de Cæde Herod.* p. 727. In fact, he was prevented from acts of arbitrary cruelty, by being compelled in such cases to sell the slave. See Becker's *Charicles*, translated by Metcalfe, p. 277. But at Rome the case was different. Throughout the Republic, and, with few exceptions, up to the times of the Antonines, the master held absolute control over his slave. He could practise the most cruel barbarities on him or even kill him, with impunity. So that slaves were looked upon in the light of pieces of goods, and tyrannical masters had serious doubts whether they should be considered as human beings at all. The conflict between more rational views and this tyrannical arbitrariness is well described by Juvenal, vi. 218, seq.

> Pone crucem servo.—Meruit quo crimine servus
> Supplicium? quis testis adest? quis detulit? audi,
> Nulla unquam de morte hominis cunctatio longa est.
> O demens! ita servus homo est? nil fecerit, esto:
> Hoc volo; sic jubeo; sit pro ratione voluntas.

Not less significant is the assurance of Trimalchio (himself a slave) to his guests, in Petron. 71: *Amici, et servi homines sunt, et æque unum lactem biberunt.* And although the slave in immediate attendance on the master is called his *homo*, as in Cic. *p. Quinct.* 19, and often in Plautus, still this has nothing to do with his rights as a man. When therefore Sen. *de Clem.* i. 18, says, *cum in servum omnia liceant, est aliquid, quod in hominem licere commune jus vetet;* this is an appeal to reason and feeling, but does not prove the existence of such a relation, which, on the contrary, was in later times first created by laws protecting the slave. Macrob. *Sat.* i. 11. No doubt this stern right was exercised differently at different

times and in different familiæ; and its severity alleviated both by conscientious feelings on the part of the master, and by the usefulness of the slave; but it gave the hard master an opportunity of being cruel with impunity. Hence the description of Petrus Chrysologus, *Serm.* 141, is certainly true: *Quidquid dominus indebite, iracunde, libens, nolens, oblitus, cogitans, sciens, nescius circa servum fecerit, judicium, justitia, lex est.* Altogether, the position of the Roman slave was far harder than that of the Greek; and the reserve of the Roman character effectually prevented all approach to familiarity between master and slave. Plutarch (*de Garrul.* 18, iii.) characteristically observes of Piso's slave: Οὕτως μὲν Ῥωμαϊκὸς οἰκέτης. ὁ δὲ Ἀττικὸς ἐρεῖ τῷ δεσπότῃ σκάπτων, ἐφ' οἷς γεγόνασιν αἱ διαλύσεις. In more ancient times, when the whole family, which consisted only of a few house-slaves, lived in closer bonds of union, more intimate familiarity did arise in spite of the master's power. The whole family ate in common. Plut. *Coriol.* 24: ἐχρῶντο πολλῇ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐπιεικείᾳ τότε. *Cat. Maj.* 21. Still the slaves never reclined in company with the rest at table; but there were *subsellia*, benches, placed at the foot of the *lecti*, upon which they sat with the children and persons of lower degree. The parasites also contented themselves with this place, Plaut. *Capt.* iii. 1, 11: *Nil morantur jam Laconas imi subsellii viros Plagipatidas.* Plaut. *Stich.* iii. 32: *Haud postulo equidem me in lecto accumbere. Scis tu me esse imi subsellii virum.* Comp. v. 4, 21. Hence also Terence at the table of Cæcilius, *Vit. Terent.: Ad cœnantem cum venisset, dictus est initium quidem fabulæ, quod erat contemptiore vestitu, subsellio juxta lectulum residens legisse; post paucos vero versus invitatus ut accumberet, cœnasse una.* There too sat the children of Claudius at the imperial table, Suet. *Claud.* 32: *Adhibebat omni cœnæ et liberos suos cum pueris puellisque nobilibus, qui more veteri ad fulcra lectorum sedentes vescerentur.* The *subsellia* are distinctly assigned as places for the slaves by Sen. *de Tranquill.* ii. 15: *Non accipiet sapiens contumeliam, si in convivio regis recumbere infra mensam, vescique cum servis ignominiosa officia sortitis jubebitur.* But this privilege was soon taken away, and the slave was not allowed to take his meals with his master, but received a certain allowance of the most necessary articles of food, either monthly (*menstrua*), or daily (*diaria cibaria*); this allowance was called *demensum.* Donat. *ad Ter. Phorm.* i. 1, 9: *Servi quaternos modios accipiebant frumenti in mensem, et id demensum dicebatur.* Sen. *Ep.* 80, nevertheless says, *servus est, quinque modios accipit.* But he speaks of players; and Donatus no doubt follows the rule laid down by Cato, who only treats of the familia rustica. The slaves of the familia urbana lived

better. Cato, *R. R.* 56, fixes the allowance, according to the nature of the slave's labours, at from four to five *modii* of wheat per month; wine *ad libitum* just after the vintage, in the fourth month, 1 *hemina* per diem = $2\frac{1}{2}$ *congii;* in the fifth to the eighth month, 1 *sext.* = 5 *cong.;* in the ninth to the twelfth, 3 *hem.* = 1 *amphora*, nearly. At the Saturnalia and Compitalia, 1 *cong.* to each. Oil, 1 *sext.;* salt, 1 *mod.* per month; besides figs, olives, halec, and vinegar. We collect from Plaut. *Stich.* i. 2, 2, that this allowance was given out monthly:

> Vos meministis quot calendis petere demensum cibum;
> Qui minus meministis, quod opus sit facto facere in ædibus?

The joke of the sycophant, who pretended he had been in Olympus, alludes to this. Plaut. *Trin.* iv. 2, 202:

> CHARM. Eho, an etiam vidisti Jovem?
> SYC. Alii dii isse ad villam aiebant servis depromtum cibum.

An instance occurs in the *Mostell.* (i. 1, 59), of not only the demensum for the familia rustica, but even the fodder for the cattle, being obtained from the city. *Ervom daturine estis, bubus quod feram? Date æs, si non est.* To this Tranio replies, *Ervom tibi aliquis cras faxo ad villam ferat.* That a daily distribution was not unusual, is clear from the expression *diaria*, Mart. xi. 108: *Pueri diaria poscunt.* Hor. *Epist.* i. 14, 40; *Sat.* i. 5, 67:

> . . . Rogabat
> Denique cur unquam fugisset, cui satis una
> Farris libra foret, gracili sic tamque pusillo.

whence we see that bad diet often caused slaves to abscond. The slave likewise received clothes, *tunica* and *sagum*, but he had to give up those he had cast off; for shoes he received *sculponeæ*.

If the slave could manage to spare anything out of this allowance, he might thus acquire a little property, to which, it seems, his master could lay no claim. Indeed the principle, *quodcunque per servum acquiritur id domino acquiritur*, was not strictly adhered to, and the slave could thus earn a *peculium*, by means of which he often purchased his freedom. This is clear from Terent. *Phorm.* i. 1, 9:

> Quod ille unciatim vix de demenso suo,
> Suum defraudans genium, comparsit miser,
> Id illa universum abripiet, haud existumans,
> Quanto labore partum.

besides which the similar passage, Senec. *Ep.* 80: *Peculium suum quod comparaverunt ventre fraudato, pro capite numerant.* Of course the slave might acquire property by other means. In Plautus, the master lays no claim to what the slaves may have found, or pretended to have found, as in the *Rudens* and the *Aulularia*, and with which the slave wishes to purchase his freedom. There were

often very rich slaves. See Senec. *de Benef.* iii. 28, and Petron. in the house of Trimalchio. Plin. xxx. 10.

The names of slaves were partly borrowed from their native country, as Phryx, Geta, Paphlago, Cappadox; or, with cruel irony, from ancient heroes and kings, as Jason, Achilles, Priamus, Midas, Crœsus, Castor, Pollux, Lucifer, Hesperus, Ptolemy, Pharnaces, Semiramis, Arsinoe, &c. They seldom bore the names of plants, flowers, herbs, and stones, as Amiantus, Sardonyx, &c. Orell. *Inscr.* 2782. There was no difference between the dress of the slave and that of the humble freeman. Sen. *de Clem.* i. 24: *Dicta est aliquando in senatu sententia, ut servos a liberis cultus distingueret: deinde apparuit, quantum periculum immineret, si servi nostri numerare nos cœpissent.* Lampr. *Sev. Alex.* 27. Tacit. (*Ann.* xiii. 25) says, *veste servili*, but this only means coarse clothing, such as is worn by slaves and humble persons generally. The chief portion of it was the tunica, for the working classes could make no use of the toga. Hence, in *Dial. de Caus. corr. Eloq.* 7, *tunicatus populus* is identical in meaning with *vulgus*. So Hor. *Epist.* i. 7, 65, *tunicato popello.* The tunica of the lower orders was inferior in quality to that of the higher classes, perhaps shorter, that it might not be in their way at work (*colobium*). This opinion is in nowise invalidated by the Schol. *ad Juv.* i. 3; for the reading there is doubtful. Concerning the livery of the litter-bearers, see Excursus I. Sc. 4.

Marriage was certainly practised among slaves, but it was only a natural right, and entirely distinct from the marriage of free persons. Hence the term applied to it was *contubernium*, not *matrimonium*, and the married pair were called *contubernales*, Orell. 2807. The slave's wife was also called *conserva*, Orell. 2788. The master alone decided which slaves should cohabit with each other, Col. i. 8: *Qualicunque villico contubernalis mulier assignanda est.* It was to his interest to see that they had a mutual inclination for each other, Varr. *R. R.* i. 17: *Danda opera ut* (*servi*) *habeant conjunctas conservas, e quibus habeant filios: eo enim fiunt firmiores et conjunctiores fundo;* not to mention the profit he derived from the birth of *vernæ.* The elder Cato made his slaves pay so much for being allowed to cohabit with a female slave, Plut. *Cat. Maj.* 21. Sometimes chance may have brought contubernales together, Orell. *Inscr.* 2834; Petron. 56; Plaut. *Cas.* prol. 66—74. The contubernales are often mentioned in inscriptions. See Campana, *di due Sepolcri*, Rom. 1841; and *Dig.* xxxiii. 7, 12: *Contubernales quoque servorum*, i. e. *uxores et natos instructo fundo contineri, verum est.*

The punishments for the offences of slaves were very numerous, and became more severe from the increase in their numbers, and the greater difficulty in superintending them, as they became more

and more strangers to the master. Both Greeks and Romans agreed in inflicting corporal punishment on slaves, in contradistinction to the treatment of freemen. Hence in a *quæstio*, they were always put to the torture. The great hardship lay in the master being allowed to punish his slaves, just at his own caprice. We shudder to read the accounts of the treatment they received, often for very trivial misdemeanours; but must not overlook the fact, that they had become systematically demoralized and vitiated for a course of several centuries, and that they composed a class far superior in number to the freemen, of excessive cunning and audacity, and could only be kept in order by the most extreme severity. Tacit. *Ann.* xiv. 41. The milder punishments were, degrading out of the familia urbana into the rustica, and into the *ergastulum*, where they often had to work *catenati et compediti*. Plaut. *Most.* i. 1, 17:

Augebis ruri numerum, genus ferratile.

Geta says, Terent. *Phorm.* ii. 1, 17, with comic resignation:

O Phædria, incredibile quantum herum anteeo sapientia.
Meditata mihi sunt omnia mea incommoda, herus si redierit:
Molendum est in pistrino, vapulandum, habendum compedes,
Opus ruri faciundum, horum nihil quidquam accidet animo novum.

These were the *vincti compede fossores*, so often mentioned, e. g. Ovid. *Trist.* iv. 1, 5; Tib. ii. 6, 25. They composed a separate department of the family, viz. the ergastulum. Col. i. 8, 16: *Ergastulum mancipia vincta compedibus.* Juv. viii. 180. Those who might be disposed to run away were thus secured; whence the room was under ground, Colum. i. 6, 3. These were forbidden under the emperors, Spart. *Hadr.* 18, but were never quite suppressed. The reason why these compediti, according to Cato's rules, were better fed, was because they had harder work, and could not procure for themselves anything extra. Hence they had bread, the others wheat. The *compes* was either a block of wood fastened to the leg by a chain, or, more commonly, regular leg-irons. Hence the proverb: *Compedes, quas ipse fecit, ipsus ut gestet faber.* An iron collar, *collare* (like the Greek κλοιός), and manacles, *manicæ*, were often used, Lucil. in *Non.* i. 162: *Cum manicis, catulo, collarique ut fugitivum deportem.* Plaut. *Capt.* ii. 2, 107. Hence in *Trin.* iv. 3, 14, for *oculicrepidæ* read *collicrepidæ*. The *catulus* mentioned by Lucilius was also a fetter, derived probably from *catena*, and containing a play on the word *canis*. Plaut. *Curc.* v. 3, 13:

Delicatum te hodie faciam, cum catello ut accubes:
Ferreo ego dico.

And even *canis* came to be used in the same sense:

Tu quidem hodie canem et furcam feras.

Paul. p. 45: *Cutulus, genus quoddam vinculi, qui interdum canis appellatur.* Beating was frequent, at one time with *fustes*, or *virgæ* (*ulmeæ*), hence *facere aliquem ulmeum.* Plaut. *Asin.* ii. 2, 96, *ulmitriba. Pers.* ii. 4, 7, *ulmorum Acheruns* (i. e. in cujus tergo moriuntur ulmeæ); *Amph.* iv. 2, 9; or with *lora:* hence in Plautus regular *lorarii:* also with *habenæ*, Hor. *Epist.* ii. 2, 15. Hence Libanus, Plaut. *Asin.* i. 1, 21, calls the *pistrinum* the treadmill, where the slaves under punishment had generally to perform some hard labour: *fustitudines, ferricrepinas insulas, ubi vivos homines mortui incursant boves.* Hence arose the nicknames *verbero*, or *verbereum caput. Pers.* ii. 2, 2, *verberea statua; Capt.* v. 1, 31; *Pseud.* iv. 1, 7; and the very common one *mastigia.* This punishment was of such every-day occurrence, that many did not fear it, and even joked at it. Thus Chrysalus says, *Bacchid.* ii. 3, 131, *si illo sunt virgæ ruri, at mihi est tergum domi.* So Libanus, *Asin.* ii. 2, 53:

> Habeo opinor familiarem tergum, ne quæram foris.

This *virtus* and *firmitudo animi* is very humorously described, *Asin.* iii. 2, 3; where a multitude of other punishments are enumerated:

> Scapularum confidentia, virtute ulmorum (?) freti,
> Advorsum stimulos, laminas, crucesque compedesque,
> Nervos, catenas, carceres, numellas, pedicas, boias,
> Indoctoresque acerrimos, gnarosque nostri tergi.

Plautus makes us acquainted with slave-life on every side.

Another punishment was hanging up by the hands with weights attached to the feet, while at the same time they received blows, Plaut. *Asin.* ii. 2, 31. Hence frequently *pendere* and *ferire pendentem, Trin.* ii. 1, 19; *Most.* v. 2, 45; Ter. *Phorm.* i. 4, 42.

The more severe punishments were branding, executed upon the *fugitivi* and *fures.* Letters were burnt in on the forehead, to mark the crime, and those who were thus branded were termed *literati.* Plaut. *Cas.* ii. 6, 49, and perhaps alluded to also in *Aul.* ii. 4, 46; *trium literarum homo* (either *fur*, or one branded several times) or *stigmosi*, Petr. 109; *stigmata* is the proper expression for these *notæ.* Also *notati, inscripti*, Mart. viii. 75, 2; Senec. *de Ira*, iii. 3; Plin. xviii. 3, 4. Whether this mark was a single F, or more letters, is doubtful; nothing can be decided from Petronius, 103. The latter appears more probable, as there would otherwise be no distinction between *fur* and *fugitivus*, although it is true that Cic. *p. Rosc. Am.* 20, says of the mark for the *calumniatores: literam illam, cui vos usque eo inimici estis, ut etiam omnes calendas oderitis, ita vehementer ad caput affigent*, etc. The *stigmata* remained visible for life, and many who afterwards became free and rich tried to hide them with plasters, *splenii*, Mart. ii. 29. Martial mentions a

doctor, Eros, who knew how to efface the traces of former branding, x. 56, 6.

A very frequent punishment was carrying the *furca*, but in earlier times it was only meant as a mark of ignominy, Donatus *ad Ter. Andr.* iii. 5, 12: *Ignominiæ magis quam supplicii causa.* Plut. *Cor.* 24. The *furca* was much of the form of a V, and was placed over the back of the neck upon the shoulders, whilst the hands were bound fast to their thighs. Plautus (*Cas.* ii. 6, 37): *Tu quidem hodie canem et furcam feras.* Corporal punishment in chains was a far severer punishment. Plaut. *Most.* i. 1, 53; Liv. ii. 36: *sub furca cæsum.* The furca was also applied to slaves who were about to be crucified. *Patibulum* often means the same as *furca;* though literally it was the transverse beam of the cross. Sen. *Ep.* 101: *patibulo pendere destrictum.* Plaut. *Mil.* ii. 4, 7: *Credo tibi esse eundum actutum extra portam dispessis manibus patibulum cum habebis. Mostell.* i. 1, 52: *Ita te forabunt patibulatum per vias stimulis. Carnifices* went behind and beat or goaded the culprit. The words *extra portam* in Plaut. refer to the custom of inflicting all *supplicia* outside of the city. It was not the legendary *porta Metia*, the reading of some in Plaut. *Cas.* ii. 6, 2, and *Pseud.* i. 3, 97; but the *porta Esquilina*, outside of which, on the *Campus Esquilinus*, was the place of execution, and general burial-ground. Tacit. *Ann.* ii. 32, *extra portam Esquilinam.* Suet. *Claud.* 25; Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 60. Death by crucifixion was not uncommon. Plaut. *Mil.* ii. 4, 19:

> Noli minitari; scio crucem futuram mihi sepulcrum:
> Ibi mei majores sunt siti; pater, avos, proavos, abavos.

It is also recorded that slaves were thrown into the *vivaria*, to be devoured by wild beasts; and their conflicts with these animals are well known. A dreadful case occurs in Cic. *p. Clu.: Stratonem in crucem actum esse exsecta scitote lingua.* When the master was murdered by one of his slaves, the law enjoined that all should be put to death, Tacit. *Ann.* xiv. 41. This explains Cic. *ad Fam.* iv. 12, after the murder of Marcellus. Comp. Lips. *de Cruce.* Extra cruel punishments—as hacking off the hand, especially for theft (see Plaut. *Epid.* i. 1, 11; Bekker's *Antiq. Plaut.* 11), or throwing the culprits to be devoured by the *Murænæ* (Sen. *de Ira*, iii. 40)—were exceptions. Hor. *Epist.* i. 16, 47, *non pasces in cruce corvos.* Juv. v. 216. Originally, slaves only suffered this punishment, hence *crux* and *servile supplicium* meant the same. The greatest hardship slaves had to endure was, that very frequently, for trivial errors, or from mere caprice, they were subjected to the most refined maltreatment. The ladies were particularly distinguished in this

accomplishment; indeed their maids who dressed them seldom escaped from the toilet without being beaten, scratched, and torn or pricked with needles. See Ovid. *Am.* i. 14, 13; *Art.* iii. 235; Mart. ii. 66; Juven. vi. 491:

> Disponit crinem laceratis ipsa capillis
> Nuda humeros Psecas infelix, nudisque mamillis.
> Altior hic quare cincinnus? Taurea punit
> Continuo flexi crimen facinusque capilli.

Böttig. *Sab.* i. 310, 323.

But when treated in this manner, the master had everything to fear from the vengeance of the slaves; and the truth of Ovid's saying (*Met.* xiv. 489), *sors ubi pessima rerum, sub pedibus timor est*, was frequently exemplified. Sen. *Ep.* 47; Cic. *p. Mil.* 22: *De servis nulla quæstio in dominos, nisi de incestu.* Val. Max. vi. 8, 1. Pliny relates an instance of such revenge, *Ep.* iii. 14: *Rem atrocem Largius Macedo, vir prætorius, a servis suis passus est, superbus alioqui dominus et sævus, et qui servisse patrem suum parum, immo minimum meminisset. Lavabatur in Villa Formiana, repente eum servi circumsistunt; alius fauces invadit, alius os verberat, alius pectus et ventrem, atque etiam (fœdum dictu) verenda contundit, et quum exanimem putarent, abjiciunt in fervens pavimentum, ut experirentur, an viveret.* The wretch lived long enough to have what Pliny himself calls the *solatium ultionis.* On the other hand, instances are not wanting of the truest attachment and noble self-sacrifice for the master: in the horrors of the civil wars, for instance; and Valerius Maximus has, in a particular chapter (vi. 8), rescued various incidents of this description from oblivion. Macrob. *Sat.* i. 11.

We may conclude these remarks on the Slaves, by alluding to the peculiar relation which arose, after the last days of the Republic, through the lascivious love of beautiful slaves, who became degraded into an instrument of brutal lust on the one hand, and obtained a considerable power over the lord and influence in the household, on the other. Whoever wishes to have a more intimate acquaintance with the dark side of slave-life, will, in the pages of Martial and Juvenal, and elsewhere, find sufficient proof of the depravity of the age.

From what has been said, it is evident that the Roman slaves were in the last state of degradation and demoralization. Daily maltreatment, while it hardened them, at the same time caused them to despise and detest their master.

The power of manumitting their slaves was a right enjoyed by masters from the earliest times. The slave at once became a citizen,

provided the manumission took place according to the forms of law. He afterwards stood almost in the relation of client to his former master, and usually took his name; it being the custom, generally, to adopt the name of the Roman by whose means any one had obtained the rights of citizenship. The freedman often remained in his master's house, who was a sort of patron (*patronus*) to him; his position now became very different, though, anciently, freedmen were treated strictly, Cic. *ad Quint. fr.* i. 1, 4: *Libertis, quibus illi non multum secus ac servis imperabant.*

EXCURSUS IV. SCENE I.

THE RELATIONS, FRIENDS, AND CLIENTS.

THE entire organisation of a Roman family was perfect; and even the more distant members of it were united with the pater familias, or head, by the closest ties.

The number of relations was generally large, and, in noble families, the degrees of affinity were marked by the *imagines*, which formed a widely-ramified genealogical tree. The legal side of the question will not here be entered into. The ancient reverence entertained for the ties of kindred is shewn in many ways; there was the yearly festival of the *Charistia*, Val. Max. ii. 1, 8: *Convivium solenne, cui præter cognatos et affines nemo interponebatur.* Ovid. *Fast.* ii. 616. So again, the duty of mourning deceased *cognati* and *affines*, and the interdict against marriage within these grades; and lastly, the *jus osculi*, which allowed the wife to be kissed by her own and her husband's cognati; the kiss being considered symbolical of near relationship, Plut. *qu. Rom.* vi.: *σύμβολον καὶ κοινώνημα συγγενείας.* Val. Max. iii. 8, 6.

The ancient explanations of this custom are various. Some refer it to the old interdict against women drinking wine, and assert that the nearest relations sought to convince themselves by this means, whether the lady had taken wine or no. Plut. *ib.*; Cato in *Plin. H. N.* xiv. 13; Gell. x. 13; Polyb. vi. 2.

After the relatives came other friends, whose acquaintance had been made either at school or in some other manner; and, lastly, the *hospites*, or friends abroad, of whom the Roman of distinction could boast numbers, scattered all over the world. From the earliest times, that beautiful institution of *hospitium* prevailed in Italy as well as in Greece (see *Charicles*), whereby friends were not merely bound to exercise the rites of hospitality, but also to afford help and protection to each other in all circumstances, political as well as private. According to the usual opinion (Gell. v. 13), the first and most sacred duties were those towards parents or wards. He goes on to say, *secundum eos proximum locum clientes habere,—tum in tertio loco esse cognatos affinesque. Masurius autem Sabinus antiquiorem locum hospiti tribuit quam clienti. Verba ex eo libro hæc sunt: in officiis apud majores ita observatum est, primum tutelæ, deinde hospiti, deinde clienti, tum cognato, postea affini.* Whence the relations stood after the *hospites*. So Cic. *Div.* 20;

Liv. iii. 16; iv. 13; Plin. *Ep.* iii. 4. So Liv. i. 45; Cic. *p. Flacc.* 20; Suet. *Cæs.* 73; *Tib.* 62; and the descendants always most religiously observed the hospitium entered into by their forefathers. Hence the so frequent mention of *paternus amicus et hospes*, e. g. Cic. *Div.* 20; Liv. xlii. 38; Plut. *Cat. Min.* 12. At the conclusion of such alliances, it was usual for the parties to interchange *tesseræ* (σύμβολα), which were preserved by their posterity as a mark of identity. Plaut. *Pœn.* v. 1, 22; and v. 2, 87, where Hanno says:

> O mi hospes, salve multum, nam mihi tuus pater,
> Pater tuus ergo, hospes Antidamas fuit,
> Hæc mihi hospitalis tessera cum illo fuit.

and Agorastocles replies:

> Ergo hic apud me hospitium tibi præbebitur.

cf. *Pseud.* i. 1, 53. The bond could not be severed unless by previous notice given by one of the parties, Cic. *Verr.* ii. 36: *hospitium renunciat.* Tomasius, *de Tessera hospitali* in Fabricius' *Bibliographia Antiq.*, p. 890.

But a chief class in the Roman *domus* were the Clients. The *clientela* was a State-institution; its political significance, and the legal points connected with it, are discussed elsewhere. All that we have to do with here, is its exterior appearance in the house of the patron.

One of the client's chief duties was the *salutatio matutina*, Plin. *Ep.* iii. 12: *Officia antelucana.* Early in the morning the client repaired to the *vestibulum* of his *patronus* (the word vestibulum is by some derived from this circumstance; see Excurs. I. Sc. 2), for the purpose of making his *Ave.* Senec. *de Ben.* vi. 34. Directly the door was opened, he entered the *atrium*, where he awaited the appearance of his patron. Mart. iv. 8:

> Prima salutantes atque altera continet hora.

ix. 100: *et mane togatum Observare jubes atria.* Hor. *Epist.* i. 5, 31: *Atria servantem.* Juv. vii. 91.

But this was done not by the clients merely, but also by others who were far above that rank. Cic. *ad Fam.* ix. 20: *Mane salutamus domi bonos viros multos, qui me quidem perofficiose et peramanter observant. Att.* i. 18; Sen. *Ep.* 29; vi. 34: *In pectore amicus, non in atrio quæritur.* There were various classes of visitors, Senec. *de Ben.* vi. 33: *primæ et secundæ admissiones.* Cf. Stuck, *Antiq. Conviv.* ii. 31. The client further discharged the *opera togata* to his patron, by accompanying him out of doors as *anteambulo*, see above; for which he was treated to refreshments afterwards, Sen. *Ep.* 22: *nudum latus, incomitata lectica, atrium vacuum*, and *de Brev.* 7. This service, however, originally per-

formed from motives of respect, afterwards degenerated into an *opera mercenaria*. Not only the man of quality, or who was beloved and respected, but also the undeserving, if a wealthy one, wished to see himself everywhere surrounded by an obsequious host of courtiers (*clientum turba*, Sen. *Ep.* 68). Hence numbers of persons were to be found in Rome who used, for a pecuniary consideration, to form the court, as it were, not of one, but of several persons of wealth and consequence.

It was their means of livelihood, Juv. i. 119: *quibus hinc toga, calceus hinc est, et panis fumusque domi.* Many came to Rome from a distance in hopes of obtaining such employment: as the *esuritor* Tuccius, ridiculed by Martial, iii. 7, who had come from Spain, and, upon hearing that the *sportula* yielded so little profit, turned back again, at the Pons Mulvius, a little distance from Rome. In the same manner the poet enquires of Gargilianus, after the *sportulæ* were done away with: *quid Romæ facis? Unde tibi togula est et fuscæ pensio cellæ?* These persons used to go early in the morning into the houses of their *domini* or *reges*, hurrying on from one to another, Senec. *de Brev.* 14: *cum per diversas domos meritoriam salutationem circumtulerint.* A disagreeable task this, for the sake of a niggardly sportula, to endure daily *discursus varios vagumque mane, et fastus et ave potentiorum* (Mart. vii. 39), and to play the part of the *anteambulo tumidi regis.* Mart. ix. 101:

> Denariis tribus invitas, et mane togatum
> Observare jubes atria, Basse, tua;
> Deinde hærere tuo lateri, præcedere sellam,
> Ad viduas tecum plus minus ire decem.

comp. x. 74; iii. 46. Many, who received the *salutatio* of their clients, performed, in turn, the part of *salutator* to others, and took away the sportula, Juv. i. 99; Mart. x. 10:

> Cum tu laurigeris annum qui fascibus intras,
> Mane salutator limina mille teras.

Mart. xii. 26: How the sportula or recompense was given, is not quite clear. Kretzschmar, *de Sportulis*, Dresd. 1758. Anciently, the client was invited to dinner by his patron. Afterwards, when the custom degenerated, this was not only inconvenient, but impossible; hence a *cœna recta*, or distribution of victuals, was substituted: not, however, to take away, as Buttmann supposes; for in the only passage that can be cited in favour of this supposition (Hesych. i. p. 485) the reading is doubtful. Probably this food was doled out in baskets, whence the word sportula. But this also proving inconvenient, the cœna was changed into money (*τὸ ἀντὶ δείπνου ἀργύριον*, Hesych. *ib.*); and so it always continued. With the help of the accounts given by Suetonius and Martial, the periods of these alter-

ations may be ascertained pretty accurately. Under the earlier emperors, the clients were entertained with a regular cœna, or a cold repast, improvised for the occasion. This is plain from Mart. (cited below) viii. 50. In Nero's time the custom arose of paying in coin, and that emperor decreed this in reference to the *publicæ cœnæ* also. Sueton. *Ner.* 16: *publicæ cœnæ ad sportulas redactæ.* Domitian reintroduced the old custom, Suet. *Dom.* 7: *sportulas publicas sustulit, revocata cœnarum rectarum consuetudine.* He gave sportulæ, which in completeness and elegance equalled the cœna recta, Mart. viii. 50:

> Grandia pollicitus quanto majora dedisti!
> Promissa est nobis sportula, recta data est.

The patrons perhaps preferred feeding the clients, for these gentry could not eat dinners in so many places as they were accustomed to receive money; and thus the number to be recompensed was much smaller. Martial, iii. 7, refers to this time:

> Centum miselli jam valete quadrantes
> Anteambulonis congiarium lassi—
> Regis superbi sportulæ recesserunt.
> Nihil stropharum est: jam salarium dandum est.

i. e. since the money-sportula is done away with, a fixed salary (*salarium*) must be supplied by the patron, in order to enable his clients to live. Before this, they had not required it. The stingy patron would give his clients common food, while he ate delicacies, Mart. iii. 14, 60:

> Ostrea tu sumis stagno saturata Lucrino,
> Sumitur inciso mytilus ore mihi.

ib. iv. 68. From all the passages we gather that the client ate the food in his patron's house; it is nowhere hinted that he took it away with him. See also Suet. *Dom.* 4, where the emperor gives *sportula cum obsoniis*, and then *initium vescendi primus fecit*, and Mart. viii. 50:

> Vescitur omnis eques tecum populusque.

whence it is clear that the food was eaten there and then. But, after Domitian, the money-sportula again became the vogue: whence Asc. on Cic. *Verr.* i. 8, explains *sportulæ* by *nummorum receptacula.* The usual value of the sportula was 100 *quadrantes*, or 25 *asses.* Mart. iv. 68; i. 60; iii. 7; x. 74; Juv. i. 120; although many persons gave a much more considerable sportula (*major sportula*, viii. 42). So Mart. ix. 101:

> Denariis tribus invitas, et mane togatum
> Observare jubes atria, Basse, tua.

x. 27:

> Et tua tricenos largitur sportula nummos.

This was, according to the old value, 300 *quadrantes*, or 7½ *denarii*, comp. xii. 26. The sportula was doled out in the vestibulum or atrium, Juv. i. 100:

> . . . Nunc sportula primo
> Limine parva sedet, turbæ rapienda togatæ.

and fetched away in the evening by those who had in the morning paid the rex their opera togata, Mart. x. 70, 13:

> Balnea post decimam lasso centumque petuntur
> Quadrantes.

It was just at the time of cœna, Mart. x. 27; Juv. iii. 249. When therefore Juvenal says (i. 128):

> Ipse dies pulcro distinguitur ordine rerum:
> Sportula, deinde forum, *etc.*

this is an exception, and perhaps *effectum pro efficiente*. In short, there is much that is peculiar in Juv. i. 117, *e. g.* the ladies, there, fetch the sportula in a lectica, which is elsewhere unheard of. Whether, however, as Buttmann supposes, this money was actually doled out in little baskets, *sportellæ*, is very dubious; and probably it was only the name of the ancient custom that had been transferred to this distribution of money. But it seems certain, that as soon as the salutatio had been omitted, or the other duties of the client neglected, the sportula also ceased to be forthcoming. In Mart. ix. 86, the client is not admitted:

> Non vacat aut dormit, dictum bis terque reverso.

Cic. *Verr.* iii. 4; Mart. ix. 86.

If the client omitted his *officia*, not from his own fault, but because his patron was ill, he still got no sportula: Mart. iv. 25. From which passage we learn, that some patrons did not dole out the sportula daily, but only on fixed days. Others again gave the sportula more or less frequently, according to the wants of their client, or the amount of service done; but he never came, except by invitation, as is clear from the frequent use of the word *invitare*. At family festivals, as *e. g.* at marriages, the sportula was regularly and generally distributed. Appul. *Apol.* p. 416, where the marriage took place in the country, *ne cives denuo ad sportulas convolarent*. This wedding-sportula continued in vogue till the latest times, and consisted of a piece of gold to each. Symmach. *Ep.* iv. 55; ix. 97. The sportula on the day of assuming the toga virilis is mentioned by Appul. *ib.*; and Plin. *Ep.* x. 117, where other feast-days are recorded.

EXCURSUS I. SCENE II.*

THE ROMAN HOUSE.

ONE of the most difficult points of investigation throughout the whole range of Roman antiquities which bear on domestic life is the discussion on the several divisions of the house, their position and relation to each other. We might fancy, after all the excavations in Herculaneum, and more especially in Pompeii, where the buildings have been laid open to our view, that the greatest light would have been thrown on this point; but we should greatly err, were we to take the houses in the latter city as a criterion of the regular Roman house. It is true that they have much similarity; indeed, the habitations of antiquity generally were by no means so various in their arrangements as are those of our own times; for the situation and disposition of certain parts were alike in all. Still there were many parts belonging to a large Roman mansion which those living in provincial towns did not require; and thus, from its being supposed that these remains present a true picture, though on a small scale, of what the others were, additional error has crept into the matter.

[Becker goes too far when he asserts that no house in Pompeii presents us with the plan of a regular Roman house, and that the most *essential*, and in fact the characteristic, parts of a Roman *domus* were not to be found in that city; inasmuch as these were required by the Roman of quality only, and quite unnecessary for the middle classes, or citizens of the country-towns. In opposition to which it may be remarked, that, even in the *municipia*, there were houses not much inferior to a great Roman house, e. g. the houses of the Faun, of the Dioscuri, and of Pansa, at Pompeii: besides several in Herculaneum, where everything was on a larger scale than at Pompeii. Further, those parts only can be termed essential which are common to all dwellings of the citizens, viz. *atrium*, *tablinum*, *fauces*, *cavum œdium*, *peristylium*; and in these respects the Pompeian houses are just like the grand palaces of Rome, although on a smaller scale. Doubtless, at Rome, there

* In the Excursuses to the first Scene it was found impossible to separate accurately the old and new matter, as they were so mixed up together. Henceforward all new matter will be included in brackets. *German Editor.*

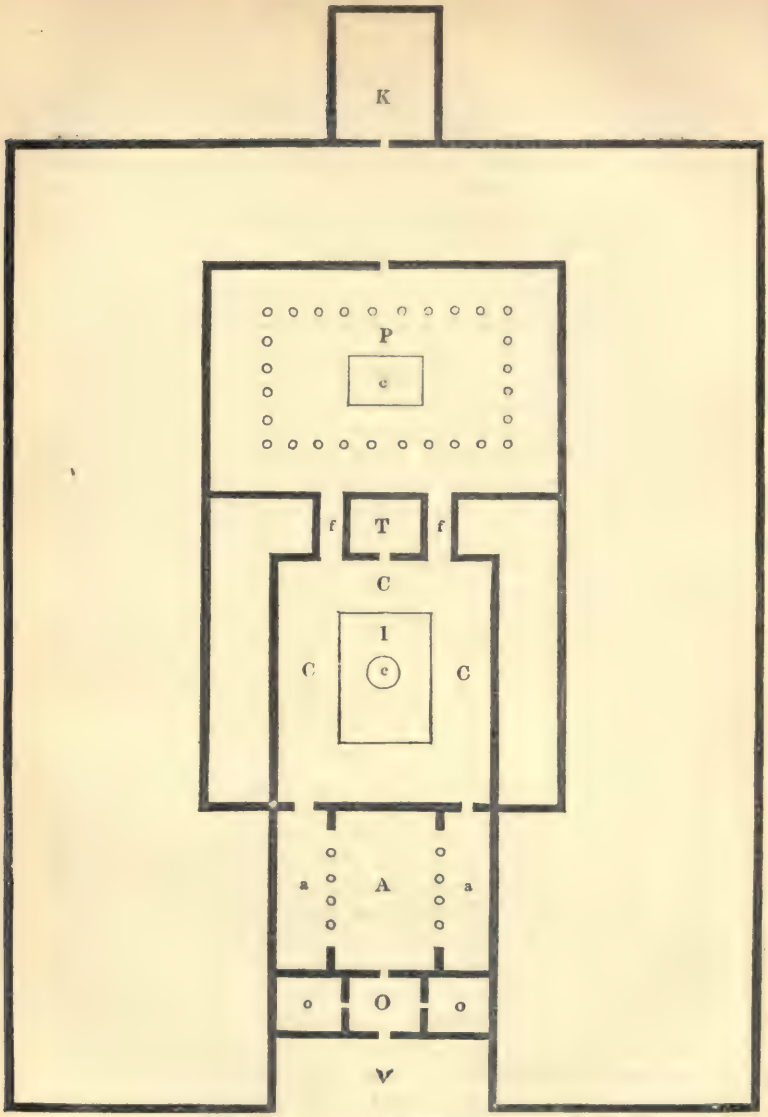
were also many saloons besides, as *Pinacothecæ*, *Bibliothecæ*, and so forth; but none of these are essential parts of the house. What led Becker to make the above assertion, was his notion about the difference of the *Atria* and *Cavædia*. Not finding at Pompeii any *Atria* to his mind, he at once pronounced the houses there unlike those at Rome; and thus the most important results were lost to him, which have been obtained from the excavations at Pompeii; since, without them, we are unable to fix the position of the *tablinum* and the *fauces*.]

Besides, no ancient author has given us a regular account or plan of a Roman residence. Our chief sources of information are Vitruvius, vi., the letters of the younger Pliny, and isolated passages in Varro, Gellius, Festus, Plautus, Cicero, Seneca, Petronius, &c. But Vitruvius instructs us only how and in what proportions to build a house; the position and use of the individual parts could not in his day have been a matter of doubt. How therefore could it ever have occurred to him to enter into any explanation on the subject? Pliny again, ii. 17, and v. 6, does not describe a *domus urbana*, but two villas; although the plan of one of them does not appear to be materially different from that of a regular house. We must endeavour then, by combining the scattered notices on the subject, to throw some light on it, and lay down a plan of a Roman house accordingly.

INSULÆ.

It must be borne in mind, that in this discussion about the Roman habitation, we refer only to the regular *domus*—the *ædes privatæ*. The *insulæ*, or lodging-houses, which were several stories high, and calculated for the reception of several families and single individuals, must necessarily have been built in an entirely different manner, and doubtless with no less variety of plans than ours. [The large ones had several courts and entrances. Fest. p. 371. They were also very high, and lightly built. Vitruv. ii. 8.] Probably the word *insula* meant not only one separate house, but also a number of adjoining houses (generally lodging-houses), encircled by a street. Paul. Diac. p. 111. This second meaning was the most common. Cic. *p. Cœl.* 7, where Cælius inhabited only a part of the *insula*. The building was under the care of an *insularius*, who had to let the apartments for his master. Afterwards, every separate lodging-house was called insula. And this is the reason why there were so many insulæ and so few domus in Rome; viz. above 44,000 insulæ and about 1,780 domus. Suet. *Ner.* 38. Niebuhr, on this subject,

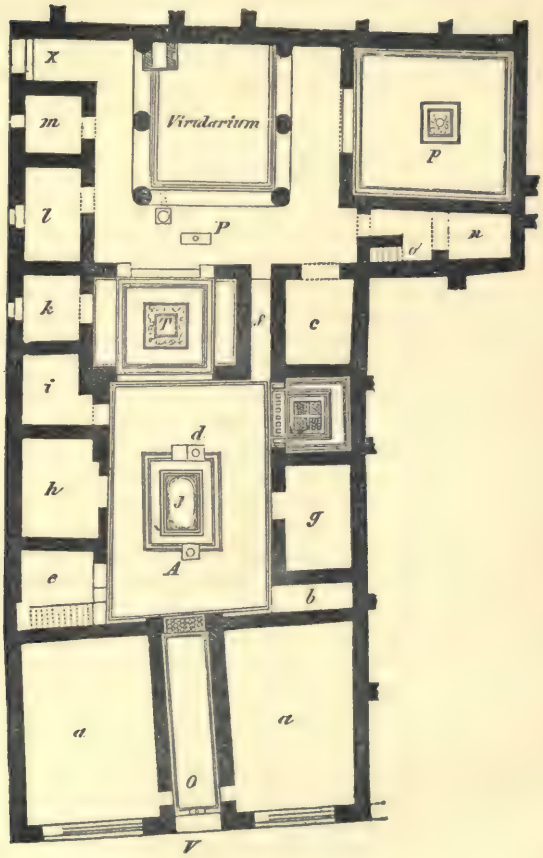
BECKER'S PLAN, OR PLAN A.



PLAN OF A LARGE ROMAN HOUSE.

V *Vestibulum.*
O *Ostium* or *Janua.*
o o *Cellæ Ostiariæ.*
A *Atrium.*
a a *Alæ.*
C *Cavum ædium.*
I *Impluvium,* in the centre of which is
c Cistern or Fountain.
T *Tablinum.*
f f *Fauces,* or entrance into the *Peristylium.*
P *Peristylium,* in the centre of which is
c A Cistern or Fountain.
K *Œcus* Κυζικηνός.

HOUSE OF THE TRAGIC POET AT POMPEII, AFTER JAHN, CALLED PLAN B.



a a Two *Tabernæ.*
b Wardrobe.
c *Cubiculum.*
d Opening in the cistern.
e Apartment of the *atriensis* and *ostiarius.*
f *Fauces.*
g,h,i,k,l, Dwelling and sleeping-rooms.
m Study.
n Kitchen.
o *Latrina.*
p *Triclinium.*
x *Posticum.*

The capital letters denote the same parts as in the Plan A.

cites Dionys. x. 32. [Preller's work on the Roman *insulæ* is the best.]

PARTS OF THE HOUSE.

IN describing the Roman domus, the house of one of the higher sort of citizens, we shall treat in the first place of such parts as had their situations fixed and always the same, and formed the skeleton, so to speak, to which the other parts were appended. These were the *vestibulum*, *ostium* (θυρωρεῖον), *atrium*, *alæ*, *cavum œdium*, *tablinum*, *fauces*, *peristylium*.

VESTIBULUM.

IT may be justly doubted whether the *vestibulum* can with propriety be inserted amongst the divisions of the house, as it was strictly no kind of building. Still it appertained to the area of the house, and has besides often been sought for in the house itself. Even Marini (Tab. cvi.) has marked the regular entrance-hall within the house as the vestibulum! In the plan given by Stratico after Newton something else appears to be meant, yet there also it is a space closed in on all sides. On the other hand, Rode, Stieglitz, and Hirt, have placed it before the house; but the front of the house formed a straight line, and the vestibulum lies before it, covered by a roof sustained by pillars; a vacant space is thus left on each side of it, in front of the house, with which nobody knows what to do. This notion of the matter therefore appears completely wrong. [Zumpt tries to reconcile the conflicting opinions, thus far, that he takes the vestibulum to be partly the space before the house, partly the passage between the two walls from the house-door to the atrium. It is plain, that the vestibulum lay before the atrium, and formed the first part of the house, from Quinct. *Inst.* xi. 2, 20: *Primum sensum vestibulo quasi assignant, secundum atrio;* or ix. 4, 10, where the ear is compared with the vestibulum; or Cic. *Verr.* v. 66, where Italy is called *vestibulum Siciliæ.*]

There can be no doubt what we are to understand by the term vestibulum, according to Gellius and Macrobius; for the former says (xvi. 5): *Animadverti quosdam haudquaquam indoctos viros opinari, vestibulum esse partem domus priorem, quam vulgus atrium vocat. C. Cœcilius Gallus, in libro De significatione verborum quæ ad jus civile pertinent, secundo vestibulum esse dicit non in ipsis œdibus neque partem œdium, sed locum ante januam domus vacuum, per quem a via aditus accessusque ad œdes est, cum dextra et sinistra inter januam tectaque, quæ sunt viæ juncta, spatium relinquitur, atque ipsa janua*

procul a via est, area vacanti intersita. Hence the vestibulum, instead of projecting before the front, receded, and was a vacant space towards the street and before the house, and enclosed on three sides by the middle main building where the *janua* was, and by the two wings projecting into the street, *tecta quæ sunt viæ juncta. Dextra et sinistra* are to be understood in relation to the *janua.* [Yet this description refers also to those houses which had not, it is true, two projecting wings, but the house-door of which retired a few paces inwards, so that a small space was thus made in front, as in the house of Pansa, of the Faun, the Centaur, and others in Pompeii.] Macrobius says the same, but more concisely: *Ipsa enim janua procul a via fiebat, area intersita, quæ vacaret. Sat.* vi. 8; [and Varro, *L. L.* vii. 81: *Ideo qui exit in vestibulum, quod est ante domum, prodire et procedere dicitur.* It is evident from many other passages, that the grammarian's explanation of the vestibulum is quite right.] Comp. Plautus, *Most.* iii. 2, 132. Cic. *p. Cæc.* 12: *Si te non modo limine, sed primo aditu vestibuloque prohibuerint. Ib.* 13; *p. Mil.* 27: *Ut sororem non modo vestibulo privaret, sed omni aditu et limine. De Or.* i. 45; *ad Att.* iv. 3; Colum. viii. 3, 8. Those passages, too, which speak of the ornamenting of the vestibulum, are to the same point. So Cic. *Phil.* ii. 28; Plin. xxxv. 2; [Virg. *Æn.* ii. 504:

> Barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi.]

Besides the *spolia,* there were equestrian statues and *quadrigæ* in the vestibulum. Juv. vii. 125:

> . . . currus aëneus, alti
> Quadrijuges in vestibulis, atque ipse feroci
> Bellatore sedens.

[Virg. *Æn.* vii. 177:

> Quinetiam veterum effigies ex ordine rerum
> Vestibulo adstabant.

where Larsch explains *vestibulo adstabant* by, 'They stood in the atrium towards the vestibulum.' But this interpretation is opposed both to the passages above cited, as well as to grammar.

In the vestibule of Nero's house stood a *Colossus,* 120 feet high, long arcades, and a great basin, *maris instar,* surrounded by the wings of the palace, Sueton. *Ner.* 31: *circumseptum ædificiis.* So *Cal.* 42, *stetitque in vestibulo ædium;* and *Vespas.* 25.]

The above important testimonies are not to be controverted by single passages, where the word vestibulum is either used metaphorically or incorrectly, and which have given rise to the absurd notion that it means the entrance itself, or the first room in the house. [Thus Virgil, by a poetical license, uses vestibulum of the

place for the doors, and for the porter, who was just behind the door. *Æn.* ii. 469:

Vestibulum ante ipsum primoque in limine Pyrrhus.

Or vi. 273, and 574:

. . . cernis, custodia qualis
Vestibulo sedeat, facies quæ limina servet;

where the vestibulum first becomes visible after the door is opened. Livy (v. 41) makes a mistake when he says that the aged men sat *medio ædium*, and then *in ædium vestibulis* (unless, perhaps, by *medio ædium* he means the space between the two wings, i. e. the vestibulum). That he was well aware what the vestibulum was, is clear from ii. 48 and 49. Lastly, Suet. (*Oct.* 100) appears incorrect, where he says of the corpse of Augustus, *equester ordo suscepit, urbique intulit, atque in vestibulo collocavit;* for the proper place for corpses was the atrium. Still no more is said than that the corpse was set down, not that it was allowed to remain there.] The only correct supposition, therefore, is that the vestibulum was a free space, generally uncovered, before the house-door. See the two Plans. At all events, certain portions only of it were covered in, as when arcades projected over the vestibulum; as in Sueton. *Nero*, 31, and in the house of the four mosaic pillars at Pompeii, and at Herculaneum. But this was a luxury belonging to a later period. No more was there any lattice, separating the vestibulum from the street, at least not originally. Cic. *ad Att.* 3, does not prove anything. Vitruvius gives no directions about the vestibulum, though he mentions it twice, c. 5 (8), as an essential part of houses of persons of quality; but he says that for people *qui communi sunt fortuna, magnifica vestibula* are not necessary. No vestibulum of this kind has hitherto been discovered in Pompeii.

On the uncertain etymology of the word (according to Sulpicius Apollinaris, from *vœ* and *stabulum* = *lata stabulatio*), see Gellius and Macrobius above mentioned. From *Vesta*, Ovid. *Fast.* vi. 303. [*quod januam vestiat* according to Servius *ad Virg.* ii. 469; Nonius, *ib.*: *non stabulum, quod nullus illic stet* (as *vesanus*, i. e. *non sanus*).] Comp. Isidor. *Orig.* xv. 7. Vestibulum comes from *vestare*, in the same manner as *prostibulum* from *prostare*, yet the meaning lies only in the particle *ve*. Originally, this seems to have meant outside or beyond, like, in some cases, the Greek παρά; thus *vecors* is the same as *excors*, παράφρων, and so also *vesanus*. So *vegrandis*, that which is of a larger size than usual; and it can be easily conceived how the particle could thus have had sometimes a strengthening, sometimes a negative, meaning. Comp. Heind. Hor. *Sat.* i. 2, 129, where

vepallida signifies 'more than usually pale.' It is quite evident how excellently this meaning suits vestibulum.

OSTIUM.

THE name *ostium* denotes the entrance of the house, [Vitruv. in Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* vi. 43; Isidor. xv. 7,] and is therefore synonymous with *janua, fores.* [Properly speaking, the chief entrance only was called janua. Hence Cic. *p. Red. in Sen.* 60: *Non janua receptis, sed pseudothyro intromissis.*] Cic. *Nat. Deor.* ii. 27. This entrance was exactly in the middle of the house, [and sometimes has several steps; Sen. *Ep.* 84. So in the Palatium, Suet. *Ner.* 8; Tac. *Hist.* i. 29; Dio. Cass. lxviii. 5; and in many Pompeian houses.] The separate parts of it are *limen inferum et superum.* Plaut. *Merc.* v. 1, 1. [Nov. in *Non.* iv. 278; Isidor. xv. 7; Plin. xxxvi. 14, 21, *in limine ipso quod foribus imponebat.* The threshold was of stone; among the poor often of wood. The carved garnishing set on the door-posts (*antepagmenta*) always of wood, *antepagmenta abiegnea.* Paul. Diac. p. 8; Vitruv. iv. 6. In many houses at Pompeii there are depressions visible on the threshold round the *postes*, into which the antepagmenta were fixed. The two column-shaped projections in the ostium, against which the postes and *limina* rested, were called *antæ;* which name further signifies every corner-column (and consequently the columns or pillars standing on both sides of the house before the ostium, as in the house of the Vestæ, &c. The lamps also in Passerat. *Lucernæ fict.* iii. 4; Isidor. xv. 7: *quia ante stant vel quia ante eas accedimus priusquam domum ingrediamur*). Paul. Diac. explains them as *latera ostiorum;* on which passage Genelli is quite in error. Serv. *ad Virg. Georg.* ii. 417, *eminentes lapides, vel columnæ ultimæ.* Non. i. 124, *quadræ columnæ.* Vitruv. iii. 1; iv. 4.]

The Romans had a beautiful custom of saluting the person who entered, by a *salve*, drawn in mosaic upon the lower threshold, as we see from those found at Pompeii. Over the door, *super limen*, they suspended a bird that had been taught to give this salutation, Petron. 28. In Trimalchio's house there was much that would not be found elsewhere, but the *pica salutatrix* is mentioned by Mart. vii. 87, and xiv. 76, and the parrots were especially taught to say χαῖρε. Pers. *Prol.* 8.

The postes (properly signifying door-posts, frequently used by the poets for the door itself, and even for *valvæ.* See Gesn. *ad Claud. de rapt. Pros.* iii. 147) were made of marble or curiously carved

wood [Stat. *Silv.* i. 3, 35, *Mauros postes*] (Plaut. *Most.* iii. 2, 133), inlaid with tortoise-shell, like the postes and valvæ. The valvæ were adorned with ivory and gold, *bullæ* (Plaut. *Asin.* ii. 4, 20; Cic. *Verr.* iv. 56), and used in ancient times to open inwards in private houses, whilst in public buildings they opened outwards; a privilege granted only to men of especial merit, as a mark of respect. See Plut. *Poplic.* 20; Dion. Hal. v. 39; Plin. xxxvi. 15, 24. Fea erroneously supposes that in later times this distinction was not observed. The *tabernæ*, however, opened both inwards and outwards. The distinction drawn, Isid. *Orig.* xv. 7, *fores dicuntur, quæ foras; valvæ, quæ intus revolvuntur*, is by no means confirmed by custom; for the doors of the temples opened outwards, and yet Cicero calls them valvæ,[Cic. *Verr.* i. 23; iv. 43;] the doors of dwelling-houses inwards, and yet they are always called fores. Comp. Sagitt. *de Jan. Vett.* [Serv. *ad Æn.* i. 453: *Valvæ sunt quæ revolvuntur et se velant.* The valvæ consisted of several parts, fastened together by metal bands. They were used in rooms which were lighted through the door only, and required much light, as in the *tablinum* and large tabernæ; see the Tablinum, p. 254, and the following Excursus.]

The door did not hang on hinges as with us, but was provided with wedge-shaped pins, which fitted into a hollow in the upper and lower threshold (*limen superum et inferum*), or moved in bronze or iron rings. Plin. xvi. 40, 77. This was the case not only in the larger house-doors, but also in those of the inner chambers there were similar pegs (*scapi cardinales*, Vitruv. iv. 6, 4,) on the folding-doors, and the cavities or rings were on the threshold, or on the side-posts. Appul. *Met.* i. p. 49. This is also evident from remains at Pompeii.

The door was closed during the day, but not generally fastened: and in Plautus the strangers who knock, do so only for the sake of propriety; nobody, whether lord or slave, knocks at his own door, not even Dorippa and Syra, who arrive unexpectedly from the country, *Merc.* iv. 1. Neither does Stichus, *Stich.* iii. 1, or Mnesilochus, *Bacch.* iii. 4. Theuropides, *Most.* ii. 2, 14, wonders at finding the door fastened; as does Dinacium also, *Stich.* ii. 1, 36; and therefore Alcesimarchus has to give particular orders for these doors to be fastened, *Cist.* iii. 18. There is no doubt that bells, *tintinnabula*, were used, as a signal to a confused crowd, or to collect people together. On their use in the baths, see Excurs. to the Seventh Scene. But there is no proof that there were bells at the house-doors. The passage, Sueton. *Aug.* 91, is no direct evidence, and the examples adduced by Casaubon, from Dio. Cass. and Lucian, only say that the family were awakened or collected by the sound

of a bell. As a *janitor* was generally at the house-door, there was the less need of such a signal, and most probably only the metal knocker or ring, called by the Greeks *κορώνη, κόραξ, ῥόπτρον*, was made use of. [It is plainly seen on a lamp, representing the folding-door of a tomb, in Passer. *Lucern. Fictil.* iii. 45. On the fastening of the door, see the special Excursus. The doors were seldom adapted for driving in at, as it was not usual to drive in the city. The *postica* or small back-door, opening into a side street (*angiportus*), was very common, Non. iii. 158; Plaut. *Stich.* iii. 1, 40:

> . . . est etiam hic ostium
> Aliud posticum nostrarum harunce ædium.

Hor. *Ep.* i. 5, 31.]

It is extraordinary that no mention is made anywhere of an entrance-hall, and yet we can scarcely imagine a house without one. Vitruv. vi. 7, speaks only of the hall of a Greek house, which he says *Græce* Θυρωρεῖον *appellatur*. He does not mention one in a Roman house. Yet Plutarch, *Qu. Rom.* 111, says *ἐν τῷ θυρῶνι τῆς οἰκίας*, talking of the house of the flamen dialis. Moreover, the house must have had a hall, since immediately behind the door was the *cella ostiarii*, or *janitoris*, Suet. *Vit.* 16; Petron. 29. Here was the dog with the warning *Cave canem;* sometimes a painted dog, as Petronius relates. Such an one has been discovered at Pompeii. See *Mus. Borb.* ii. 56; Gell. *Pompeian.* i. 142. Hence we may suppose that the space, probably not a very large one, between the outer door and the *janua interior*, was included under the name of ostium. [Isid. xv. 7, *cætera intra januam ostia vocantur*. In this space there were holes to drain off the rain-water; and for the same purpose the interior of the house was mostly built sloping. Forcell. Lexic. *s. v. colluviarium.*]

ATRIUM.

THE most important question in our examination of the Roman house is, as to what is to be understood by the atrium; and upon the reply to it depends the correctness of the whole description, as any error in it must give a false plan of the building; for the distribution of most of the other divisions depends upon the situation and nature of the atrium. On this point there exist two different opinions.

The most common idea is, that it is only another appellation of the inner court, *cavum ædium*. Schneider's does not materially differ—that the cavum ædium denotes the whole interior space, and atrium its covered portions; whilst Mazois understands by

atrium the whole, and by cavum ædium the uncovered space. The supposition that they were identical is chiefly based on improperly explained passages in Varro and Vitruvius, and on the notion that the houses of Pompeii must necessarily have had regular atria. The chief passage, the palladium as it were of all maintaining this opinion, is in Varro, *Ling. Lat.* iv. 45: *Cavum ædium dictum, qui locus tectus intra parietes relinquebatur patulus, qui esset ad communem omnium usum. In hoc locus si nullus relictus erat, sub divo qui esset, dicebatur testudo, a testudinis similitudine, ut est in Prætorio in castris: si relictum erat in medio ut lucem caperet, deorsum, quo impluebat, impluvium dictum, et sursum, qua compluebat, compluvium: utrumque a pluvia. Tuscanicum dictum a Tuscis, posteaquam illorum cavum ædium simulare cœperunt. Atrium appellatum ab Atriatibus Tuscis; illinc enim exemplum sumtum. Circum cavum ædium erant uniuscujusque rei utilitatis causa parietibus dissepta; ubi quid conditum esse volebant, a celando cellam appellarunt; penariam ubi penus; ubi cubabant, cubiculum; ubi cœnabant, cœnaculum vocitabant*, etc. The words which especially refer to the subject of our present inquiry, *Atrium appellatum*, etc., have been translated, "It (cavum ædium) was called atrium." The question is, By what authority? Varro explains the appellations of all the individual parts of the house, and points out their etymology. He defines,—as he had before done *domus* and *ædes*, and afterwards *tablinum*,—the terms, cavum ædium, and its species, *testudinatum*, *Tuscanicum*, *impluvium*, *compluvium*, *atrium*, *cella*, *penaria*, *cubiculum*, *cœnaculum*. But what right have we to refer the name atrium to the cavum ædium? Or rather, what prevents us from translating, "The atrium has its name from the *atriates*"? On the contrary, Varro had completed the explanation of the cavum ædium, its species and parts, and passed on to the atrium. The fact of his once more mentioning the cavum ædium does not prove that he had been talking of it all through; and without doing so he could not have described the position of the *cellæ*. This passage therefore, instead of affording proof of the identity of the atrium and cavum ædium, rather shows the contrary.

Next it is asserted, that Vitruvius has several times used cavum ædium and atrium for the same part. We may pass over the stale argument, again adduced by Marini, which has been gathered from the words *in atrii latitudine* (b. vi. 3). Schneider has demonstrated that it would be absurd to say *in atrii latitudine*, instead of *in latitudine*, if atrium had meant cavum ædium itself. But another passage has more plausibility about it. Vitruvius says, c. 8, Stratic. (Schneid. and Marini 5), he will lay down *quibus rationibus pri-*

vatis ædificiis propria loca patribus familiarum et quemadmodum communia cum extraneis ædificari debeant. Namque ex his quæ propria sunt, in ea non est potestas omnibus introeundi, nisi invitatis; quemadmodum sunt cubicula, triclinia, balneæ, ceteraque, quæ easdem habent usus rationes. Communia autem sunt, quibus etiam invocati suo jure de populo possunt venire, i. e. *vestibula, cava ædium, peristylia, quæque eundem habere possunt usum. Igitur his, qui communi sunt fortuna, non necessaria magnifica vestibula, nec tablina neque atria quod,* etc. From this passage it has been inferred, that because cava ædium is mentioned the first time, and atria the second, that they are synonymous; but the inference is entirely false. *Igitur his,* etc., does not stand as a consequence of that which immediately precedes. Vitruvius had only explained the meaning of *propria et communia loca,* and, after making the transition by *igitur,* proceeded to give the above precepts for everybody planning his house conformably to his condition and means. But even if an immediate connection existed between the two sentences, it would not follow that atria signified cava ædium; for Vitruvius did not wish to mention all the *loca communia,* but *quæque eundem possunt habere usum.* And here he names *tablina,* which did not at all belong to the loca communia, but rather to those places which ordinary men, having no *tabulæ, codices, monumenta rerum gestarum in magistratu,* to preserve, did not require. The same remark refers to the atria, which had not been mentioned above; but how the cava ædium could be omitted in the construction of a house, is not conceivable. On the contrary, Vitruvius (c. 4, or 3, 3), after describing the various cava ædium, says, *Atriorum vero longitudines et latitudines tribus generibus formantur;* thus placing the atria in opposition to the cava ædium, for otherwise he would have said, *latitudines vero atriorum.* [It is plain that Vitruvius alludes only to covered atria, not to open *cavædia* with four covered side-arcades: for in the latter case the proportions would be absurd. Thus, in an atrium 80 ft. long and $53\frac{1}{3}$ broad (the breadth being reckoned at $\frac{2}{3}$ of the length), the *impluvium* would have $\frac{1}{3}$ of the breadth, i. e. $17\frac{7}{9}$. How would 60 ft. high suit this? or if the atrium was 40 ft. long, and 24 broad, the impluvium would be at least 6 ft., and each of the side-halls 9 ft., in breadth. How would this suit the normal height of 30 feet as Vitruv. says, vi. 3, 7: *Columnæ tam altæ quam porticus latæ fuerint?* The proportions of Vitruvius agree exactly with those found in Pompeii; e. g. the house of Pansa is 47 ft. 4 in. long, and 31 ft. 6 in. broad, i. e. two-thirds. Vitruv. vi. 7: *Atriis Græci quia non utuntur neque ædificant.* The Roman atria were, therefore, quite different from

the Greek *αὐλή*, since *αὐλὴ* was equivalent to cavum ædium. Had atrium and cavum ædium been the same, Vitruvius could not have made the above assertion.]

We will now adduce other proofs of the difference between them. Quinctilian says of the Mnemonicians, who desired to impress on their memory the locality of a house (*Inst. Or.* xi. 2, 20, 305): *Primum sensum* [*vel locum*] *vestibulo quasi assignant, secundum atrio, tum impluvia circumeunt, nec cubiculis modo aut exedris, sed statuis etiam similibusque per ordinem committunt.* It is difficult to understand what *circumire impluvia* can here mean, except to go round the impluvium, along the covered passages, out of which the doors led into the various apartments, and between the columns of which statues were placed. Cic. *Verr.* i. 19, 23. Seneca says (*Epist.* 55) of two artificial grottos in the villa of Vatia: *Speluncæ sunt duæ magni operis, laxo atrio pares, manu factæ; quarum altera solem non recipit, altera usque in occidentem tenet.* It does not appear, however, what similitude there was between grottos and a cavum ædium, whose inner space was uncovered. Was Seneca thinking of a *testudinatum?* But these were never *laxa;* on the contrary, *ubi non erant magni impetus,* Vitr. c. 3. [This passage of Seneca is of no importance, as we cannot suppose the atrium to be so covered, as Becker would have it. Much more important is Virg. *Æn.* ii. 483, where the distinction is sharply drawn between atrium and the cavum ædium in the *domus interior:*

> Apparet domus intus, et atria longa patescunt,
> Apparent Priami et veterum penetralia regum,
> Armatosque vident stantes in limine primo.
> At domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu
> Miscetur, penitusque cavæ plangoribus ædes
> Femineis ululant.]

Lastly, Pliny (*Epist.* ii. 17) gives a description of his *Villa Laurentina,* built after the fashion of the city, in which atrium and cavum ædium appear not only quite different, but separate from each other. He says, *Villa—in cujus prima parte atrium frugi, nec tamen sordidum: deinde porticus in* D (or O) *literæ similitudinem circumactæ, quibus parvula, sed festiva area includitur . . . Est contra medias cavædium hilare, mox triclinium satis pulcrum, quod in litus excurrit. Undique valvas aut fenestras non minores valvis habet, atque ita a lateribus et a fronte quasi tria maria prospectat; a tergo cavædium, porticum, aream, porticum rursus, mox atrium, silvas et longinquos respicit montes.* Schneider appears entirely to misunderstand the passage, for he supposes the same apartments were repeated again, and lay behind the *œcus Cyzicenus,* but in inverse

order, and thus that there was an atrium at each end of the building. But the *triclinium* reached to the sea, and a view was obtained through all these rooms backwards only. As the atrium and cavum ædium are here separate from one another, it has been supposed, to get rid of the difficulty, that the atrium in the time of Pliny was quite different from that of Vitruvius. In corroboration of this, Schneider quotes the description of the Tusculan villa, *Epist.* 5, 6: *Multa in hac membra; atrium etiam ex more majorum;* and fancies that in this villa there was an atrium after the ancient fashion, but in the Laurentian, on the contrary, one *novo more.* But the most we can infer from the words, *more majorum,* is, that in Pliny's time it was no longer the custom to build atria, at least in villas. Pliny's villa, moreover, differs from the directions given by Vitruvius, vi. 5, 3.

Only one difficult passage now remains. Festus says: *Atrium est genus ædificii ante ædem continens mediam aream; in quam collecta ex omni tecto pluvia descendit;* this is, as Schneider remarks, quite erroneous, and betokens a confused idea of the matter, probably occasioned by confounding it with vestibulum. The old atria might doubtless have gone out of fashion in the time of Festus; for immediately after the great fire, in the reign of Nero, the houses assumed an entirely different appearance. Suet. *Ner.* 16. [Festus is not to blame for this obscurity; which most likely is to be attributed to the epitomist, Paulus. Festus, no doubt, said that the atrium was in the *front* part of the house, and contained *mediam aream,* i. e. the open impluvium, as was afterwards very general. Paulus spoiled the passage, and corrupted *anterior pars ædium, anterior domus,* or some such words, into *ante ædes,* which has no meaning. In other respects the excerpt is correct.] This, in part corrupt passage, is in Plin. *H. N.* xiv. 1, 3: *Eædem (vites) modici hominis altitudine adminiculatæ sudibus horrent, vineamque faciunt, et aliæ improbo discursu pampinorumque superfluitate, peritia domini amplo discursu atria media complentes.* Pliny evidently wishes to describe an extraordinary exuberance, and assigns the two extremes of growth. The question is, Whether such be the case when a vine covers a whole impluvium; by which atria media should be understood? He has already said, *Populis nubunt . . . atque per ramos . . . scandentes cacumina æquant, in tantum sublimes, ut vindemiator auctoratus rogum ac tumulum excipiat. Nullo fine crescunt, dividique aut potius avelli nequeunt. Villas et domos ambiri singularum palmitibus ac sequacibus loris memoria dignum inter prima Valerianus quoque Cornelius existimavit. Una vitis Romæ in Liviæ porticibus subdiales inambulationes umbrosis pergulis opacat,*

eadem duodenis musti amphoris fœcunda, etc. After such an extraordinary instance as this, a vine that covers an impluvium is very insignificant. If we suppose the atrium to be the same as cavum ædium, and imagine a greater atrium, sixty feet in length, then its breadth would, according to Vitruvius, be forty feet. The uncovered space would, in that case, be at most one-third of the breadth, *ne minus quarta, ne plus tertia parte;* consequently about thirteen feet broad by twenty feet long, which would give the very small superficies of sixty-five square ells. In the next place, we might inquire why so great *peritia domini* was requisite, as the *pergulæ* were common to all houses; the connection also of peritia with domini is strange; for surely it was the business of the *viridarius*, and not of the master, thus to train the vines. These considerations throw considerable suspicion on the passage; besides which the MSS. are very conflicting, and several read without any sense, *pampinorumque peritiam damna discursu at. med. com.* So we may almost surmise that some very different meaning is to be sought in the passage—perhaps, *per itinera domus?* [Herzberg conjectures *pernicie domuum*, since the vines in the impluvium, piercing through into the atrium, loosened and spoiled the wall.—The passage is corrupt; but the emendations both of Becker and Herzberg are wrong, as will presently appear. Becker starts with the false notion that Pliny wished to describe the vine's extraordinary power of growth, and that he only speaks of a single vine. The gist of Pliny's description lies in the words: *Tot differentias vel sola tantum Italia recipit.* He wishes, then, to show how the Italian vine varies in growth; and begins with that which grows highest, then describes that growing on pales (*hominis altitud.*), and lastly, those luxuriating in the impluvium, probably at the foot of the pillars. In reference to the words *improbo raptatu*, comp. Cic. *Cato Maj.* 15: *Multiplici lapsu et erratico.* Prof. Bergk, by a masterly emendation, would read *peristylia domus* for *peritia domini.* He then alters *amplo* into *amplæ*, inserts *et* before *atria*, and reads *complent.* The word *discursu* will then be the only difficulty. Another less happy conjecture is: *super* (instead of *que superfluitate*) *peristylia domus amplæ discursu atria media complentes.*

But, in any case, the above obscure passage cannot at all weaken the clear arguments in favour of the total difference of the atrium and cavum ædium.]

In the atrium stood the *lectus genialis*, or *adversus*, so called because this symbolical marriage-bed was placed *janua ex adverso.* See the commentators on Prop. iv. 11, 85; Obbarius *ad Horat. Epist.* i. 1, 87, 92. [Lipsius, *Elect.* i. 17.] Where are we to suppose

this lectus placed, if the atrium was the inner court? In the atrium also stood, *vetere more*, the looms, *telæ*, of the female slaves who worked there. Ascon. *ad Cic. Mil.* 5. But there would hardly have been room for them in the passages round the impluvium, particularly as the doors into the various *cellæ* and *cubicula* led from thence.

Two more observations may be offered in opposition to Schneider's explanation. First, the collective appellation atrium would have been a strange one for the *four* passages or halls that surrounded the impluvium; and if we allow this, the proportions assigned by Vitruvius will not apply; for the impluvium was longer than it was broad, and consequently two of the passages would have been broader or narrower accordingly. Secondly, if the whole space be meant, with the impluvium in the middle, there arises another difficulty. Vitruvius speaks of the atria being thirty feet long, and consequently twenty feet broad at the utmost; from this one-third goes for the impluvium, and only six and two-third feet remain on each side for the passages. Vitruvius (cap. 3—10) should be read, in order to discover all the contradictions to which the common explanation gives rise.

Hence it appears that the atrium was quite a different part of the house from cavum ædium. It was the first (*januis proxima*) as well as the largest saloon, about which more will be said in the explanation of the *alæ*.

The etymologies given of atrium are very various. Varro derives it from *Atriates*, for which there can scarcely be any other ground than the chance similarity of the names; on the same principle as Festus deduces *histrio* from *Histria*. Festus says concerning it, *vel quia a terra oriatur quasi aterreum;* as if the whole of the ancient Roman house was not on the ground-floor. Servius *ad Æn.* i. 730, goes so far as to derive it from smoke, *atrum enim erat ex fumo*. [Isidor. also, xv. 3, mentions this derivation, but says previously, *dictum est eo, quod addantur ei tres porticus extrinsecus.*] But the strangest explanation is that of Ottfr. Mueller, *Etrus.* i. 256, who says, in reference to Varro's etymology, as the *Atrias* on the Adriatic sea is originally the land of the streams flowing together (*Athesis*, *Tartarus*, *Padus*, and others), and the collecting place of all the waters of upper Italy, so the atrium is that part of the house, where the water that rains down upon the roof flows into the compluvium and impluvium. Besides, this goes for nothing, if atrium be not the same as cavum ædium. The most usual derivation, and not an improbable one, is from αἴθριον; for the atrium had a wide opening in the roof, *lumen*, through which, as in

the other parts of the house, the light was cast from above. See Vitruv. vi. 4; Winkelm. *W.* i. 551. But if we are to adopt a Greek derivation, we should rather be inclined to think that the word was the same as *ἀθρόον*; for it was in the atrium that the whole family was accustomed to assemble, to enjoy each other's company, to work, and, in early times, to dine also. Still it is difficult to determine the etymology of words that belong to a remote period, and which might have had an origin quite inconceivable to us.

[Becker's acute and profound researches make it perfectly clear that atrium and cavum ædium were two different parts of the house, the first corresponding to our hall, the second to our court. But he goes too far, in assuming that the atrium was always covered in, or, at most, he only admits of a hole in the roof, *lumen*. But as this theory does not hold good in any of the houses discovered at Pompeii, Becker is led into the second error, of presuming that the open space, which is regularly found behind the ostium in Pompeii, is not an atrium, but the cavum ædium; although in that case the Pompeian houses must have generally had several cavædia and never an atrium. Now, though the lower orders, both in town and country, require no atrium, yet in the houses of even the tolerably affluent there must have always been an atrium, as this was the original *focus* of their whole domestic life—somewhat like the great hall of the mediæval knight—and with it were connected all the most important incidents of their existence from the cradle to the grave. The people of Pompeii had doubtless, therefore, their atrium, and though later it may have been shaped more like a court, still, that is no reason why the atrium should have been superseded by the court; but, rather, the atrium, as its use became altered, altered its shape also. This will be manifest from what follows. In the old atrium stood the hearth (*focus*), serving alike for the profane purposes of cooking, and also for the receptacle of the Penates. Schol. Hor. *Epod.* ii. 43: *Juxta focum Dii Penates positi fuerunt.* Plaut. *Aul.* ii. 8, 15:

Hæc imponentur in foco nostro Lari.

Usually they were in little cupboards (*ædicula*), Tib. i. 10, 20:

Stabat in exigua ligneus æde deus.

Juv. viii. 110; Petron. 29. Hence Ovid (*Fast.* i. 136) mentions *Larem* close to the house-door, i. e. in the atrium. The place was called *penetralia* (Virg. *Æn.* ii. 485, 513; vii. 59; Stat. *Silv.* i. 3, 59); and the hearth itself, *foci penetrales.* Virg. *Æn.* v. 660; *Or. de har. Resp.* 27. Near the familiar flame they took the common meal.

Cato in Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* i. 730, *et in atrio et duobus ferculis epulabantur antiqui.* Serv. on ix. 648: *Illic et epulabantur et Deos colebant.* So Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6, 65, though of country life:

> O noctes cœnæque Deum! quibus ipse meique
> Ante Larem proprium vescor, vernasque procaces
> Pasco.

Here sat enthroned the mistress of the house in the midst of her maids; here was the *thalamus nuptialis*, and the strong-box of the father of the family. Serv. on *Virg. Æn.* i. 730: *Ibi etiam pecunias habebant;* and ix. 648. Several such have been dug up at Pompeii; see next Excursus. Here all visits were received, and the clients had audience, who came to their patron for advice or help. (Cic. *de Leg.* i. 3: *more patrio sedens in solio consulentibus responderem*, and *de Or.* iii. 33.) Here the corpses of the deceased members of the family lay in state till their interment (see Excursus to the twelfth Scene); here, lastly, were suspended the waxen masks or *imagines*, those dear mementos of their deceased forefathers. See above. For the admission of light and escape of smoke there was an opening in the roof, which was larger or smaller according to the size of the room, but never of such magnitude as that the room lost its character of a ceiled apartment. But when the frugal family-meal had given place to huge banquets, and instead of a few intimate friends and more familiar clients, whole troops of people crowded the house, the whole arrangement of the atrium would suit no longer. The ancient family-hearth was banished to a remote part of the building, and while the Lares were placed in a special *sacrarium*, a spacious kitchen was made for cooking. The slaves, likewise, were removed to the hinder part of the house, and the *cœnæ* were held in various saloons, of different sizes, erected for the purpose. See below. The atrium now served only as the hall of waiting and reception for the clients and friends on all occasions. Hor. *Ep.* i. 5, 31. So Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 353, had his own times in his mind, when he says of Helenus:

> Illos porticibus rex accipiebat in amplis.
> Aulai in medio libabant pocula Bacchi.

where *aula* stands for atrium.

The atrium likewise continued to be the place for the corpses, and for the images of the dead; only that instead of the insignificant waxen masks, *ærei clypei, argenteæ facies surdo figurarum discrimine*, came into vogue. Here also remained the lectus genialis, but at this time it had only a symbolical meaning.

It was now no longer necessary to have the atrium covered in; on the contrary, the larger it became, the wider was the orifice in

the roof (one-fourth or one-third of the breadth of the atrium, Vitr. vi. 3, 6), for the admission of sufficient light and air. When the roof sloped inwards with an opening of this kind, pillars were required to support it: these soon grew into an article of luxury, and were made of the most costly marble. Scaurus had four such pillars in his atrium, one at each corner; they were of Hymettian marble, and thirty-eight feet high, Cic. *p. Scaur.* p. 27; Plin. *H. N.* xvii. 1; xxxvi. 2. Between these statues were placed, Plin. xxxiv. 9; xxxv. 2; where he compares the ancient and modern atria; formerly there were only the waxen imagines. Thus this apartment had gradually become very magnificent, Claud. *in Ruf.* ii. 135; *purpureis effulta columnis atria.* Lucan, ii. 238; Mart. xii. 50; Virg. *Æn.* i. 725; xii. 475; Vitr. vi. 5, 2; *atria ampla, alta, longa,* with *longis porticibus.* Auson. *Id.* x. 49: *laqueata.* Ovid. *Metam.* xiv. 260: *marmore tecta.* The cavædium had likewise, in course of time, been adorned with splendid rows of pillars; and both in it, and in the atrium, a basin and fountain were placed (Paul. Diac.), to which were added lawns and shrubberies. Ovid. *Met.* viii. 563; Auson. *Mos.* 335:

> Atria quid memorem viridantibus adsita pratis,
> Innumerisque super nutantia tecta columnis?

Plin. *H. N.* xiv. 1, 3. (See above respecting the vine.) Prop. iv. 8, 35.

> Unus erat tribus in secreta lectulus herba,

where the atrium is meant, as is clear from l. 49. But it is not so certain that Virg. (*Æn.* xii. 476) speaks of the water-basin of the atrium:

> Et nunc porticibus vacuis, nunc humida circum
> Stagna sonat.

(viz. the swallow); for it could also fly to the fountain in the halls of the cavædium. The basin in the atrium was generally of an oblong shape, without further ornament. Virgil, *Æn.* ii. 512, doubtless alludes to the atria of his times. From this similarity between the later atrium and the cavædium, the atrium came to be called αὐλή also, which, in earlier times, would have been impossible. So Horace, *Epist.* i. 1, 87, says aula instead of atrium; so Virg. *Æn.* iii. 354. The ancients often allude to this contrast between the old and modern atrium; the former resembling a saloon, the latter, with its rich ornaments, a cavædium. Plin. *Ep.* v. 6: *atrium ex more veterum;* ii. 17: *atrium frugi nec tamen sordidum.* The passage in Plin. xxxv. 2, *aliter apud majores,* etc. (cited above), is important. Hor. (*Od.* iii. 1, 46) speaks of the new fashion, *et novo sublime ritu moliar atrium?* Varro, *L. L.* viii. 28, when he plainly says that an atrium is no more like to a peristyle than a *cubiculum* to a stable, speaks of the old saloon-like

atrium. This passage utterly confutes those who fancy that Varro held a cavum ædium and an atrium to be identical; for a cavum ædium would have been exceedingly like a peristyle; and, with pillars round it, would be a peristyle exactly. For, beyond doubt, in Varro's time the cava ædium were built with rows of pillars.

To return to the later atria. The houses now had, as it were, two cavædia (as the Grecian house had two aulæ, Vitr. vi. 7, 5); the first, however, differed from the second in being less spacious, and having a smaller opening in the roof; and likewise in its peculiar use. At least this is the case in all the plans of houses at Pompeii. Nor was there, in this, any room for a garden. So that there was always so much difference between the two rooms, that, even in later times, the first continued to be called atrium, and the second and larger, cavædium. The latter almost merged into the peristylium; see *Cavædium*. In the houses at Pompeii the atria are only of the later period, with a basin and fountain, seldom with pillars. Like as in Rome, these were, at first, the chief rooms of domestic life, but later only served for the reception of clients. These gentry predominated at Pompeii, where there was plenty of *ambitio* at work, as may be seen from the numerous notices on the walls. All the boroughs and colonies were, in fact, miniatures of the great metropolis, and so they could not possibly do without the atrium—a room so indispensable at Rome.

From what has been said, we shall not be disposed to allow that there were no atria in Pompeii, and that there was no true copy of the Roman house to be found there.

The wide orifice in the roof of the atrium, as well as of the cavum ædium, was hung with carpets, as a defence against sun, wind, and rain. These were called *vela*. Isidor. xix. 26: *quod objectu suo interiora domorum velent*. Ulp. *Dig.* xix. 1, 17, § 4; xxxiii. 7, 12, § 16; *umbræ causa*. § 17, § 20: *De velis, quæ in hypæthris extenduntur, item de his quæ sunt circa columnas;* where the hypæthral or impluvial carpets, hung horizontally, are distinguished from the vertical tapestry between the pillars. Pliny also mentions them; see above. Varro in Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* i. 697 (*vela suspendi*, to keep out the dust). Ovid, *Met.* x. 595, speaking of the mode in his time:

> ———Haud aliter, quam cum super atria velum
> Candida purpureum simulatas inficit umbras.

i. e. the purple *velum* tinges the marble atrium. Lucret. iv. 73, has a similar idea, though in reference to the vela of the theatre. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 54, is generally referred to horizontal vela:

> Interea suspensa graves aulæa ruinas
> In patinam fecere, trahentia pulveris atri, &c.

See Heindorf. Wüstemann, however, supposes it to mean the curtain hung before the door, or the carpets hung against the walls instead of paper-hangings.

In winter, moveable roofs of board could be pushed over the impluvium; at least Javol. *Dig. L.* 16, 242, § 2, would seem to refer to this: *structuram ex tabulis factam, quæ æstate tollerentur et hieme ponerentur.* Though it might mean boardings between the pillars.

ATRIOLUM

is only mentioned by Cic. *ad Att.* i. 10, and *ad Qu. fr.* iii. 1, 1: *Quo loco in porticu te scribere aiunt ut atriolum fiat, mihi, ut est, magis placebat. Neque enim satis loci videbatur esse atriolo, neque fere solet nisi in iis ædificiis fieri, in quibus est atrium majus, nec habere poteras adjuncta cubicula et ejusmodi membra.* Whence it appears, firstly, that *atriola* were only to be found in large mansions, where there was also a great atrium; secondly, that they served as an antechamber to a greater hall, *peristylium* with a *porticus.*]

ALÆ.

NOTHING agrees better with the supposition that the atrium was a different part of the house from the cavum ædium, than the idea which we can alone form of the *alæ.* Those who take the atrium to be the inner court, can form no correct opinion about the alæ, and hence has arisen the strange notion that they were the side-buildings running longitudinally parallel to the cavum ædium, and in which were the various cellæ and cubicula. Galiani, Perrault, Stieglitz, Hirt, Böttiger (*Sab.* ii. 86, 102), Wüstemann (*Pal. d. Scaur.* 55, 56). On this supposition it is difficult to conceive why Vitruvius fixed the breadth of the alæ in proportion to the length of the atrium. [With an atrium of 80—100 ft. in length, the alæ are to be one-fifth in breadth, or 20 ft.; with 50—60 ft. in length, only one-fourth or 15 ft.; with 30—40 ft., one-third or 10 feet.] The alæ (in this sense) did not belong to the cavum ædium; they were separated from the passages by walls, and could have had as much depth for each separate cell or compartment as the architect pleased, while their height must, according to Vitruvius, be equal to their breadth; this also is in direct contradiction to the usage of the word. The alæ, it is true, are not further mentioned in a dwelling; but we have the analogy of the Tuscan temples (the atrium also is of Tuscan origin), in which there can be no doubt of their nature. The Tuscan temple could have *three*, or only *one*, cella. Vitruvius, iv. 7, says of it, *Latitudo dividatur in partes decem;*

ex his ternæ partes dextra ac sinistra cellis minoribus, sive ibi alæ futuræ sint, dentur, reliquæ quatuor mediæ ædi attribuantur. The alæ therefore, in the one-celled temple, were narrower side-halls right and left of the great cella, and probably divided from it only by a row of pillars. Thus we must picture to ourselves the alæ in the atrium, only that the proportion of their breadth was less; and we now see why the breadth was fixed in proportion to the length of the atrium, which was, in fact, that of the alæ also. The edifice, then, was similarly constructed to many of our churches, which are divided into a large centre-aisle and two smaller side-aisles. Mazois and Marini felt that the alæ must be something of this kind, but they were prevented, by their false notion about atrium, from assigning their true position. They take them to be on both sides of the back-hall, by the impluvium.

We now see to what use the columns in the atrium were applied (Plin. xxxvi. 3), for the roof was much too high to be supported by them; but the *trabes liminares* of the alæ were not higher than the breadth of the alæ. Possibly, in earlier times, piles only occupied the place of columns.

[In the houses at Pompeii the alæ do not form side-aisles to the atrium (as Becker would have it), but regular squares at the backward end of it; whence it is easy to perceive why their breadth depended on the length of the atrium. Moreover, they were not by any means a necessary part of the house, for some houses are found without them; and in the house of the tragic Poet, in that of the two Fountains, and others, there was, from want of space, only one ala at the right end of the atrium. The construction of the alæ, as supposed by Mazois and confirmed by Pompeii, is now universally acknowledged to be correct.]

TABLINUM.

IT is very difficult to assign the correct position of the *tablinum*, nor are we acquainted with any passage containing information on the subject. [Except in Vitruv. vi. 3, 5, it is only mentioned twice; and Vitruvius says nothing about its situation, only giving its size in proportion to the breadth of the *atrium*, viz. two-thirds, when the atrium is twenty feet broad; one-half, when it is thirty to forty feet broad; and two-fifths, when it is forty to sixty feet.] It is true that Festus says, 273: *Tablinum proxime atrium locus dicitur, quod antiqui magistratus in suo imperio tabulas . . .*; and Paul. Diac. p. 137: *Tablinum locus proximus atrio a tabulis appellatus.* But whatever idea we may form of the atrium, this place is not discoverable. It

does not suit the theory of those, who under the word atrium understand cavum ædium, because a number of different chambers would have been then *proxime atrium*. Again, if we take atrium in the sense given above, there will be no proper place where it could have been situated. We shall be less inclined to attach importance to this explanation of Festus, when we recollect that he had an erroneous idea about the atrium itself. The tablinum has been usually supposed opposite the ostium, or, according to our supposition, the atrium, beyond the cavum ædium, and has been laid down thus in the Plan we have given. [According to Marquez, the tablinum is to the left of the atrium, and of the same length; this needs no refutation. But Becker's notion is likewise very improbable and arbitrary (as he himself afterwards acknowledged); for, not to mention any other reason, it does not suit either the account of Vitruvius or Festus. Thus much, at all events, may be gathered from Vitruvius, that the tablinum lay at the small end of the atrium; for, otherwise, there would be no sense in making the extent of the tablinum depend on the breadth of the atrium. This, moreover, harmonizes with Festus, who was not at all in error about the matter, although his epitomist was; as shown above. He says very briefly, *proxime atrium;* but everybody, who knew the position of the atrium, was aware that this *proxime* referred neither to the front end of the atrium, nor yet to its two sides; for in the first case the tablinum must have lain between the ostium and the atrium, which was impossible; and in the second case there would have been no space left for the *alæ*. So that the fourth or hinder end of the atrium alone remained for the tablinum to join on to. This is shown by all the excavations at Pompeii; where there is invariably a four-cornered room, with a very broad doorway (for the sake of light), behind the atrium; and this room could only be the tablinum; see *T.* in Plan B. Through this position of the tablinum, alone are we enabled to fix that of the *fauces;* or in any way to explain them.]

There appears to be no doubt that tablinum is to be derived from *tabula;* the only question is, whether tabula (according to Varro's interpretation) means board; or whether the *tabulæ rationum* and the like are alluded to, which is most probable. Besides the authority of Festus for this, we have that of Pliny (xxxv. 2, 2), who, in praising the olden time, says: *Tablina codicibus implebantur et monumentis rerum in magistratu gestarum.* Hence it was in some measure the archives of the house, that which, in reference to the *res publica*, was called *tabellarium*, Dionys. i. 74.

FAUCES.

WHAT, or rather where, the *fauces* were, is a point on which there exists great diversity of opinion, and upon which we know next to nothing. Perrault, Rode, Wüstemann, and Schneider have supposed it to be the hall which we have comprehended under the term ostium; but such quotations as, *Vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci* (Virg. *Æn.* vi. 273), do not show that other passages in the house might not have had the same name; and Vitruvius calls the passages in the Grecian house, which supplied the place of the hall, *iter*, not fauces. Galiani, Ortiz, and Stratico understood by this term, *aperturam per quam transitus habetur ab atrio ad tablinum*, which is rather obscure. [Marquez (*della Casa di Citta*, etc. p. 91) understands them to be passages between the pillars or piers from the alæ into the atrium; but these intermediate spaces were much too broad to admit of being called fauces.] Mazois, Hirt, and Marini conceive them to be passages leading to the larger *peristylium*, on each side of the tablinum; and we have adopted this idea, because Vitruvius lays down the breadth of the fauces in proportion to that of the tablinum, which would have been unnecessary, had they not been in some manner connected with it. It is evident that some such thoroughfares must have existed, and if we set the tablinum in the place assigned to it, this is the most plausible position of the fauces. [The only correct idea of the fauces is, that they were narrow passages or corridors beside the tablinum (although Becker, in his posthumous Papers, has forsaken this, and gone back to the opinion that the fauces were the entrance-hall, the θυρών of Plutarch). This is clear from Vitruv. vi. 3, 6: *Fauces minoribus atriis e tablini latitudine dempta tertia, majoribus dimidia constituantur.* As the tablinum did not lie behind, but before, the *cavædium*, the fauces did not lead from the cavædium to the greater peristyle, as in Becker's Plan (f. f.); but from the atrium into the cavædium, as in Plan B. This explanation is most fully corroborated in Pompeii, where, with scarcely a single exception, there are either two passages, one on each side of the tablinum (viz. in large houses), or only on one side of it (viz. in small houses). And to these alone, from their narrowness, is the term fauces applicable. The tablinum and fauces always lie at the upper end of the atrium; seldom however (as in Plan B.) occupying the whole breadth of the atrium; but leaving, mostly, enough space for another room alongside of the tablinum. This practice, moreover, agrees exactly with the theory of Vitruvius. He says that, with an atrium sixty feet broad, the tablinum must be two-fifths or

twenty-four feet, and the two fauces, one-half or twelve feet broad each, i. e. forty-eight in all; so that twelve feet remain over for other purposes. When the atrium is only forty feet broad, the tablinum will be two-fifths or sixteen feet; the fauces eight each or thirty-two feet in all, leaving eight feet over. But when the atrium is only twenty-four feet broad, the tablinum will have two-thirds, or sixteen, and the fauces ought properly to have sixteen feet also, or one-half. But in that case the sum would be thirty-two, whereas we have only twenty-four at our disposal, and this, according to the practice, ought not to be all used up. But this difficulty will disappear, if we remember that, with a smaller atrium, two fauces were not necessary, a single corridor sufficing which would take up eight or only six feet; and then there would be still two feet over from the breadth of the atrium, as was the case in most atria.]

CAVUM ÆDIUM.[1]

OUR remarks on the atrium have shown what was the general nature of the cavum ædium; it was the inner court, the real heart of the house, around which the other divisions were situated. In the centre was an uncovered space, *area*, styled *impluvium*, and enclosed on all sides by covered passages. [The slanting roof over the arcades was called *compluvium*, Varro, *ib.* This was the distinction made between impluvium and compluvium by Hirt and Laglandière; but Mazois and Raoul-Rochette understand by compluvium the opening in the roof, by impluvium the cistern. See Paul. Diac. p. 108: *Impluvium, quo aqua impluit collecta de tecto. Compluvium, quo de diversis tectis aqua pluvialis confluit in eundem locum.* So Asc. *ad Cic. Verr.* i. 23, p. 277; Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* i. 505; ii. 512. It is evident that impluvium was the name of the open space, from Plaut. *Mil.* ii. 2, 3: *per impluvium intro spectant* (*vicini*), and 3, 16.] These roofs were divided into the following kinds, according to their construction, Vitruv.

I. *Tuscanicum*, in which beams were laid *in latitudine atrii*, resting upon the opposite walls; into these two others were mortised, or hung in at equal distances from the wall, the *interpensiva* of Vitruvius; and on these timbers, which thus formed a square, lay the *asseres*, the spars which supported the roof. This was probably the most ancient mode of building, but not suitable for a very large cavum ædium.

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[1] *Cavum ædium*, according to Varro and Vitruvius: *cavædium*, to Pliny.

II. The *tetrastylum* differed only in pillars being placed in the four corners where the interpensiva lay upon the main beams. This possibly took place only in *cavædia* of larger dimensions, for fear of imposing too much weight on the beams.

III. In the *Corinthium* the beams did not lie on the walls, *a parietibus recedunt*, but were upheld by a row of columns which encircled the impluvium.

IV. In the *displuviatum* the roofing did not slope inwards towards the impluvium, but towards the walls, where gutters caught the rain-water, and carried it down. The advantage of this was that, in winter, or gloomy weather, the light from the surrounding apartments was not intercepted by a low roof. [Its disadvantage was, that the walls were injured if the gutters did not carry off the water quickly enough, Vitruv.]

V. The *testudinatum* was covered and had no impluvium. The *testudo*, however, was not an arch, *camera*, but a common roof of rafters. See Vitruv. v. 1; Hirt, supra. How a cavum ædium of this description received the requisite light, we are not informed. [It has been already observed that, later, the cavædium passed more into the form of the peristyle (as tetrastylum and Corinthium); and this was almost always the case in those houses which had only two open chief rooms (atrium and cavædium), and were in fact without the regular peristyle. Cavædia of this kind were in the house of the tragic Poet. See Plan B., *P*. In that of Pansa, of Meleager (to the left of the atrium), of the Dioscuri (to the right of the atrium), of the Bronzes, &c. The pillars were on all four sides, as in the house of Meleager, where there are twenty-four magnificent pillars; or on three sides, as in our Plan (where the middle pillar in the front has been omitted by mistake), and in the house of Sallust; from the fourth side resting against a wall; or even on two or one side only, as in many small houses in the street of Mercury at Pompeii. These pillars were mostly of bricks or common stone stuccoed over; with a variety of fantastic capitals.]

In the middle of the impluvium there was generally a cistern, or fountain [*salientes*, Varro, *R. R.* i. 13: *Interius compluvium habeat lacum, ubi saliat aqua*], the basins of which were four-cornered, and generally adorned with reliefs, *putealia sigillata*, Cic. *Att.* i. 10; [Ulp. *Dig.* xix. 1, 17, § 9. Many beautiful fountains of marble and bronze have been discovered at Pompeii. In some, at the top of a marble pillar there are little animals, like ducks, which eject the water. Sometimes the water spouts from a tiger's head, or from a stag of bronze (as in the house of Sallust, now in the Mu-

seum at Palermo), or from a mask, as in the house of Meleager. There is also a beautiful Silenus standing in a niche, highly ornamented with mosaic, and leaning against the pipe, whence the water falls down four steps into the basin. Steps were erected for the purpose of making a little cascade. Sen. *Ep.* 86: *Quantum aquarum per gradus cum fragore cadentium?* In the house of Meleager the water trickled from a marble slab into the great basin of the atrium, and in the peristyle of the cavædium down several steps. The grand basin was generally of marble, and of various shapes. Beside it there were also little basins placed, of stone or bronze, Javol. *Dig.* xxxiii. 10, 11: *Vasa œnea salientis aquæ posita.* Frequently there was a marble table near the cistern, as in the houses of Meleager and of the Centaur. Varro, *L. L.* v. 125: *Mensa erat lapidea . . . vocabatur cartibulum. Hæc in ædibus ad compluvium ponebatur.* A little fish-box, or water-vessel, was set by the cistern as in Plan B, letter *d*, in the atrium. The intercolumniations of the cavædium were adorned with statues, after the days of the Republic. Cic. *Verr.* i. 19: *Quæ signa nunc, Verres, ubi sunt? illa quæro, quæ apud te nuper ad omnes columnas, omnibus etiam intercolumniis, in silva denique sub divo vidimus.* So 23 and 56. At the same period gardens and ornamental shrubberies were laid out in the cavædia, which had, by degrees, become just like the peristyles. Hor. *Ep.* i. 10, 22:

> Nempe inter varias nutritur silva columnas;

and Obbarius, on *Od.* iii. 10, 5:

> Audis quo strepitu janua, quo nemus
> Inter pulchra satum tecta remugiat
> Ventis.

Tib. iii. 3, 15; Juv. iv. 7; Liv. xliii. 13; Plin. *H. N.* xvii. 1; Suet. *Aug.* 92. Flower-pots of metal are often found between the pillars. Javol. *Dig.* xxxiii. 7, 6: *Dolia fictilia item plumbea; quibus viridaria posita.*]

PERISTYLIUM.

BEHIND the cavum ædium and tablinum lay the larger *peristylium*, in the shape, like the former, of an oblong square; but while the cavum ædium reached longitudinally from the atrium to the tablinum, the peristylium, on the contrary, lay transversely beyond the tablinum. Vitruv. 4: *Peristylia autem in transverso tertia parte longiora sint, quam introrsus*, and consequently its length extended crosswise towards the sides of the house. [But sometimes it lay longitudinally, and not crosswise, as in the house of the Faun.] The surrounding porticos, the pillars of which

might not be more than four diameters from each other, enclosed a larger area, which also had a cistern or jet in its centre, and was planted with flowers, shrubs, and trees (*viridarium*). See Obbar. *ad Horat. Epist.* i. 10, 22, [precisely as in the cavædium, only on a larger scale. Statues were placed here likewise, and a low balustrade ran between the pillars, as a fence to the garden, Vitruv. iv. 4, 1. On the cornice above the pillars there were ornaments (*antefixa*, Paul. Diac.), such as lions' heads, as in temples, Vitruv. iv. 4. The largest peristyle in Pompeii is in the house of the Faun, with forty-four Doric columns. That in the house of the ornamented Capitals, consisting of twenty-four pillars, encircled a large garden neatly laid out. Most of the pillars made of brick, at Pompeii, still remain, while those of marble have perished. This is explained by the fact that, soon after the destruction, the inhabitants returned, and excavated whatever they were able of their property.]

II. We now come to the divisions of the house which might be arranged differently, according to circumstances and the tastes of the owners; whilst those already described held the same position in all genuine Roman houses, and were built according to a received plan, which in the main was not deviated from.

The parts which especially remain for our consideration are *cubicula*, *triclinia*, *œci*, *exedra*, *pinacotheca*, *bibliotheca*, *balineum*. The baths and library will be treated of in distinct Articles, in order that the disquisition on the usages concerning them may not be separated from the description of their situation and construction.

CUBICULA

was the name for all the smaller chambers, that served as regular lodging and sleeping apartments, *Cubicula nocturna et diurna* (Plin. *Ep.* i. 3); the former are also called *dormitoria*, id. v. 6; Plin. xxx. 6, 17. There is nothing particularly worthy of remark respecting their position, except that a small ante-room was sometimes attached, which went by the Greek name, προκοιτών. Plin. *Ep.* ii. 17. There were cubicula *æstiva* and *hiberna*, and the bedchambers were removed as far as possible from all disturbances. See Mazois, *Pal. d. Scaur.* 68. [In the house of Meleager, and others at Pompeii, large chambers have been found with smaller alcove-shaped rooms attached to them, which were often dormitoria. The name for these alcoves or cabinets was *zotheca*. Plin. *Ep.* ii. 17: *Zotheca perquam eleganter recedit, quæ specularibus et velis obductis reductisque modo adjicitur cubiculo, modo aufertur.* Plin. v. 6; Sidon. *Ep.* viii. 16, *zothecula*.]

TRICLINIA.

RESPECTING the *triclinia*, Ciacconi and Orsini have, according to the old fashion, collected a good deal *e re* and *a re*. They were smaller dining-halls or rooms, according to Vitruvius, twice as long as they were broad. Their height was half the sum of the breadth and length; consequently, when sixteen feet broad, and thirty-two feet long, they were twenty-four feet high. Vitruv. vi. 3, 8. They were also called triclinia, when they contained more than one triclinium. There were particular triclinia as well as cubicula for the different seasons of the year. [Varro, *R. R.* i. 13; *L. L.* viii. 29; Sidon. Apoll. *Ep.* ii. 2.] Vitruvius directs that the *verna* and *autumnalia* be towards the east, the *hiberna* towards the west, and the *æstiva* towards the north: but this arrangement of course depended much upon the disposable room. See Plut. *Lucull.* 41.

ŒCI

were larger saloons, of various styles of architecture, which were used also, though not exclusively, as triclinia. Vitruvius mentions various sorts of such saloons.

I. The *tetrastylos*, which requires no particular explanation. Four pillars supported the roof.

II. The *Corinthius*. This had rows of pillars on all four sides, along the wall, though detached from it, so that a passage was left between them. They were connected by an *epistylium*, along which ran a *corona*, and upon this rested the roof, which was moderately arched.

III. The *Œcus Ægyptius* was still more splendid; like the Corinthian, it had pillars on all four sides, but from their entablature to the wall there was a flat roof, so that the height of the passages was not more than that of the pillars with the entablature. Above the lower pillars a second row was placed (*ad perpendiculum*), the height of which was one-fourth less than that of the lower ones, and on the epistylium of these rested the roof. Above the roof of the passages was a pavement, outside of the middle and higher saloon, so that there was a passage all round, and a view through the windows placed between the columns. Thus the œcus Ægyptius presented the appearance of a *basilica*, which is built in this manner.

IV. The fourth kind, the *Œcus* Κυζικηνός, seems, even in the time of Vitruvius, to have been uncommon and new; for he says that such saloons are now *Italicæ consuetudinis*. Their peculiarity

was, that they had on three sides (Vitruvius says only *dextra et sinistra*) glass doors, or windows reaching like doors to the ground, so that, when reclining on the triclinia, persons could enjoy a view on all sides into the open air. Pliny had a saloon of this description in both his villas. To have commanded such a view, they must have projected from the rest of the house.

EXEDRÆ.

VITRUVIUS places these with the *œci*, i. e. with the *quadrati;* for those mentioned above had the proportions of triclinia, and there can be no doubt that we must understand thereby regular rooms for conversation and the reception of company. In certain respects only can they be compared with the *exedræ* in the public *gymnasia*, which were semicircular recesses with seats in the colonnades. Vitruv. v. 11: *Constituuntur in porticibus exedræ spatiosæ, habentes sedes, in quibus philosophi, rhetores, reliquique qui studiis delectantur, sedentes disputare possint.* Of course *these* were in the open air (Vitruv. vii. 9), *apertis locis, id est peristyliis aut exedris, quo sol et luna possit splendores et radios immittere.* That Wüstemann, *Pal. d. Scaur.* 126, is wrong in inferring that in private houses also they were without covering, is evident from Vitruvius assigning their height in common with the œci quadrati: *Sin autem exedræ aut œci quadrati fuerint, latitudinis dimidia addita altitudines educantur.* Comp. vii. 3. They were called exedræ, according to Mazois, 119, because on two sides they had such semicircular recesses; but perhaps really only from their being used for similar purposes, and on account of the seats; for undoubtedly they had seats [of stone, running along the wall; see Becker's *Charicles*, translated by Metcalfe, p. 207; Gronov. *ad Suet. Ill. Gramm.* 17,] and not *lecti* to recline on. Cic. *Nat. Deor.* i. 6: *Nam cum feriis Latinis ad eum* [*Cottam*] *ipsius rogatu arcessituque venissem, offendi eum sedentem in exedra et cum C. Velleio senatore disputantem.* Hence also, *De Orat.* iii. 5, *cum in eam exedram venisset, in qua Crassus lectulo posito recubuisset*, etc. The *hemicyclia* are not to be confounded with them. Cic. *de Amic.* 1: *Domi in hemicyclio sedentem.* Plin. *Ep.* v. 6. These were uncovered semicircular seats, which occur frequently at Pompeii. They are also mentioned at Athens.

[DIÆTA.

THIS does not denote any particular sort of room, but is a general term for a lodging-room or lodgings. In the first sense, Stat. *Silv.* ii. 2, 83:

Ante tamen cunctas procul eminet una diætas.

Plin. *Ep.* vii. 5; ii. 17; Ulp. *Dig.* xxix. 5, 1, § 27; Suet. *Claud.* 10. In the sense of a lodging, or number of rooms, or as the wing of a house, in Plin. *Ep.* v. 6: *Diætæ duæ, quarum in altera cubicula quatuor, altera tria.* Hence it signifies an eating-room, Sidon. *Epist.* ii. 2; a bed-chamber, Plin. *Ep.* ii. 17; and a garden-saloon, Scæv. *Dig.* vii. 1, 66, § 1. In the above passages, town-houses, as well as country ones, are referred to.

CHAPEL.

WHEN the hearth was removed from the atrium, a chapel was made for the Lares and Penates, and the hearth became an altar. (In the houses of the poor and the rustic, the household gods still remained at the hearth. Cato, *R. R.* 143. And in this point of view, *aræ, foci, dii penates,* still continued to be mentioned together. *Or. p. Dom.* 40.) The name of this chapel was *lararium,* or *sacrarium,* which last word, however, signified any sacred place, Ulp. *Dig.* i. 8, 9, § 2. As a domestic chapel it occurs in Cic. *ad Fam.* xiii. 2; *Verr.* iv. 2: *Erat apud Heium sacrarium in ædibus, in quo signa pulcherrima quatuor. Pro Mil.* 31: *Lararium* occurs in Lamprid. *Sev. Alex.*, who mentions a larger and smaller one belonging to the emperor. Cap. *Ant. Phil.* 3. From which passages we learn that besides the Lares, the images of revered persons were stored up here. Suet. *Vit.* 2. Its situation was uncertain; either in the cavum ædium, Suet. *Oct.* 92 (see Plan B., left of the viridarium, close to the wall), or in the garden of the peristyle, as in the house of the Dioscuri. It was rarely in the atrium, as in the large house of the ornamented Capitals (in the left wing).]

PINACOTHECA.

IN the old Roman houses there was certainly no *pinacotheca,* any further than that the intercolumniations of the cavum ædium or peristylium, the gymnasium and the garden, were adorned with statues. Marcellus, Flaminius, Æmilius Paulus, and especially Mummius, took, it is true, a great number of works of art to Rome, but they were only used for beautifying public buildings and palaces, and Cic. *Verr.* i. 21, praised those men *quorum domus, cum honore et virtute florerent, signis et tabulis pictis erant vacuæ.* Even among the Greeks, the desire for the personal possession of works of art arose only at a late period, when public spirit was gradually disappearing, and they were more and more divesting themselves of the habit of looking on what belonged to the community as their own property also, and ceased to seek their own glory in the gran-

deur of their country. How much more was this the case at Rome, where even the taste for art was wanting, and where at a later period, vanity and fashion, rather than love or knowledge of the subject, led people to form collections. See Becker's *Antiq. Plautinæ*, i. 28.

In the time of Vitruvius it was considered good taste to possess a pinacotheca (see Plin. xxxv. 2), and he therefore prescribes the manner of constructing that, as of every other part of the house. A northern aspect was selected for it, that the colours might not be injured by the light of the sun. The tabulæ (for wood was in general used for painting on, although Cicero, *Verr.* iv. 1, mentions pictures on canvass, *in textili*) were either let into the wall, or hung against it. Cic. *Verr.* iv. 55; Plin. xxxv. 10, 37 (*quæ ex incendiis rapi possent*); Plin. xxxv. § 9; Ulp. *Dig.* xix. 1, 17, 3; comp. *Antiq. Plaut.* 47. No passage, in which frames for the pictures are mentioned, occurs to us at present, however natural it may appear to have had them. In Plin. xxxv. 2, there is nothing about them, yet several paintings on the walls are provided with frames, like borders; as, for instance, that one known by the name of the Aldobrandini marriage. Comp. Winkelm. *W.* v. 171; Vitruv. ii. 8, 9, speaks of wooden frames for the transport of fresco paintings cut out of the walls.

[APARTMENTS OF THE SLAVES.

THE *cellæ familiares* or *familiaricæ*, *servorum cellæ* (Colum. i. 6; Cic. *Phil.* ii. 27; Vitruv. vi. 7), were unadorned chambers, in the back or upper part of the house; except the cella of the ostiarius, which was at the ostium: perhaps, too, that of the atriensis. These two are marked *e* in Plan B.

KITCHEN.

THE *culina* (originally *coquina*, Non. i. 273) was in ancient times on the simple hearth of the atrium. Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* i. 726 (see above). In the country they kept to this old custom, and both kitchen and hall were one. Varr. *R. R.* i. 13; Col. i. 6: *magna culina—in ea commode familiares omni tempore anni morari queant.* But in the town, the kitchen was removed backwards. Varro, *in Non. ib.: In postica parte erat culina.* Lucil. *in Non.* iii. 158:

Pistrinum appositum, posticum, sella, culina.

In large palaces it was very spacious, and frequently arched over. One is mentioned as 148 feet long, in an inscription. Sen. *Ep.* 114; *Ep.* 64. They were even adorned with frescoes, as in the house of

Meleager, and the Dioscuri, at Pompeii. A snake was often painted above the hearth. Many remains have been found of hearths and sinks (*coquinæ fusorium*, Pall. *R. R.* i. 37, or *confluvium*, Varro), but none of chimneys; the flues being short.

THE LATRINA

was inconveniently placed next the kitchen (derived from *lavatrina*, Non. iii. 131); perhaps that the sewer leading from the latrina to the public *cloaca* might carry off the dirty water from the kitchen. Col. x. 85; Varro, *L. L.* v. 118; Suet. *Tib.* 58; Plaut. *Curc.* ii. 3, 83. The slaves brought hither the sellæ familiaricæ or pertusæ, matulæ and matelliones (Paul. Diac. p. 125), *lasana*, *scaphia*, etc., which were, later, often of costly metal. Mart. i. 38; Petron. 27; Lampr. *Heliog.* 32. The debasing offices performed by the slaves, in this respect, are described by Martial, iii. 82; vi. 89; xiv. 119; Sen. *Ep.* 67. On the public *foricæ*, see Juv. iii. 38; Paul. *Dig.* xxii. 1, 17.

STORE-CHAMBERS.

THE cella penaria, penuaria (Cic. *de Nat. D.* ii. 27; *Dig.* xxxiii. 9), *proma* or *promptuaria*, also *horreum*, and later called cellarium (Suet. *Oct.* 6), was indispensable. Like the cella vinaria and the granarium (Vitruv. i. 4, 2), it lay to the north, near the cavædium, consequently, behind the house, not far from the kitchen. Respecting the cellarius, see above. The oil-store, cella olearis or olearia, lay southwards, to prevent the oil from freezing. Vitruv. vi. 6; Cato, *R. R.* 13; Varro, *R. R.* i. 13. On the cella vinaria, see Excursus IV. Sc. 9. Sometimes there was a small chamber near the triclinium (*apotheca triclinii*), serving as a pantry.

PISTRINUM

was the name for the bakehouse and mill together, which, in the houses of the rich, stood near the kitchen. The middle classes bought their meal and bread at the public baker's. The *pistrina*, found at Pompeii, were not for the use of the house, but had been let out by the proprietor to public bakers. In them there are, generally, several hand-mills (also named pistrina or *moletrinæ*, Non. i. 320, and *molæ*), which consist of an upper and lower part, *catillus* and *meta*. The upper stone was worked round, and thus crushed the grain below. The pole for turning it (*molile*, Cato, *R. R.* 11, 12, or *molucrum*) was worked by asses; also by slaves,

as a punishment. Appul. *Met.* ix. p. 221; Ovid. *Fast.* vi. 311 Hence a distinction is made between molæ *manuariæ* and *jumentariæ*. Javol. *Dig.* xxxiii. 7, 26. The ovens are quite round, and seven or eight feet deep, by as many broad. The flues consist of three pipes of clay, ten inches in diameter.

TABERNÆ.

IN the town-houses these were often placed right and left of the ostium, and also in the side street; sometimes in whole rows Originally, the name signified small wooden houses. Fest. *Tabernacula*, p. 256. So Paul. under *adtibernalis* and *contubernales*, p. 12; Isidor. xv. 2; Ulpian, *Dig.* xiv. 183. Later, it was only used of shops. Non. xii. 55. These tabernæ had often their own special upper-chamber, which served as a lodging, while in the room below was the shop only, as is clear from the large doorways. These shops were either let, and then had no internal communication with the house, or the master of the house occupied them himself. Many instances of both kinds are met with in Pompeii. See Plan B., the rooms marked *a*, *a*, which are quite separated from the house. Of such Cicero speaks, *ad Att.* xiv. 9. In the house of Sallust there is a large bakehouse with four rooms on the ground floor, besides upper story. These are quite disconnected from the house; so also the tabernæ at the right corner, one of which was an oil-shop, as is clear from the stone counter, which is hollowed out for several jars. But there are two other tabernæ on either side of the ostium, which were connected with the house, and were used by the proprietor. In the house of Pansa, there were eleven such tabernæ, each with its separate entrance into the adjoining streets, and not communicating with the house. Some of them were lodgings as well as shops. The largest is a bakehouse; over the oven is the inscription, *hic habitat felicitas*. In the surgeon's house is a booth connected with the atrium, and was therefore used by the possessor in which to practise his art. Here were found thirty-eight leaden weights, inscribed *Eme. Habebis*. All sorts of articles were sold in these tabernæ, from the most costly furniture to the simplest victuals (*taberna casearia*, Ulp. *Dig.* viii. 5, 8). The booksellers, the *tonsores*, and slave-dealers, had all their booths. The wine-shops played a principal part. Respecting those tabernæ, which were not included in the area of the house, but only abutted on it, see above

CELLARS

were named *hypogæa* (*concamerationes*). Vitruv. vi. 8; Isidor. xv. 3, *apogeum*. They were vaulted, and used for various purposes. In the villa of Diomed at Pompeii (and also in the house of the Anchor), there is a row of such cellars, to which one descends, on both flanks of the main building. At the entrance on the right eighteen skeletons were discovered, and several ornaments. A number of *amphoræ*, filled with ashes, still lie where they were found.]

UPPER STORY.

THE ground-floor was the principal part of the building, and served as the regular place of abode. The apartments above them went by the common name, cœnacula. Varro, supra: *Posteaquam in superiore parte cœnitare cœperant, superior domus universa cœnacula dicta.* Festus, 42: *Cœnacula dicuntur, ad quæ scalis ascenditur.* Hence, too, Jupiter says, jocularly, Plaut. *Amph.* iii. 1, 3: *In superiore qui habito cœnaculo.* [So Ennius in Tertullian, *adv. Valent.* 7: *cœnacula maxima cœli.* Sen. *Ep.* 90. The different stories were called *tabulata.*] As the lower divisions of the house were of different heights, and in some instances received light from above, it was impossible to have an unbroken succession in the upper rooms; to connect which, several flights of steps were therefore requisite: proof of this has been discovered at Pompeii. Occasionally, too, these stairs ascended from the street outside. Liv. xxxix. 14: *Consul rogat socrum, ut aliquam partem ædium vacuam faceret, quo Hispala immigraret. Cœnaculum super ædes datum est, scalis ferentibus in publicum obseratis, aditu in ædes verso.* [Ulp. *Dig.* xliii. 17, 3, § 7. Under these steps was a good hiding-place. Cic. *p. Mil., in scalarum se latebras abdidit.* Hor. *Epist.* ii. 2, 15.] Above these cœnacula, or over the ground-floor, terraces were laid out, and planted with trees, shrubs, and flowers. In the early periods these may have stood in tubs filled with earth, but afterwards they undoubtedly had regular gardens on the pavement. These roof-gardens were called

SOLARIA;

a name which is, however, of more extensive signification, and denotes generally a place where we can enjoy the warmth of the sun. [Isidor. xv. 3, *solaria, quia patent soli.* Ulp. *Dig.* viii. 2, 17; Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* ii. 3, 69; Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 4.] Seneca (*Contr.*

Exc. v. 5) testifies to what an excess this pleasant custom was carried, *alunt in summis culminibus mentita nemora et navigabilium piscinarum freta.* Sen. *Ep.* 122: *Non vivunt contra naturam, qui pomaria in summis turribus serunt? quorum silvæ in tectis domorum ac fastigiis nutant, inde ortis radicibus quo improbe cacumina egissent?* The *solaria* built by Nero in front of the houses and *insulæ*, and resting on piazzas, were somewhat similar. Suet. *Nero*, 16: *Formam ædificiorum Urbis novam excogitavit, et ut ante insulas ac domos porticus essent, de quarum solariis incendia arcerentur.* Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 4, 3, refers to insulæ only. These solaria were probably not much unlike our balconies. Comp. Winkelm. *W.* i. 391.

[PERGULÆ, MÆNIANA, PODIA.

THESE were a sort of projecting balcony. *Pergula* (from *pergo*, as *regula* from *rego*) answered, on the ground-floor, to our projecting shop-front, and above, to a bow or balcony. Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 10, 36. (Apelles) *perfecta opera proponebat pergula transeuntibus, atque post ipsam tabulam latens, vitia quæ notarentur auscultabat.* Lucil. *in Lactant.* i. 22. Ulp. *Dig.* ix. 3, 5: *Cum pictor in pergula clipeum vel tabulam expositam habuisset.* Herodian. vii. 12. Hence the whole room or shop was called pergula. Ulp. *Dig.*, *tabernulam, pergulam.* To the pergula of the upper story Pliny refers, xxi. 3, 6: *Fulvius e pergula sua in forum prospexisse dictus.* Lastly, pergula meant, generally, any light, airy chamber. Petron. *Fragm. Trag.* 74. Suet. *Aug.* 94: *In pergulis mathematici artem suam profitebantur.*

The *mæniana* were likewise parts projecting beyond the walls of the house. Javol. *Dig.* 16, 242; Vitruv. v. 1; Fest. p. 134. *Appellata sunt a Mœnio censore, qui primus in foro ultra columnas tigna projecit.* See Nonius, ii. 112. In later times they seem to have been merely projecting roofs, just like the solaria. Amm. Marc. xxvii. 9; Salmas. *ad Spart. Pesc.* 12.

Of the *podia* less is known. They are often mentioned in theatres, only once in a private house. Plin. *Ep.* v. 6, 22: *Est et aliud cubiculum, marmore excultum podio tenus.* It does not seem to have been a balcony.

ROOFING.

THE roofs were mostly flat (with the solaria, mentioned above). But there were also sloping roofs, *pectinata*, with two long and two short sides. Fest. p. 213: *Pectinatum tectum dicitur a similitudine pectinis in duas partes devexum, ut testudinatum in quatuor.* At the

two ends of this sort of roof there were either little slanting roofs terminating in a point, or gables running up from the ground; without any triangular *tympanum*. So that private houses had, in this sense, *fastigia*, as well as the temples. Cic. *ad Quint. Fr.* iii. 1, 4. The regular fastigia, with their abundance of ornaments, and quite separated from the wall of the house, were peculiar to temples, state-buildings, and palaces. Cæsar first obtained this right by a decree of the Senate. Flor. iv. 2; Plut. *Cæs.* 91; Suet. *Cæs.* 81; Cic. *Phil.* ii. 43.

The *tecta testudinata* sloped on all four sides, with no gable, and suited best for square houses. Col. xii. 5. But a roof of this kind, of smaller dimensions, was also over the cavædium. See above. Conic roofs are only mentioned by Sidon. Apoll. *Ep.* ii. 2, *apice in conum cacuminato. Carm.* xviii. 3. Salmasius (*Spart.* and *Exerc. Plin.* p. 858) erroneously applies the name *trichorum* to gable roofs. Stat. *Silv.* i. 3, 57, *partitis distantia tecta trichoris.* Spart. *Pesc. Nig.* 12. But trichorum (according to the analogy of εὐρύχωρος, στενόχωρος, etc.) can only mean a room with three divisions, and not with three corners. Hence Casaubon explained it to be a house with three wings; others, a room with three partitions; and others, a house of three stories. But none of these seem suitable. See Hand *ad Stat. Silv.* i. 3, 39. It is difficult to know what is meant by *tectum deliciatum.* Paul. Diac. p. 73: *Delicia est tignum, quod a culmine ad tegulas angulares infimas versus fastigatum collocatur.*

Suggrundæ, or more generally *protecta*, and *projecta*, also *proclinata*, were eaves. Ulp. *Dig.* ix. 2, 29, and ix. 3, 5, where a fragment of the praetor's edict is cited, *ne quis in suggrunda protectove id positum habeat cujus casus nocere cui possit.* The ancient cavædia had such roofs round them (*imminentibus tectis*, Plin. *Ep.* ii. 17, 4).

The flat roofs had a firm pavement of stucco, stone, or metal. The sloping ones were covered with straw and shingles, later, with tiles, slates, and metal. The hut of Romulus reminded one of the most ancient times. Vitruv. ii. 1, 5; comp. Virg. *Æn.* viii. 654; Ovid. *Fast.* 199. Shingles are mentioned by Pliny, *H. N.* xvi. 10, 15: *Scandula contectam fuisse Romam ad Pyrrhi usque bellum, annis* CCCCLXX. *C. Nepos auctor est.* Isidor. xix. 19. The tiles were either flat or hollow, *tegulæ* or *imbrices;* Isidor. xiv. 8; Non. ii. 433; Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* ii. 6, 24. But *tegula* stands for all sorts of tiles. Vitruv. ii. 1, 7, 8; Juv. iii. 201; and tegulæ for a roof, generally, Suet. *Gramm.* 9, *sub tegulis habitant.* Cic. *Phil.*, *per tegulas.* The hollow tiles, in the corners, to carry off the water, were called *tegulæ colliciæ.* Paul. Diac. *illicium.* Cato, *R. R.* 14. Hence the

furrows of the plough were named colliciæ, by which the water was carried into the canals. Col. ii. 8. The terminal imbrices had ornamented fronts, *imbrices extremi* or *frontati* (originally only on the temples). Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 12, 43. Numbers of old tegulæ have been found at Puteoli and Pompeii, some with inscriptions (literatæ), showing the name of the maker or the place; as *ex of* (ficina)——*op*(us) *f*[iglinum] *ex prædiis Cosinæ*. Metal roofing is mentioned, Orell. *Inscr.* 3272, *tegulas æneas auratas*. Diavol. *Dig.* 16, 242. The beams, spars, and laths, e. g. the ambrices and asseres, for carrying the tiles (Paul. Diac. 16), will not be further discussed. The space under the roof was sometimes used as a hiding-place, as is remarked by Müller and Welcker, who cites Tac. *Ann.* iv. 69; Val. Max. vi. 7, 2.]

THE REMAINING ARRANGEMENTS.

HAVING gone through the different parts of the house, we must now briefly mention the remainder of the buildings, and the internal arrangements. Many of the objects, however, come under the head of works of art, and as they are sufficiently discussed in another place, a few hints and references may here suffice.

FLOOR.

THE floor, *solum*, was never boarded, although Statius, in the *Sphæristerium* of Etruscus, according to the present text, mentions planks, *tabulata*, *Silv.* i. 5, 57.

> Quid nunc strata solo referam tabulata, crepantes
> Auditura pilas.

But the proper reading is *tubulata*, as is evident from the words following. Comp. Plin. *Ep.* ii. 17, 9; Sen. *Ep.* 90.

It usually consisted of pavement of rubble, *pavimentum* (*ruderatio*, *opus ruderatum*). [Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 25, 61; Vitruv. vii. 1; Varro, *R. R.* i. 51. The floor was also laid with bricks, or, at least, the rubble was mixed with pieces of brick, *pavimentum* or *opus testaceum*, also *ostracus* and *signianum*. Plin. *ib.*; Vitr. *ib.*; Isidor. xix. 10; Plin. xxxv. 46: *Fractis testis utendo sic, ut firmius durent tusis calce addita, quæ vocant signina.* One particular sort of brick-floor was called *testaceum spicatum* (ear-shaped). Vitr. vii. 1, 4.] This probably led to laying the floor with slab-work, [pavimentum, λιθόστρωτον in a wider sense, viz. large four-cornered pieces of white or coloured marble. Tibull. iii. 3, 16, *marmoreum solum*. Suet. *Ner.* 50, *solum porphyretici marmoris*. Sen. *Ep.* 90;

Pallad. i. 9. So the atrium, in the house of the Tragic poet, was laid with white marble. This was often the case in the *labra* and *piscinæ* of the baths. Besides this, there were two finer sorts of slab-work, viz. *pavim. sectile* and *tesselatum.* Vitruv. vii. 1, 3, *sive sectilia seu tesseris.* Suet. *Cæs.* 46. Pallad. i. 9, mentions all four sorts, *vel testaceum* (i. e. of baked earth), *vel marmora, vel tesseras aut scutulas.* The pav. sectile was composed of small pieces of differently-coloured marble, either squares, or in the shape of diamonds and polygons. Vitruv. vii. 1, 4, *quadratus seu favis*, i. e. hexagons or circular. Juv. xi. 173:

Qui Lacedæmonium pytismate lubricat orbem.

Stat. *Silv.* ii. 2, 88.] Such floors ought not to be called 'mosaic,' for in that figures are constructed of a number of single pieces placed together; but, of themselves, representing nothing. Here it is different; for the separate pieces are each of them complete figures carved out of marble, and, consequently, this is only an ingenious specimen of opus sectile. [The second kind, pavim. tesselatum, was the real mosaic, composed of small variously-coloured four-cornered stones. Vitruv. *ib.;* Sen. *qu. Nat.* vi. 31; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 10, 54. This art came to Rome in the sixth century from its foundation. Plin. xxxvi. 25, 61. Cic. *Orat.* 44, who quotes Lucilius:

ut tesserulæ omnes
Arte, pavimento atque emblemate vermiculato.

Isidor. xix. 14. The more perfect this art became, the distinction between coarse and fine mosaic, between the *tesselarii* and *musivarii*, grew stronger. The tesselatum denoted the coarser mosaic, or combination of stones in geometric forms, so as to make stars, flowers, and other figures; whilst *musivum* was the finer mosaic, imitating painting. The first required only care and workmanlike dexterity, the other a knowledge of drawing, shading, and perspective. The word musivum occurs first in Spart. *Pesc. Nig.* 6.

The small slips of divers colours (*crustæ vermiculatæ, ad effigiem rerum et animalium,* Plin. xxxv. 1, 1) were of clay, glass, marble, or other sorts of valuable stone. Plin. xxxvi. 25, mentions the first. *asaroton.* Stat. *Silv.* i. 3, 54:

varias ubi picta *per artes*
Gaudet humus superare novis asarota figuris.

Glass, Plin. 64; agate, beryl, onyx, Appul. *Met.* v. p. 159. Sen. *Ep.* 86: *Eo deliciarum pervenimus, ut nisi gemmas calcare nolimus.* Lucan. x. 114; Claud. *Epithal. Hon.* 90.

Zahn has shown that the use of stone for mosaic was older than that of glass. In a house at Pompeii two thousand coloured slips

of marble were found on one square foot; and in another, one hundred and fifty to the square inch.] Gurlitt, *Ueber die Mosaik. Archæol. Schr.* 159; Minutoli and Klaproth, *Ueb. antike Glasmosaik;* Ottfr. Mueller, *Archæol.* 438; Steinbuechel, *Alterthumswissensch.* 24, give specimens of antique *parqueterie* and mosaic; D'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'Art*, v. tab. 13; Zahn, in his beautiful work, *Die schönsten Ornamente und Gemälde aus Herkul. und Pomp.;* Marini, tab. 15, 87. The most important of all known antique mosaic paintings, is that of the battle of Alexander, discovered in Pompeii, 24th Oct. 1831. *Mus. Borb.* viii. t. 36—45. [Others think it a battle between Romans and Celts; others the victory of Attalus I. at Pergamus.

Mosaics were chiefly used for adorning the floor. There are some pillars in Pompeii inlaid with coloured glass. Several fountains are also adorned with rich mosaics, but without figures. It was not till the end of the Emperors that the walls and ceilings were inlaid with mosaics.]

THE WALLS.

THE inner walls of the rooms, saloons, and colonnades (in ancient times probably only [rough-cast, *trusillati*, and] whitewashed [*dealbati*, Cic. *Verr.* i. 55]) were covered with marble slabs, or artificial marble. Mamurra (in the time of Catullus) was, according to Pliny, the first to set an example of such luxury in his house (*H. N.* xxxvii. 6, 7): *Primum Romæ parietes crusta marmoris operuisse totius domus suæ in Cœlio monte Cornelius Nepos tradidit Mamurram,* [Sen. *Ep.* 86, 115; Isidor. xix. 13.] The ancients were so experienced in the construction of imitation marble, that the *tectores* and *marmorarii* could even saw slabs of it out of the wall again, and use them for tables. Vitr. vii. 3. Paintings, however, were much more common as a decoration for the walls; and even in the more insignificant abodes of Pompeii and Herculaneum, we meet with this cheerful ornament. This is not the place for inquiring when the ancients began to paint on the bare walls. The question has been much discussed, but the criticisms on both sides afford ample room for emendation. The testimony of Pliny (xxxv. 10, 37) is important as far as regards private houses. [Pliny does not fix the commencement of Roman fresco painting in private houses in the time of Augustus; but only of landscape painting; so that fresco must be assumed to have been older.] This kind of painting had been long adopted in Greece before any such ornament had been thought of in Rome. The subjects of these wall-paintings were very varied, from grand historical compositions down to

still-life, Xenia and Arabesque. See Vitruv. vii. 5. Zahn, Gell, Mazois, Goro, the *Mus. Barb.*, give most interesting evidence upon the subject. They painted [partly in monochromatic, Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 5, 11; partly in various colours] less frequently on wet mortar, *al fresco* (*udo illinere colores*, Plin. xxxv. 7, 31; *colores udo tectorio inducere*, Vitr. vii. 3, 7), than on a dry ground in distemper, *a tempera*. See Winkelm. *W.* v. 197. The ground itself was often al fresco, the rest *a tempera*. [Originally they had four ground colours (Cic. *Brut.* 18; Plin. xxxv. 32), viz., white (the Melian earth and *prætonium*), red (*rubrica*, from Cappadocia or Sinopis, and *minium*), yellow (*sil*, best from Attica), and black (*atramentum*). But as fresco painting grew more common in Italy, more brilliant and expensive colours were used. Plin. xxxv. 12, *colores austeri* (i. e. the four old ones), *aut floridi* (the new). *Floridi sunt chrysocolla* (green from copper), *purpurissimum* (*e creta argentaria cum purpuris pariter tingitur*), *indicum* (indigo), *cinnabari* (cinnabar), *cæruleum* (an artificial imitation of the Alexandrian, made at Puteoli), &c. Vitr. vii. 7—14; Isidor. xix. 17. The walls were divided into compartments of different sizes, which were encircled with very tasteful arabesques, compared by Winkelmann to the most beautiful in Raphael's loggias. The ground-colours of the centre compartments and edgings are generally red and black; red and yellow; and also blue; green and yellow; brownish black and green; green and red. The colouring is always very decided (Vitruv. vii. 5, 8); the contrasts between the dark and bright tints very striking.

The ornaments of the centre fields varied considerably. Vitruv. vii. 5, *antiqui imitati sunt primum crustarum marmorearum varietates et collocationes; deinde coronarum et silaceorum cuneorum varias distributiones*. So that wall-painting began with the imitation of marble walls. Vitruvius then mentions four kinds: 1. Architectural views, *ædificiorum figuras columnarumque projecturas*. 2. Representations of theatres, *scenarum frontes tragico more aut comico*. 3. Landscapes, *pinguntur portus, promontoria, littora, flumina, fontes, luci, montes, pecora, pastores*. The inventor of this landscape painting is said by Plin. (xxxv. 37) to have been Ludius, in the time of Augustus. 4. Historical compositions, pictures of gods, mythological scenes, sacrifices, &c., *item megalographiam habentem deorum simulacra, seu fabularum dispositiones, non minus Trojanas pugnas, seu Ulyssis errationes*. The paintings discovered at Pompeii afford apt illustrations of all the above different kinds. The composition of the architectural paintings is light and airy. They are richly decorated with wreaths of flowers, birds, &c.; and evince much taste and fancy. Vitruvius censures rather too bitterly this taste for architectural drawings, to

the neglect of nature. Numbers of warm and animated landscapes have likewise been found, such as hunting scenes, waterfalls, and gardens; though they are not equal to the others, the historic paintings are often very grand. Thus the suckling of Telephus in the presence of Hercules and Omphale; the taking away of Briseis at the command of Achilles; and in the house of the Tragic poet, Ariadne at Naxos; Perseus and Andromeda; the education of Bacchus, and his victories; Hercules and Omphale; and an Hermaphrodite, which, in colouring, resembles Titian. Of Gods, Mars and Venus occur oftenest. The floating figures in the centre of the compartments are replete with grace and beauty; such as fawns, bacchantes, lute-players, genii, dancing girls. In the villa of Cicero at Pompeii, discovered 1749, there are twelve dancing girls, floating on a dark ground; fleet, says Winkelmann, as thought, and as lovely as if they had been drawn by the hand of the Graces. Many others are conspicuous for the graceful flow of the dress and harmonious colouring. The light and grouping is, in many instances, worthy of commendation. After this last class come scenes of domestic life, *genre*, and still-life paintings (*ῥωπογραφία* opposed to *μεγαλογραφία*); such as the household occupation in the *fullonica* (see Excurs. II. Sc. 8); battles of gladiators (Plin. xxxv. 33); fish, fruits (called *Xenia*, Philostr. i. 31; Vitruv. vi. 7, 4), game, lascivious scenes. Suet. *Tib.* 43; Ovid. *Trist.* ii. 521. Encaustic painting (Plin. xxxv. 39) was not used to decorate the walls, though ornaments in relief seem to have been so. Such at least is the interpretation put on Cic. *Att.* i. 10: *Præterea typos tibi mando, quos in tectorio atrioli possim includere*, S. Visconti, *Mus. Pio-Clem.* iv. *Præf.*

The common opinion that the ancients were not in the habit of fixing mirrors against the walls, or that at least the custom was of a late date, requires correction. Hand-mirrors were no doubt used in a general way, and the costliness of the material was sufficient cause, at any rate in more ancient times, for not having mirrors of large dimensions. But where larger ones are spoken of, we must not at once conclude that they are necessarily wall-mirrors. Thus Seneca (*Quest. Nat.* i. 17,) mentions *specula totis corporibus paria*, but he appears to have meant only moveable looking-glasses, with feet, perhaps to allow of their being moved about. It is going too far, entirely to deny the use of wall-mirrors, and there are some distinct passages which can be adduced in contradiction to this prejudice. When Vitruvius (vii. 3, 10,) says, *ipsaque tectoria abacorum et speculorum circa se prominentes habent expressiones;* this will not be allowed as a proof, because *abacus* is understood to be the square, and *speculum* the round panel, which had a frame-like

border, but yet could be regular *tectorium*. It is, however, evident from Pliny (xxxvi. 26, 67,) that these *specula* were composed of plates of different kinds of substances, polished to serve as mirrors. *In genere vitri et obsidiana numerantur, ad similitudinem lapidis, quem in Æthiopia invenit Obsidius, nigerrimi coloris, aliquando et translucidi, crassiore visu, atque in speculis parietum pro imagine umbras reddente.*

Vitruvius also mentions mirrors actually suspended (ix. 9). *Ctesibius enim fuerat Alexandriæ natus patre tonsore; is ingenio et industria magna præter reliquos excellens dictus est artificiosis rebus se delectare. Namque cum voluisset in taberna sui patris speculum ita pendere, ut, cum duceretur sursumque reduceretur, linea latens pondus deduceret, ita collocavit machinationem.* Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 9, records a *speculum parieti affixum*. Comp. Isid. *Orig.* xvi. 15; Salm. *ad Vopisc. Firm.* 694; and respecting the material used for the mirrors, as well as the question, whether the ancients had them of glass or not, see Beckmann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Erfind.* iii. 467.

THE CEILINGS

were originally composed only of boards laid over the beams, but to give them a more elegant appearance, a grate, as it were, of rafters was constructed, so that sunk panels arose, *lacus*, *lacunar*, *laquear* [and the wood-work was painted, or overlaid with costly materials, Sen. *Ep.* 95: *auro tecta perfundimus*]. These *lacunaria* afterwards received a variety of ornament in stucco, and were also inlaid with ivory and gilded, as in the temples. [Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 3, 18; Hor. *Od.* ii. 18, 1:

Non ebur neque aureum
Mea renidet in domo lacunar.

Lucan. x. 112. The artists were called *laquearii*. *Cod. Theod.* xiii. 4, 2.] These panels were in process of time covered over, and the ceiling painted, specimens of which are given in Zahn, t. 27, 67. Ceilings were also made of rushes, and called *cameræ*, for the construction of which rules are laid down by Vitruv. viii. 3. [Among the luxuries of a later age, was a sort of ceiling for the dining-rooms, which was raised or let down by secret machinery. Sen. *Ep.* 90 and 88: *pegmata per se surgentia, et tabulata tacite in sublime crescentia.* Suet. *Ner.* 31, *tabulæ versatiles.*]

THE DOORS.

THE doors have already been discussed. There were not doors to all the rooms, though the cellæ, hibernacula, and dormitoria of course had them. Hence at Pompeii there are often no traces of

hinges. The place of the door was often supplied by a hanging, *velum*, *aulæa*, *cento*, *παραπέτασμα* [the iron rings and pole of which are to be met with at Herculaneum and Pompeii]. Lamprid. *Alex.* 4; *Heliog.* 14; *veli cubicularis*, *quod in introitu erat.* Sen. *Ep.* 80; Plin. *Ep.* ii. 17; Petron. 7. Hence, among the domestics of the *domus Augusta*, were the *velarii* or *a velis.* The assertion of Böttiger, that the ancients had almost all their chambers in the interior of their houses shut in with hangings only, is refuted by Terence, *Eun.* iii. 5, 55; *Heaut.* v. 1, 33; *Phormio*, v. 6, 66, &c. Sometimes curtains, as well as doors, were hung over the entrance. Suet. *Claud.* 10. Sidon. *Apoll.* iv. *Ep.* 24, says of one who lived very unassumingly, *tripodes sellæ*, *Cilicum vela foribus appensa*, *lectus nihil habens plumæ.* Tacit. *Ann.* xiii. 5; Poll. x. 7, 32. Martial alludes to such a door-curtain, 1, 35, 5; comp. xi. 45. The windows also had curtains, besides shutters.

WINDOWS.

IF we were to judge by the houses in Pompeii, we must conclude that the houses of the ancients had no windows at all looking into the street, for this is the case there, and when an exception does occur, the window is placed so high, that it is quite impossible either to look in or out, without mounting to a considerable height. The ground-floor being surrounded with tabernæ, or, in their absence, by *porticus* and *ambulationes*, it naturally had no windows. In the upper stories the case must have been otherwise. Doubtless there were windows looking thence into the street, just as well as at Athens. See *Charicles.* Hence they are often mentioned by ancient authors. Passages, such as Tibul. ii. 6, 39, *ab excelsa præceps delapsa fenestra*, it is true, demonstrate nothing, as we do not know in what sense he was speaking. But Liv. i. 41, is decisive: (Tanaquil) *ex superiore parte ædium per fenestras populum alloquitur.* So Dionys. iv. 5, and Juv. iii. 270, of the dangers that threatened in the streets of Rome:

> Respice nunc alia ac diversa pericula noctis:
> Quod spatium tectis sublimibus, unde cerebrum
> Testa ferit, quoties rimosa et curta fenestris
> Vasa cadant! quanto percussum pondere signent
> Et lædant silicem.

Hence are explained such passages as Horace, i. 25: *Parcius junctas quatiunt fenestras*, and the beautiful picture in Propertius, iv. 7, 15:

> Jamne tibi exciderunt vigilacis furta Suburæ
> Et mea nocturnis trita fenestra dolis?
> Per quam demisso quoties tibi fune pependi,
> Alterna veniens in tua colla manu.

Martial (i. 87) says: *Vicinus meus est, manuque tangi De nostris Novius potest fenestris*, but it is doubtful whether we are to imagine an *angiportus* or the windows of one house. More definite testimony to the custom in Greece, is found in Aristoph. *Eccles.* 961, where the youth says to the maiden at the window, *καταδραμοῦσα τὰν θύραν ἄνοιξον*. Livy also says (xxiv. 21): *pars procurrit in vias, pars in vestibulis stat, pars ex tectis fenestrisque prospectant, et quid rei sit rogitant.* In the *Mostellaria* of Plautus, iv. 2, 27, where slaves wish to fetch away their master, and Theuropides asks: *quid volunt? quid introspectant?* nobody would suppose that he alluded to crevices in the door, or a key-hole. So also Vitruv. v. 6: *comicæ autem* (scenæ) *ædificiorum privatorum et menianorum habent speciem, prospectusque fenestris dispositos imitatione communium ædificiorum rationibus.* And how are we otherwise to explain the orders of the police (*Dig.* ix. tit. 3), *de his qui effuderint vel dejecerint.* But we must consider the windows to have been both small (hence called *rimæ*, Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 3) and placed high. They had also sometimes gratings, *clathri.* Plaut. *Mil.* ii. 4. 25; Winkelm. *W.* ii. 250. Most of the smaller apartments, and those lying around the *cavum ædium*, received only a scanty light through the doors; the larger ones, as already mentioned, through openings in the roof.

In more ancient times, it is possible that the windows were unfastened openings, at the most secured by shutters [or *vela*, Plin. *Ep.* vii. 21. In some store-rooms with nets. Varro, *R. R.* iii. 7: *fenestris reticulatis.* Thus, at least, is best explained, Ovid. *Am.* i. 5:

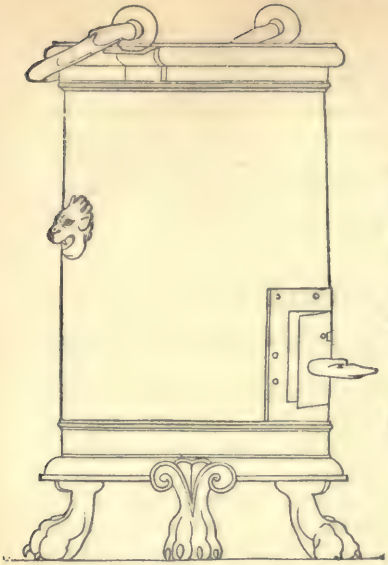
Pars adaperta fuit, pars altera clausa fenestræ.

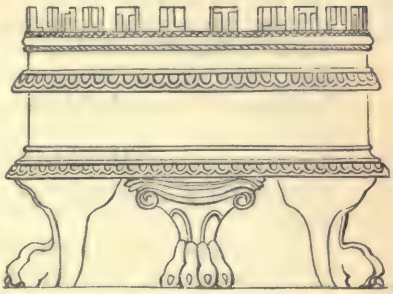
Juv. ix. 105: *Claude fenestras, vela tegant rimas.* Plin. *Ep.* ix. 36; Sen. *Consol. ad Marc.* 22; Appul. *Met.* ii. p. 57.] At a later period the *lapis specularis* (talc) was much used, and is often alluded to. Plin. *Ep.* ii. 17: *Egregium hæ* (porticus) *adversum tempestates receptaculum; nam specularibus ac multo magis tectis imminentibus muniuntur.* If Seneca (*Ep.* 90) were strictly followed, the specularia which enclosed this colonnade would not be admissible in reference to the time of Gallus; but Hirt has shown that the words *nostra memoria* must not be taken strictly for the *suspensuræ balneorum*, which are also included, as described by Vitruvius: and Plin. ix. 54, 79, ascribes their invention to Sergius Orata, in the time of L. Crassus the orator. Why Hirt calls this passage a doubtful one, is not very apparent, as Macrobius (*Sat.* ii. 11) says: *Hic est Sergius Orata, qui primus balneas pensiles habuit.* The most that could be pronounced on it is this; that in respect of xxvi. 3, 8, Pliny has contradicted himself. To be convinced of the early use

of window-panes, we have only to consider the Cyzicenian saloon, which on three sides had glass-doors (*valvæ*) or windows reaching to the ground; and it is not comprehensible how these can be supposed without specularia. In that case it would have been a very draughty house. But Vitruvius also describes it. The question, whether the ancients had also window-glass, was formerly answered in the negative, but of late there has been no further doubt about the matter, and the windows and panes of glass discovered in Pompeii are surer evidence than all the testimonies of late writers. See Winkelm. *W.* ii. 251; Gell's *Pompeiana*, i. 99; Hirt, *Gesch. der Bauk.* iii. 66 (who perhaps goes too far). [*Transenna* is explained as *fenestra* by Non. ii. 859; and Cic. *de Or.* i. 35, says: *quasi per transennam prætereuntes strictim adspeximus.* But it is doubtful whether it was a latticed window, or, as Bötticher supposes, an opening in the roof to light the room.

METHOD OF WARMING.

THE ancients resorted to more than one expedient for warming the rooms in winter, although they had no proper stoves. In the first place, the cubicula and triclinia, in which they lived in winter, were so situated as to have plenty of sun, and this, with the mildness of their climate, partially served their purpose. Besides they had fire-grates, though perhaps not on the same principle as ours. Suet. *Vit.* 8, *nec ante in prætorium rediit, quam flagrante triclinio ex conceptu camini;* Hor. *Sat.* i. 5, 81; *Udos cum foliis ramos urente camino:* Hor. *Epist.* i. 11, 19, *Sextile mense caminus.* [Plin. *H. N.* xvii. 11, 16; Sidon. Ap. *Ep.* ii. 2; Isidor. xix. 6. *Caminus est fornax.*] In this sense we must also understand *focus* (*a fovendo*), (Hor. *Od.* i. 9, 5) *ligna super foco large reponens*, and in other places. The rooms were also warmed by means of pipes, conducted to them from the *hypocaustum.* See Winkelm. *W.* ii. 253; or there were near the apartments in occupation, small rooms, heated by a hypocaustum, and by means of an opening which could be closed at pleasure, warm air was introduced into the room, Plin. *Ep.* ii. 17: *Applicitum est cubiculo hypocauston perexiguum, quod angusta fenestra suppositum calorem, ut ratio exigit, aut effundit aut retinet.* Ibidem: *Adhæret dormitorium membrum, transitu interjacente, qui suspensus et tubulatus conceptum vaporem salubri temperamento huc illucque digerit et ministrat.* They used coal-tubs and portable stoves—specimens of which have been discovered in Pompeii, and are represented in the following engravings.





[In warming apparatus of this kind the fuel used was charcoal, or dry wood, as being least likely to smoke.]

Whether the ancients had chimneys or not, is a disputed point. The usual opinion, shared by Beckmann, *Beiträg.* ii. 391; Voss. *ad Virg. Georg.* ii. 242; Heind. *ad Hor. Sat.* i. 5, 81, is that the smoke was not drawn off by means of a flue, but by openings in the roof, windows, and door; and such passages as Vitruv. viii. 3, 4. *Conclavibus, aut ubi ignis, aut plura lumina sunt ponenda, puræ fieri debent* (coronæ) *ut eo facilius extergeantur: in æstivis et exedris, ubi minime fumus est nec fuligo potest nocere, ibi cælatæ sunt faciendæ,* seem to favour this view of the question. But Fea *ad Winkelm. W.* ii. 347, after Scamozzi, *dell' Archit.* i. lib. 3, c. 21, has shown that the use of flues was not unknown to the ancients, and that even real grates have been discovered in the ruins of ancient buildings. Comp. *Mus. Borb.* v. t. 40.

At Pompeii, chimneys are only to be met with in baths and bakehouses; but in Rome and North Italy, where it was a colder climate, they were used also for dwelling-houses; at least in the days of luxury and refinement. [In the most ancient times but little was known of chimneys; whence the old atria were often disfigured with smoke; but the lodging and working rooms soon began to have both grate and chimney. Hor. *Sat.* i. 5, 80:

lacrimoso non sine fumo,
Udos cum foliis ramos urente camino,

does not disprove this; for with such precious fuel the best chimney would smoke. The wood smeared with *amurca* (Hor. *Od.* iii. 17, 13; Mart. xiii. 15, *acapna;* Plin. *H. N.* xv. 8; comp. Mart. xiii. 30, *Fumoso Decembri*) was used for portable stoves, which of course had no flues; besides which, in some houses, which were low, the chimney was not high enough to cause a good draught. Virg. *Æn.* xii. 569, *fumantia culmina;* and *Ecl.* i. 82, *villarum culmina fumant*, show nothing one way or the other. *Dig.* viii. 5, 8, is more in favour of than against flues.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

HERE follow a few hints on the characteristics of the Roman house.

1. The area of the house was not always bounded by right lines or rectangles; as is clear from Plan B. This arose from the irregular course of the streets round the house, upon which its shape was nearly always made to depend.

2. The exterior of the Roman domus, the ornaments of the interior notwithstanding, was somewhat paltry; partly owing to its great lowness, partly owing to the smallness or utter absence of the windows, and, lastly, to the irregularity of the building; only a portion of which had an upper story, which gave the whole an unsymmetrical look.

3. The interior, on the contrary, was very magnificent; its chief peculiarity being the way in which the several rooms were arranged. These were always grouped round an open room (atrium, cavum ædium, peristyl); which served as a common focus. This court, with its surrounding rooms, formed a separate division in itself; and the greater the house, the oftener was this construction repeated. The usual lodging and sleeping rooms are small; but the courts or halls, destined for the reception of visitors, on a large scale. It is through these courts that the rooms received light and air; an arrangement which also preserved them from draughts. The inmate did not see before him the lively throng of the streets without, still the prospect of the inner courts, with their groups of trees and lawns, was very fine. What a magic effect must have been produced when all the doors and curtains were thrown back, and the eye could reach from the ostium through the three courts, adorned with their marble columns, splashing fountains, shady trees, and gleaming walls; all grouped in the most charming perspective; and overhead the deep blue of an Italian heaven!]

EXCURSUS II. SCENE II.

THE MANNER OF FASTENING THE DOORS.

AMONG the least intelligible passages in ancient authors, are those which relate to some mechanism unknown to the moderns. If express descriptions, such as those of Vitruvius and Hero, and of the hydraulic machines of Ctesibius, are difficult to be understood, we are still more at a loss to give a satisfactory explanation, when casual mention merely is made of something well known at the time, let its mechanism have been ever so simple. This is especially the case when the locks or fastenings of the door are mentioned. Böettiger (*Kunstmyth.* i. p. 271) says with some truth, that 'the art of the locksmith is one which still requires much elucidation; and a perfect system of the ancient technology, chiefly after the Onomasticon of Pollux, remains to be written,' yet the system of nomenclature in Pollux will least contribute to clear up our difficulties.

Our examination must not only begin with the most ancient Greek period, concerning which Homer gives very important hints, but must also comprehend the East, as the origin of keys is probably to be sought for in Phœnicia. This point has partly been discussed in the more important writings on this subject, especially Salmas. *Exercitt.* p. 649; Sagittarius, *De jan. vett.* 9—15; Molin, *De clavibus veterum*, in Sallengre, *Thess. antt. Rom.* iii. 795; Montfauc. *Antiq. expl.* iii. I. t. 54, 55. The oldest method of fastening cannot be referred to that in use at Rome; and we shall here chiefly explain such terms as *obex*, *sera*, *repagula*, *pessuli*, *claustra*.

The method of fastening varied according to the form of the doors themselves, whether they opened inwards or outwards, or were folding-doors (*bifores*), or opened like window-shutters (*valvæ*). Varro: *Valvæ sunt, quæ revolvuntur et se velant.*

Folding-doors were (at least in private houses) the most common. When they opened inwards, the most simple method of fastening them was by drawing across a bar or wooden bolt, *sera* [also *patibulum*]. See Nonius, i. p. 41; [Varro, *L. L.* vii. 108;] Ovid. *Fast.* i. 265; and v. 280, *Tota patet demta janua nostra sera;* for this bolt was not fastened to the door-post, but entirely removed, when the door was unfastened. Petron. 16. The usual expression for such bolting is *opponere*, or *apponere seram*, i. e. *obserare.* The sera rested on the door-post, as we learn from Ovid. *Amor.* i. 6,

where, by *postis*, in connection with *excutere*, we cannot understand the door. [At Pompeii, hollows are frequently seen in both the door-posts, for the reception of this cross-bolt.] We cannot distinguish between the sera and the obex, further than that the latter word is a more general expression for everything placed before the door [Virg. *Georg.* iv. 422, *Obice saxi;* Sil. Ital. iv. 23], but must not refer it to any particular contrivance. Hence we have in Festus, *Obices pessuli, seræ.* But the repagula were something of another sort; see Festus, 281, from whom we may conclude, by the words *patefaciundi gratia*, that it was a contrivance which allowed of the door being opened with less trouble than by the sera, and that, as the name occurs only in the plural, a cross-beam is not denoted by it, as by the sera, but two bolts meeting from opposite sides [usually of wood, Plin. *H. N.* xvi. 42, 82], whence Festus says, *e contrario oppanguntur.* In that case some means of joining the two together would be required, and perhaps this was effected, as among the Greeks, with a βάλανος (a pin), which being sunk into a hollow (βαλανοδόκη), connected the bolt with the door, and being itself hollow, was drawn out again when the door was to be opened, by means of an instrument (βαλανάγρα), that fitted into it. A similar contrivance was requisite also when the door opened outwards, where a bolt within would have been of no use, unless it were connected with the door.

This pin (βάλανος) is commonly supposed to be the same as that which the Romans called *pessulus*, but with the exception of the words of Marcellus Empiricus, cited by Sagittarius, we know of no other passage that would not militate against, rather than favour, this assumption. See Plaut. *Aul.* i. 2, 25, *occlude sis fores ambobus pessulis;* Ter. *Heaut.* ii. 3, 37; *Eun.* iii. 5, 55; Appul. *Met.* i. 44, Oud.; 49, 52, *Subdita clavi pessulos reduco;* iii. p. 199; ix. p. 631. It is evident that something different from a hollow pin, which was sunk into the opening of the sera, is meant; we can neither reconcile therewith the expression *pessulum obdere foribus*, and the *oppessulata janua* so frequently occurring in Appuleius, nor does it appear why the plural *pessuli* is used. The nature of the ancient locks is not quite clear from Appuleius, but there can be no doubt that by pessuli we must understand bolts which could be moved backwards and forwards by a key. See Salmas. *Exercitt. ad Sol.* p. 650, whence it appears that pessuli cannot be confounded with sera and βάλανος, nor clavis with βαλανάγρα..

In Terence, by pessulus may be understood a single bolt which was pushed forwards and backwards without a key. In Appuleius, on the contrary, the pessuli (a double bolt moved by a key) could

not be drawn back without using the key; in the latter case we have therefore to understand real covered locks; and when we read *ad claustra pessuli recurrunt*, *claustra* means the lock-hasp into which the bolts shut.

All doors which were opened and fastened from without naturally had such locks. For house-doors they were not so necessary, as somebody always remained inside to open them. But in case one wished to open the door from outside, there was a hole in the door, through which the hand was inserted, in order to draw back the bolt by means of the key, as is the case in Appul. *Met.* iv. p. 359; Petron. 94.

In cupboards, and places of that sort, such a hole would have been very inconvenient; and for this reason they were fastened from without; the same was the case with other doors, and even house-doors, as we see in Plaut. *Most.* ii. 1, 57. Tranio wishes to make Theuropides, on his return, believe that the house was no longer inhabited; hence he fastens the door outside, having already ordered Philolaches to do the same within. Both are done (v. 78). There must therefore have been a double lock on the door, or the fastening took place within by means of the sera or *repagula*, from without by a proper door-lock. A person standing before the door must have been able to perceive whether it was fastened outside, or there would have been no necessity for Tranio to lock it. The three-toothed key is considered of Lacedæmonian invention, for which reason it was called *clavis Laconica*. As far as its use among the Romans is concerned, the date of the invention is of no consequence, as this took place long before the time from which our accounts of the domestic life of the Romans are dated.

[Avellino first made us acquainted with another method of fastening the doors, viz., by two bolts, one on the upper part of the door which was shot into a hollow in the lintel, one on the lower part, which shot into the sill. This was generally used for folding-doors and shutter-doors, the bolt shooting into a ring in the floor. The last-mentioned door required this sort of mechanism to keep it in a straight line when shut. An instance of the kind is to be seen in the two tabernæ of the house of the Bronzes, and in the tablinum of the house of the ornamented capitals. The name of this bolt, which was moved without a key, was pessulus. Plaut. *Aulul.* above; *Cist.* iii. 18, *Obcludite ædes pessulis; Curc.* i. 2, 60; Ter. *Heaut.* above; Marcell. Empir. 17, *Foramine in quo januæ pessuli descendunt;* Polyb. xv. 30, θύρας ἀποκλειομένας διττοῖς μοχλοῖς.]

There was likewise an old, though not very general, custom of sometimes sealing the doors (*obsignare cellas*), Plaut. *Cas.* iii. 1, 1.

[Plin. *H. N.* : *At nunc cibi quoque ac potus anulo vindicantur a rapina.* Among the Greeks only were the chambers of the women sealed. Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 414 ; Plat. *de Leg.* xii. p. 954.] Cicero's mother sealed even the empty bottles. *Ad Fam.* xvi. 26 : *Lagenas etiam inanes obsignabat, ne dicerentur inanes aliquæ fuisse, quæ furtim essent exsiccatæ.* [Pers. *Sat.* vi. 17 ; Martial ix. 88.] In Plaut. *Mil.* iii. 2, it is otherwise.

EXCURSUS III. SCENE II.

[THE HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.

WE shall here take household utensils in a wider signification than that conveyed under the Roman *supellex;* which according to Pomp. *Dig.* xxxiii. 10, 1, was understood to mean *domesticum patrisfam. instrumentum, quod neque argento aurove facto vel vesti adnumeratur.* So Alfen. *ib.* 6, and Tubero in *Cels.* 7, § 1, whence we see that, originally, the term did not include gold and silver, until the times of increased luxury, when the material was disregarded. Celsus. *ib.* Thus Paull. enumerates as articles of supellex, tables, chairs, benches, lecti, lamps, all sorts of *vasa, pelves, aquiminaria,* etc., whether of precious metal or other valuable material (*crystallina, argentea, vitrea, murrhina.* See Sen. *Ep.* 110, *gemmeam supellectilem.* Paull. *rec. sent.* iii. 6, 67), cupboards and so forth; *Dig. ib.* 8, 9, and *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 19.

A distinction was made by the Romans, between these utensils, and the *instrumentum,* as it was called, i. e. (Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiii. 7, 12), *apparatus rerum diutius mansurarum, sine quibus exerceri nequiret possessio;* e. g. in a farm, all the dead and live stock and the slaves; in a baker's shop, everything necessary for carrying on that business; in a tavern, all the requisite vessels; Paull. *rec. sent.* iii. 6, 61; in a house (according to Pegasus and Cassius) fire-engines, cleaning instruments, and so forth. Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiii. 7, 12. Other jurists, however, include under the instrumentum of a house the whole of the supellex; as Neratius and Ulpian; Cic. *de Orat.* i. 36, *in oratoris instrumento tam lautam supellectilem nunquam videram;* Suet. *Oct.* 71, 73; Tib. 36; Cal. 39. This would comprehend the furniture, cupboards, chests, vessels for liquids, lighting-apparatus, clocks, kitchen and cleansing utensils.]

According to the ideas of the moderns, the Roman rooms would seem rather bare of furniture. They had no writing tables, or cheffoniers, no mirrors to cover the painted walls. *Lecti,* tables, chairs, and candelabra comprised the whole of the furniture, with the exception, now and then, of a water-clock, or a coal-pan in winter. At the same time, the little they had was replete with elegance and splendour.

LECTUS

[Paul. Diac. p. 115; Varro, *L. L.* v. 166], was neither exactly a bed, nor a sofa, but a simple frame with a low ledge at the

head. It was sometimes of wood, [Ter. *Adelph.* iv. 2, 46; Sen. *Ep.* 95; Hor. *Ep.* i. 5, 1, *Archiacis lectis;* Gell. xii. 2, *Soterici lecti,*] among the rich cedar or terebinth, Prop. iii. 7, 49; Pers. .. 52; Plin. *H. N.* xvi. 43; but frequently of brass, Cic. *Verr.* iv. 26, *lectos æratos;* Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 3, 8, *triclinia ærata;* which does not mean wooden frames with brass legs (as it does in Plin. xxxiv. 2, 4, and perhaps in Liv. xxxix. 6), since Pliny is enumerating only articles of massive metal. The wooden lecti were inlaid with ivory, tortoise-shell, and precious metals, and provided with ivory, silver, and gold feet. In *Odyss.* xxiii. 199,

δαιδάλλων χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἠδ' ἐλέφαντι,

applies to the bed of Ulysses; how much more to that of the Romans, in comparison with whose magnificence, the most excessive luxury of all ages is but poor and insignificant!

[Inlaying with precious materials is often mentioned. Plin. *H. N. ib.* ix. 11; xxxiii. 11; Suet. *Cal.* 32; Javol. *Dig.* xxxii. 100, *lectos testudineos pedibus inargentatos;* Paull. xxxiii. 10, 3; elsewhere, *lecti aurei, aurati, eburnei, argentei,* etc.; Cic. *Tusc.* v, 21; Suet. *Cæs.* 49; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 6, 103; Juv. vi. 80; Plaut. *Stich.* ii. 2, 53; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 2; Sen. *Ep.* 110; Vop. *Firm.* 3; Varro, *L. L.* ix. 47, *lectos alios ex ebore alios ex testudine,* i. e. veneered, not solid; which last was rare. At least the bedsteads of Heliogabalus caused surprise, being *solido argento.* Lampr. *Hel.* 20. See Spart. Æl. ver. 5.]

This frame was strung with girths, called sometimes *restes,* at others *fasciæ,* and again *institæ.* This is the *tenta cubilia* of Horace, *Epod.* xii. 12; Cic. *de Div.* ii. 65; Mart. v. 62:

> Nulla tegit fractos nec inanis culcita lectos,
> Putris et abrupta fascia reste jacet.

Petr. c. 97. [Cato, *R. R.* 10, *lectos loris subtentos.*] The stupid wit in Aristoph. alludes to this, *Ab.* 812.

On the girths lay the mattress or bed, *torus,* called, later, *culcita.* [See Varro, *L. L.* v. 167; Isid. xx. 1; Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* ii. 27.] The usual and genuine *tomentum,* with which beds and cushions were stuffed, was locks of wool. [Tac. *Ann.* vi. 23; Suet. *Tib.* 54.] Pliny (viii. 48, 73) derives this usage of wool from Gaul, but without being able to fix the date of its introduction. In olden times they had nothing but straw-mattresses, and in later also the poorer classes stuffed their beds with chopped sedge (*ulva*) or hay. Mart. xiv. 160:

> Tomentum concisa palus Circense vocatur:
> Hæc pro Leuconico stramina pauper emit.

[Ovid. *Met.* viii. 655; *Fast.* v. 519; Mart. xiv. 162; Sen. *de Vita*

Beata, c. 25; [Plin. xxvii. 10. *Culcita* does not always denote the bed on which one lay, but a cushion. Varro, *L. L.* v. 167, derives it *ab inculcando, quod in eas* (culcitas) *acus aut tomentum aliudve quid calcabant.* Isid. xix. 26;] Plaut. *Mil.* iv. 4, 42; Petr. c. 38. At a later period, the voluptuous Roman became dissatisfied with wool, and not only the *cervicalea*, but also the *torus*, began to be stuffed with feathers. The feathers and down of white geese were used; but above all, as among us, the eider-down; those of the small white German geese, *gantæ*, were highly valued, so that prefects would send out whole cohorts to hunt them; and their feathers were sold at five *denarii* the pound. Plin. *Epist.* x. 22, 27; Cicero, *Tuscul.* iii. 19, speaks of a *culcita plumea.* [Juv. vi. 88:

> Sed quamquam in magnis opibus plumaque paterna
> Et segmentatis dormisset parvula cunis.]

Swan's-down also was used, Mart. xiv. 161. [Heliogabalus even used the *plumas perdicum subalares*, Lamprid. *Heliog.* 19.] The torus was also stuffed with feathers, Mart. xiv. 159:

> Oppressæ nimium vicina est fascia plumæ?
> Vellera Leuconicis accipe rasa sagis,

[and xii. 17; see below.] And no doubt the *pensiles plumæ* of the litter, Juv. i. 159, are to be understood in this sense. How different was a Roman bed of this description from the softest couch of the Greeks, as described by Homer, who mentions no bolster or cushion even in the most wealthy abode! At the head lay one or more small pillows of a round shape, *pulvini*, on which they rested the elbow, Sen. *de Ira*, iii. 37, also called *cervicalia*, i. e. cushions for the head, Isid. xix. 26.

Over the bed, coverlets, *vestes stragulæ*, *stragula* [*a sternendo*, Varro, *L. L.* v. 167; also *pallia*, *operimenta*, and *opercula*, Varro, *ib.*; *peristromata tapeta*, Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 25], were spread, and among the more wealthy purple coverlets, *conchyliata*, *conchylio tincta*, which were adorned with interwoven and embroidered figures, *Babylonica* and *Alexandrina*. See Heind. *ad Hor. Sat.* ii. 3, 118. We may infer from Cicero, *Verr.* iv. 26, how great was the number of such coverlets in many a *supellex*. Compare *Philipp.* ii. 27. [See Vitruv. vi. 10; Macrob. ii. 9; Lamprid. *Heliog.* 19; Suet. *Oct.* 73; Ovid. *Metam.* viii. 656.] Martial, ii. 16, makes an excellent joke on the vanity of Zoilus, who pretended to be ill, that he might show his visitors the coccina stragula of his bed, which he probably had just received from Alexandria. [Appul. *Met.* x. p. 248, and 256: *Lectus Indica testudine perlucidus, plumea congerie tumidus, veste serica floridus.* These coverlets were often so voluminous that

nothing was to be seen of the cushions and bedstead.] The pulvini were covered with silk, Mart. iii. 82, 7:

Effultus ostro sericisque pulvinis.

Hor. *Epod.* 8, 15: *Libelli Stoici inter sericos jacere pulvillos amant.* But in Cic. *p. Mur.* 36: *Lectuli Punicani hædinis pellibus strati.* See Sen. *Ep.* 95. Effeminacy arrived at such a pitch that the cervicalia were covered with feather-tapestry, the work of the plumarii.

The meaning of the term plumarius is very obscure; the explanation of Salmasius *ad Vopisc. Carin.* has been generally adopted. *Plumas vocarunt veteres notas ex auro vel purpura rotundas et in modum plumarum factas* (?), *quibus vestes intertexebantur ac variabantur.* Again, *clavos intextos aureos, quæ πλουμία Græci recentiores vocabant —a plumis igitur illis, hoc est clavis, quibus vestes intertexebantur, plumarii textores dicti, non solum qui clavos vestibus insuerent et intexerent, sed qui quocunque genere picturæ, quibuscunque coloribus et figuris variatas vestes pingerent.* The latter assertion, however, wants proof, but was indispensable to his explanation.

Plumatæ vestes are garments, the ground of which was figured with gold embroidery. Why the *notæ* embroidered on them came to be called plumæ, is still a question; but the proofs that this was the case are unequivocal. Publ. Syrus, *Petr.* 55; Lucan, x. 125. The ornament is always designated as golden, but the embroidery is never mentioned as being executed in divers colours; and when the Glossaries translate plumarius by ποικιλτής, it does not convey that idea. The *toga picta* is also embroidered with gold, Appian, *Pun.* and *variare auro* is a common expression—therefore it would be wrong to infer from the *Scholion ad Lycoph.* that πλουμαρικοὶ is, embroidered in various colours, particularly as in that case it would not be mentioned, besides the πεποικιλμένοι. Salmasius misquotes Firmicus Maternus, iii. 13, 10, and from this decides upon the work of the plumarii; but that Firmicus, by plumarii, did not mean fabricators of gold-embroidered garments, is plain, from his always denoting these by periphrasis, iii. 36—12. Of whatever form the plumæ were, whether, as Salmasius supposes, *clavi* or *orbiculi*, the plumatæ vestes were in every case gold-embroidered. Varro, in *Nonius*, ii. p. 616, expressly distinguishes the plumarius from the *textor*. Moreover, if his business consisted merely in sewing on *notæ rotundæ*, *clavi* (and πλουμία can only be explained to be something of this sort), then the art required was not very great; and what need was there *didicisse pingere* in order to understand it? And how unsuitable would gold embroidery have been for *pulvinares plagæ*, for which the softest stuffs possible were used. Mar-

tial, iii. 82, 7. Still less can we reconcile with the above explanation the passage of Vitruvius (B. vi. 7), where the workshops of the plumarii are called *textrinæ*. Their business then was not to adorn with embroidery garments already made, but to weave in some peculiar manner; and there is nothing about gold, but about colours, which must be kept from the sun that they may not fade.

The expression seems to require some other explanation, and however near the connection may seem to be between plumarius and *plumata vestis*, still Varro and Vitruvius probably allude to an entirely different kind of work. In the Glossaries plumarius is translated by πτιλοβάφος (feather-dyer), which Salmasius changes into ψιλοβάφος, in which βάπτειν is to denote *variare* generally, as well as to embroider! If printing in colours had been alluded to, then this would have been possible. But βάπτειν cannot have this signification, any more than the Romans would have said *tingere vestes*, instead of *acu pingere*. On the contrary πτιλοβάπτης appears very correct. When Martial, xii. 17, says of a fever that will not leave Lentulus, because he takes too good care of it, *dormit et in pluma purpureoque toro*, this may no doubt be understood of the feathers with which in later times the cushions were stuffed. But the same explanation will hardly suit *Epig.* xiv. 146, Lemma *Cervical:*

Tinge caput nardi folio; cervical olebit:
Perdidit unguentum cum coma, pluma tenet,

for the ointment could only be communicated to the pillow-case. Still less could it be admissible, with Böttiger, *Sabina*, to understand what Propertius says of Pætus, *Effultum pluma versicolore caput*, iii. 7, 50, as alluding to cushions which were stuffed with feathers of divers colours. On these grounds I am inclined to believe that the plumarii prepared real feather-tapestry, with which the pulvini and cervicalia were covered; and the same is probably meant by πτερωτὰ καὶ πτιλωτὰ προσκεφάλαια. *Poll.* x. 1, 10. If in modern days we have succeeded in constructing from coloured feathers tapestry of a very durable nature, covered with all sorts of emblems, why should not the ancients, who certainly in many things showed greater cunning of hand than we do, obtain credit for equal ingenuity? Seneca, *Ep.* 90, also speaks of garments even, made of feathers; and plumarius and πτιλοβάφος (from *pluma*; if from *plumare*, it would be *plumator*), is he who works in feathers, as *lanarius*, he who works in wool, *argentarius* in silver, &c.

[Though Becker has proved beyond a doubt, that plumatæ vestes denote stuffs of feather-embroidery, and plumarii the manufacturers of the same; yet it is uncertain whether these stuffs were used for pillow-cases. For, without dwelling on the fact, that such

coverings would be ill-adapted for cushions, either for sitting or lying upon; nothing of the kind can be gathered from the passages cited. In Martial, xiv. 149, *pluma tenet* refers to the feathers inside the pillow, which, from the thinness of the case, become easily tainted by the ointment, and smell of it. The words of Propertius, *versicolore pluma*, may either be considered a metonymy, and would then denote the party-coloured cover of a feather cushion (as *tori picti*, Virg. *Æn.* i. 708, and *toro purpureo*, Ovid. *Heroid.* v. 88, refer, not to the colour of the *torus*, but only to that of the case or coverlet), or it may mean actual coloured feathers, with which the cushion is stuffed, and which shine through the thin case; an explanation approved by Herzberg, who quotes Cic. *Verr.* v. 11: *Pulvinus perlucidus Melitensis, rosa fartus.*]

We must draw a distinction between the coverlets (*stragula*) and the *toralia;* and we do not understand how Heindorf on Horace (*Sat.* ii. 4, 84, referring at the same time to *Epist.* i. 5, 21) could say, 'In both cases *toral*, *toralia*, is evidently a case or covering of the purple stuff cushions (*tori*) of the sofas.' [This was originally the general idea: see Turneb. *Adv.* i. 24; Ciaccon. *de Triclin.* p. 16.] Petronius (40) is sufficient to controvert this. The chief dish, the boar, was going to be served up, and Trimalchio caused the *triclinium* suddenly to receive an exterior covering, referring to the chase; and the hounds were at the same time admitted into the apartment. We need only reflect, that the whole of the guests lay upon the *lecti*, when the slaves *toralia proponunt*, to be convinced that the word cannot mean covers spread over the couches. On the contrary, it signifies hangings, with which the lectus was draped from the *torus* to the floor; hence Horace says *circum Tyrias vestes* (purpureum torum) *dare illota toralia.* See Casaubon on Lamprid. *Heliog.* 19; Paull. *Dig.* xxxiii. 10, 5. [This explanation is entirely corroborated by Varro, *L. L.* v. 167, *contra Latinum toral, quod ante torum.* In Non. however (i. 35) it may mean the hangings of the lectica.]

The bed of the ancients, *lectus cubicularis*, was higher than the *lectus tricliniaris* [see Excursus on the Triclinium]; Lamprid. *Hel.* 20; Varro, *L. L.* viii. 32. Hence *scandere*, *ascendere*, *descendere*, are always said of it. See Broukh, on Tibull. i. 2, 19; Ov. *Fast.* ii. 349; Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* iv. 685, *lecti antiquorum alti erant et gradibus ascendebantur.* Lucan. ii. 356, *gradibusque acclivis eburnis Stat torus.* [Varro, *L. L.* v. 168.] These *gradus* seem to be the *fulcra* (i. e. pedum) so often mentioned. [Or rather *fulcra* denote the stout props, adorned with sphinxes, griffins, and other beasts, serving as feet, in contradistinction to the round and more elegant *pedes.*

Hygin. *Fab.* 274; Isid. xix. 26. Plin. *H.N.* xxxiv. 2, speaks of both *tricliniorum, pedibus fulcrisque.*] See Propert. ii. 10, 21:

> Nec mihi tunc fulcro sternatur lectus eburno.

iv. 7, 3; Juv. vi. 22; xi. 95:

> Qualis in Oceani fluctu testudo nataret,
> Clarum Trojugenis factura et nobile fulcrum.

Comp. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 603; Suet. *Claud.* 32.

The lectus cubicularis had (especially when it was intended for two persons) an elevated ledge on one side of it, *pluteus*, which word is used to denote the whole side, while the side by which they got into the bed was called *sponda*. Isidor. xx. 11. The same is meant by the *prior interiorque torus*, Ovid. *Amor.* iii. 14, 32. See Salmas. *ad Mart.* iii. 91, 9; Suet. *Cæs.* 49; Scip. Afr. in Gellius, vii. 12. As regards sofas for studying, Böttiger, *Sab.* i. p. 35, has remarked, writing-desks, with stools to sit on and study, were unknown to the ancients; but they used to meditate, read, or write reclining on the lectus, or lectulus, or lectulus lucubratorius, or lectica luc. Suet. *Aug.* 78; Ovid. *Trist.* i. 11, 37; Seneca, *Epist.* 72. The *habitus studentis*, as Pliny calls it, was such that a person, almost as in the triclinium, rested on the left arm, drawing up at the same time the right leg, in order to lay the book on it, or to write, but they may also have had contrivances for the convenience of writing, on the edge of the lectulus. Persius, i. 106:

> Nec pluteum cædit, nec demorsos sapit ungues.

Juven. ii. 7. [Sidon. *Ap.* ii. 9, *grammaticales plutei*. *Scimpodium*, and *grabatus*, two names borrowed from the Greeks, most likely denoted the same thing in Greece, a low small couch. See Becker's *Charicles*, Eng. Trans. p. 117, note. Scimpodium comes from σκίμπτω. But in Rome grabati were applied to the *lecti* of the poor, which were lower than those of the rich; whilst the low new-fashioned couch of the higher classes was called scimpodium. The poverty-stricken appearance of the grabati is clear from Cic. *de Div.*, *non modo lectos, verum etiam grabatos*. Sen. *Ep.* 18, mentions them along with *modicas cœnas, pauperum cellas*, *Ep.* 20. They were used for travellers in inns, Petron. 52. The *scimpodia*, on the contrary, are only mentioned of the rich, and are generally used in cases of sickness, e. g. Gell. xix. 10. Dio. Cass. lxxvi. 13, relates that Sept. Severus, when ill, was carried in a scimpodium. Augustus and Tiberius had done the same. Later, the difference was done away with, and the costly scimpodia were likewise called grabatus. Scæv. *Dig.* xxxiii. 7, 20, *grabatus argento in aurato tectus*. The *Punicani lecti*, as they were called, were also very low. Isid. xx. 11.]

THE CHAIRS.

CHAIRS were not so much used by the Romans as by us, and only required for visitors [Gell. ii. 2; Sen. *de Clem.* i. 9], although they also had *exedræ*. A distinction is made between *sella* and *cathedra*, and the latter is assigned particularly to the women. But it cannot be said that the sella was formed like our chairs, only with the back a little more inclined; or that the cathedra meant an arm-chair; for the *sellæ gestatoriæ* were arm-chairs, and on the other hand, we often meet with women sitting on the simple chairs. Sella denotes every kind of chair from the *sella quotidiani quæstus* of the artisan (Cic. *in Cat.* iv. 8; *Mus. Borb.* iv. 6, 50), to the *sella curulis*. The cathedra is also included herein; and the reason why this word, so common in the poets, refers oftenest to women, is that they generally sat, and did not recline. [At least sella and *sedile* (with the diminutives *sediculum* and *sedecula*, Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 10) were the most general terms for every kind of chair, although *sedile* originally denotes merely the seat itself or the cushion thereon. *Seliquastrum* was an antique expression. Fest. p. 340; Varro, *L. L.* v. 128. The general meaning of sella is clear from its being used in the tabernæ of the artisans and *tonsores*, Dig. ix. 2, 11; and at the house-doors of the courtesans (Plaut. *Pœn.* i. 2, 56; Sen. *de Benef.* i. 9); in the baths (see Excursus on the Baths); in the lecture rooms (Cic. *ad Fam.* ix. 18), and on the tribunal of the magistrate (like the sella curulis and the sella imperatoria, Spart. *Sev.* 1; Cic. *Phil.* ii. 34; Suet. *Cæs.* 76; Cic. *Verr.* ii. 38; v. 39; Suet. *Claud.* 23; Plin. *Ep.* ii. 11, *sellis consulum*); also in the camp for the general, Suet. *Galb.* 18, *castrensem sellam;* not to mention that sella also means a sedan, as well as another unæsthetic article of household furniture, called *sella familiarica*. *Cod. Th.* xv. 13, *de usu sellarum* in their most general sense. *Sedile*, although rarely met with, has a very general meaning. Suet. *Oct.*, *sedile regium;* Spart. *Hadr.* 23; Comp. Cels. viii. 10. It is said of a marble bench in Pliny, *Ep.* v. 6, 40; and often in the poets.

The solium was the term for a lofty throne-like seat of honour. Such a one was occupied by the father of the family, when he gave advice to his clients, as their patronus. Cic. *de Leg.* i. 3, *more patrio sedens in solio consulentibus responderem. de Or.* ii. 55. Such *solia* were consecrated to the gods in their temples. So *Solium Jovis*. Suet. *Cal.* 57; *Oct.* 70; *Or. de Har. Resp.* 27. The kingly throne is often so called. Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* i. 510; vii. 169. In this sense it often occurs in Virgil and Ovid. Cic. *de fin.* ii. 21: *ornatu regali, in solio sedens*. See Isid. xx. 11, and Festus. The

splendid gilded thrones of Mars and Venus, Bacchus and Ceres, which occur in the Pompeian frescoes, were most likely Roman solia, or, at least, like them. *Mus. Borb.* viii. 20; vi. 53, 34. The backs and sides are perpendicular, as well as the legs, which are of the most elegant shape, with small foot-boards attached. They have also cushions of various hues, and hangings on each side of the back. Chimentell. *de Honore Bisell.* c. 18.

The cathedra, on the other hand, was designed more for comfort than show; its back and sides are therefore not upright, as in the solium, but more easy and adapted to the form of the person, with sloping back, and broader above, for the head to rest on in either direction. *Ant. d'Herc.* iv. 97; *Mus. Borb.* iv. t. 18; but it is always without arms. See Juv. vi. 90:

> . . . famam contemserat olim,
> Cujus apud molles minima est jactura cathedras.

Martial, iii. 63, says of the effeminate Cotilus,

> Inter femineas tota qui luce cathedras
> Desidet.

xii. 38, *femineis cathedris;* Juv. ix. 52, *strata positus longaque cathedra;* which shows that it had soft cushions and was long. It was covered with a *stragulum*, as we see from Martial, xii. 18:

> Ignota est toga, sed datur petenti
> Rupta proxima vestis e cathedra.

From the easiness of the cathedra it is often mentioned in connection with the fair sex. Mart. ix. 99; Phædr. iii. 8, 4; Hor. *Sat.* i. 10, 90. Ladies used to rest on it and write, Prop. iv. 5, 37. But the use of these chairs was not confined to them, as they were offered to men also, when paying visits. Thus, in Sen. *de Clem.* i. 9, Augustus has a cathedra set for Cinna. Plin. *Ep.* ii. 17; viii. 21. The teacher's chair was also called cathedra, not however on account of its being easy. Juv. vii. 203; Mart. i. 77; Sidon. *Ep.* vii. 9. Pliny (xvi. 37, 68) mentions a particular sort of cathedra interwoven with osiers. Comp. Lipsii *Elect.* i. 19; Dittrich, *de Cath. feminarum Rom.*

Besides the solium (or chair of state with back and arms), and the cathedra (or easy-chair with stuffed back, gently sloping, but without arms), there were none others, as far as we know, bearing any particular designation; but they all went by the general name of sella. They were very various, and often remarkably like our modern chairs, as is seen by the paintings at Pompeii. The feet were most elegantly turned, and either straight or gracefully curved; sometimes placed cross-wise, as in *Mus. Borb.* vii. t. 3. The backs displayed an even greater variety. Sometimes there

were none; as in the modern stool. *Mus. Borb.* vii. t. 53; ix. 18. (Even those of the emperors are often without them. *Mus. Borb.* iv. t. 37.) Sometimes they are very low, *Mus. Borb.* viii. 5; others again are very tall, and incline forwards or backwards. But generally the back is semicircular (hence called *arcus*, Tac. *Ann.* xv. 57), and broad, *Mus. Borb.* xiii. 21, 36; rarely trellised, as in *Mus. Borb.* xii. 13. On the seats are cushions, apparently moveable, and therefore fastened with broad or narrow bands. The frames of chairs were of wood (often veneered with ivory or other costly materials), or of metal, like the *lecti*. See Chimentell. *Marmor. Pisanum de Hon. Bisell.*

Benches (*scamna* and *subsellia*, Varro, *L. L.* v. 168; Isid. xx. 11) were not used in the houses of the wealthy Romans, except in the baths, or for the purpose of facilitating the ascent into the lectus. Isidorus and Varro. The subsellia cathedraria were a more convenient kind, with backs (Paull. *Dig.* xxxiii. 10, 5), and *tapetæ* to cover the cushion; called *tegumenta subselliorum* in Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 25. They were to be found in the public baths. Well-preserved specimens were discovered in Pompeii. See Excurs. I. Sc. 7. It will be needless to say how common benches were in public life, as in courts of justice and theatres. *Scabella* were small foot-stools (Isid. *ib.*), also called *hypodia*. Paull. iii. 6, 65.]

THE TABLES.

In no article of furniture was greater expense incurred than in the tables; indeed the extravagance in this particular would be scarcely credible, did not the most trustworthy writers give us express information about it. The *monopodia*, especially, cost immense sums of money; also called *orbes* and *abaci*. These monopodia, which, according to Livy, xxxix. 6, and Pliny, *H. N.* xxxiv. 3, 8, came with other articles of luxury from Asia, were called orbes, not from being round, but because they were massive plates of wood, cut off the stem in its whole diameter. For this purpose, the wood of the *citrus* was preferred above all others [*mensa citrea*, Cic. *Verr.* iv. 17; Petron. 119]; by which we must not understand the citron-tree, but the *thuja cypressoides*, *θυία*, *θύον*, as is evident from Pliny, xiii. 16, who expressly distinguishes it from the regular citrus. This tree was found especially in Mauretania (hence, *secti Atlantide silva orbes*, Luc. x. 144; Mart. xiv. 89), and was of such magnitude, as the citron-tree never attained to. Pliny (c. xv.) mentions plates nearly four feet in diameter, which were cut off the trunk, of the thickness nearly of half a foot. Unlike other tables, they were not

provided with several feet, but rested on an ivory column, and were thence termed monopodia. Liv. xxxix. 6; [Juv. xi. 122:

. . . latos nisi sustinet orbes
Grande ebur et magno sublimis pardus hiatu.]

Mart. ii. 43, 9. The price of such tables was enormous. [Sen. *de Ben.* vii. 9, *mensas et æstimatum lignum senatoris censu.* Juv. i. 137; Tertull. *de Pall.* 5.] Pliny relates that Cicero himself had paid for one, that was then still extant, 1,000,000 sesterces, and he mentions even more extraordinary cases. The most costly specimens were those cut off near the root, not only because the tree was broadest there, but on account of the wood being dappled and speckled. Pliny mentions *tigrinæ, pantherinæ, undatim crispæ, pavonum caudæ oculos imitantes, apiatæ mensæ.* These tables however were too dear and not large enough to use at meals, although they did sometimes serve for this purpose. Martial, ix. 60, 9. Hence larger ones of common wood were made, and veneered with the wood of the citrus, and, according to Pliny, even Tiberius used only such a one, xvi. 42, 84.

The costly *citreæ*, in order to protect them from injury, were covered with cloths of thick coarse linen, *gausape.* Mart. xiv. 138:

Nobilius villosa tegant tibi lintea citrum;
Orbibus in nostris circulus esse potest.

They stood also thus in the shops of the dealers, Mart. ix. 60, 7. This gausape was frequently purple-covered, Heindorf. *ad Hor. Sat.* ii. 8, 11; it served also for dusters, [Horace, *ib.;* Lucil. *in Priscian.* ix. p. 870.]

The small tables used at meals, or to display costly plate upon, *exponere argentum*, were called *abaci.* This word, in Greek, denotes a plate or table, but generally one with a raised rim round it. [*Coronæ mensarum*, Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 19; Faber, *Semestr.* iii. 25.] Hence the counting-table and dice-board were called *abacus*, as likewise the smooth square panels between the stucco ornaments, *tectorium*, on the walls, Vitr. vii. 3, 10. Their use as side-boards is quite clear, from Cic. *Verr.* iv. 16; Plin. xxxvii. 2, 6; comp. Petron. 73; [Sidon. Apoll. xvii. 7.] The plates of such tables were generally of marble, or imitations of it, sometimes of silver (Petr. 70), gold, or other costly material, and generally square. To the abaci belong also the *mensæ Delphicæ ex marmore.* Cic. *Verr.* iv. 59, and Mart. xii. 67:

Aurum atque argentum non simplex Delphica portat.

[Schol. *ad Juv.* iii. 204; Schol. Acr. *ad Hor. Sat.* i. 6, 116; Poll. x. 81.] So the *δελφινὶς τράπεζα* in Lucian, *Lexiph.*, though it is doubtful whether the name refers to the material or the form.

The *trapezophoræ*, which are mentioned occasionally, and by Cicero, *ad Att.* vii. 23 (comp. Paul. *Dig.* xxxiii. 10, 3; Jung. *ad Poll.* x. 69), do not appear to have been so much tables, as table-frames, chiefly of marble, upon which an abacus was placed according to taste. Some persons profess, and with some appearance of truth, to recognize them in the numerous bases, which are to be met with, and four of which are given in the *Mus. Borb.* iii. tab. 59, vii. tab. 28. On all of them are two griffins, turned from each other, and the intervening space is decked with flowers, tendrils, dolphins, and similar objects in relief. They are of Lunesian marble; the slabs which were upon them were probably of higher value [of costly wood or gilded, Paul. *Dig.* xxxiii. 10. Mart. iii. 31

Sustentatque tuas aurea mensa dapes.

But they had also small costly tables to eat at: thus Seneca had five hundred *τρίποδας κεδρίνου ξύλου ἐλεφαντόποδας*. Of course those of more moderate means had less pretending tables, which generally rested on three or four feet, Hor. *Sat.* i. 3, 13 (*mensa tripes*), and had a square plate; this being originally the regular, and indeed the only form used. Varro, *L. L.* v. 118. The material was beech-wood, Mart. ii. 43, 9, or maple, *acer*, a wood also highly prized by the Greeks (*σφένδαμνος*). See Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 10:

. . . puer alte cinctus acernam
Gausape purpureo mensam pertersit.

Mart. xiv. 90. Pliny, *H. N.* xvi. 26, calls it *citro secundus*. There were also tables of marble, Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 116, *lapis albus*. In the tabernæ, the tables were often of brick-work, so the *mensæ laniariæ*, Suet. *Claud.* 15. See Ciaccon. *de Triclin.*

THE MIRRORS.

BESIDES those fixed in the walls (see above), there were also portable looking-glasses of various sizes and manifold form, used at the toilet of the ladies. Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 19. They were mostly oval or round, and were held before the mistress by the female slaves (*tenere, porrigere*), Prop. iv. 7, 76; Ovid. *Am.* ii. 215; Juv. ii. 99.]

The mirrors were generally of metal; in the earlier periods a composition of tin and copper was used, but as luxury increased, those made of silver became more common. Plin. xxxiii. 9. The silver however, which was at first used pure, was often adulterated with a quantity of some other metal. The excellence of the mirror did not depend only upon the purity of the metal, but also on the

strength of the plate, which caused the image to be reflected more strongly. Vitr. vii. 3, 9. [The back part was also of metal, which was usually embossed. Many have been preserved, most of which are of Greek or Etruscan workmanship. *Mus. Borb.* ix. 14.]

TRIPODS

may also be reckoned among the household utensils, so far as they served to ornament the palaces of the great: with their use in the temples we have nothing to do. [Respecting the tripods in the kitchen, see the kitchen utensils.]

Among the paintings from Pompeii in the *Mus. Borb.* there are two, which represent costly tripods. Each is adorned with seven statues, the one with the sons, the other with the daughters of Niobe. In each, three figures are standing or kneeling at the feet of the tripod, while the remaining four are in a kneeling posture on the rim which unites the feet. Tom. vi. t. 13, 14. [Comp. *Mus. Borb.* ix. 33.]

CUPBOARDS AND CHESTS.

CUPBOARDS (*armaria*, Isid. xv. 5), and chests (*capsæ*, *arcæ*, Varro, *L. L.* v. 128) served to guard money and other valuables, as well as clothes, books, eatables, &c. Paull. *Dig.* xxxiii. 10, 3. On those for the books see Excurs. I. Sc. 3. Cicero, *p. Cœl.* 21, mentions cupboards for valuables. Petron. 29; Plaut. *Epid.* ii. 3, 3. See Cato, *R. R.* 11, *armarium promptuariam.* Plaut. *Cap.* iv. 4, 10. On the cupboards for the imagines see above. They were mostly made of beech-wood. Plin. *H. N.* xvi. 84.

The chests also served for all manner of uses (*arca vestiaria*, Cato, *R. R.* 11; comp. Suet. *Cal.* 59); but mostly for keeping money in, and they stood in the atrium. These were either entirely of metal (*ἀπὸ σιδήρου*, App. iv. 44), or of wood, ornamented and secured with metal; hence *ferrata arca* in Juv. xi. 26; Ulp. *Dig.* xxxii. 1, 52. We may form a conjecture of their size from the fact that the proscribed Junius or Vinius lay hidden for several days in the money-chest of his freedman, and thus escaped death; App. *ib.*; Dio. Cass. xlvii. 7; Suet. *Oct.* 27. Several such have been found at Pompeii, or, at all events, their ornaments, *crustæ*, which were embossed. See *Mus. Borb.* v. p. 7, an account of the two chests, found in the house of the Dioscuri.

So common were these money-chests, that the term for paying money was *ex arca solvere.* Donat. *ad Ter. Ad.* ii. 4, 13, and *Phorm.* v. 8, 29. They were in charge of the atriensis, and perhaps

in great houses, in that of special arcarii; Scæv. *Dig.* xl. 5, 41; called by Plautus, *Aul.* iii. 5, 45, *arcularii.* Orell. 2890. The arcæ and armaria were sometimes sealed, as has been already mentioned.

Smaller chests (*cistellæ*, *loculi*) and baskets (*canistra*, Varro, *L. L.* v. 120) are often mentioned. Isid. xx. 9. The baskets were round or square, of divers materials, and often very costly. Cic. *ad Att.* vi. 1; *splendidissimis canistris.* *Mus. Borb.* viii. 18.

COOKING UTENSILS (*coquinatorium instrumentum*, Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 19).

1. REGULAR cooking vessels were called *cocula*, Paul. Diac. p. 39; Isid. xx. 8: *vasa ad coquendum.*

a. Of peculiar shape. As the *miliarium* (so called from its resemblance to mill-stones; Pallad. v. 8; *altum et angustum*, Colum. ix. 4) a tall narrow metal vessel, for boiling water quickly. Ath. iii. p. 98; Sen. *Nat. Quæst.* iii. 24. Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 19, mentions silver ones. *Anthepsa* was a Greek cooking machine with a receptacle below, probably for charcoal, and often cost large sums. Cic. *p. Rosc. Am.* 46; Lamprid. *Hel.* 18.

b. Kettle-shaped was the *ahenum;* (dimin. *ahenulum*, so called from the material); it was broad and rotund. Paul. *Dig.* xxxiii. 7, 18; Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* vi. 218. It was hung over the fire, and used for boiling water, also for cooking victuals; Titinn. in *Nonius*, i. 68; Petron. 74; Juv. xi. 81; and by dyers, Ov. *Fast.* iii. 822. Avellino thinks ahenum was a small stew-pan, with a long handle, which is improbable. The *lebes*, though properly a basin, when it was used for cooking, must have been kettle-shaped, but not very deep; Isid. xx. 8; Poll. x. 85. The *cortina*, a semicircular kettle (hence *cortina theatri*, Forcellinus) was in general use among the dyers. Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 6, 25; Cato, *R. R.* 66; Plin. xv. 6, 6; Plaut. *Pœn.* v. 5, 11.

c. Regular seething-pots. *Cacabus* (of metal, and of earthenware, Col. xii. 41, 46, sometimes of silver, Ulp. *ib.;* Lamprid. *Heliog.* 19) was a pot for cooking food. Varro, *vas ubi coquebant cibum.* Paull. *Dig.* xxxiii. 7, 18. It was also called *olla*, formerly *aula*, Isid. xx. 8. Nonius, xv. 1, calls it *capacissimum vas.* See Forcellinus concerning its other uses. *Cucuma*, a larger pot, Petron. 135; Macr. *Dig.* xlviii. 8. *Lasanum*, in Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 109, is also a cooking vessel, which the *sordidus prætor* carries with him, that he may not have to stop at an inn. A bronze pot, with cover and handsome handle, is copied in *Mus. Borb.* ix. 56; see xii. 58.

d. Those shaped like our pans. *Sartago* (Isid. *ib.*, *a strepitu*

soni vocata, quando in ea ardet oleum), was an open pan of silver, Plin. *H. N.* xvi. 11, 22; Ulp. *ib.* The *patina* (properly a dish), also used for cooking, was flat. Plaut. *Pseud.* iii. 2, 51:

> Ubi omnes patinæ fervent, omnes aperio.

Apic. iii. 2; iv. 2. Covers (*testum* and *testu*) were commonly used. Ov. *Fast.* vi. 509:

> Stant calices, minor inde fabas, olus alter habebant,
> Et fumant testu pressus uterque suo.

Cato, *R. R.* 74, 75, 84; Plin. xxxiii. 7, 26; see *Mus. Borb.* iii. 63; v. 44; xii. 59.

2. Other utensils were tripods, *tripedes*, as stands for the pots (Ussing wrongly supposes that *lasana* were also used for this purpose); spits (*veru*, Varro, *L. L.* v. 127); gridirons (*craticula*, Mart. xiv. 221); strainers (*colum*, *Mus. Borb.;* some were made of osiers, *Colum.* xii. 19); funnels (*infundibula* and *infidibula*, Cat. *R. R.* 10, 11, 13; Col. iii. 18, *angusto ore;* also of glass, *Mus. Borb.* v. 10); sieves (*cribrum;* especially for flour, Pers. iii. 112, *cribro decussa farina;* Plin. *H. N.* xviii. 11, 28; see Forcellinus); spoons and ladles (the larger were called *truæ*, Paull. Diac. v. antroare, *quo permovent coquentes exta;* Titinn. in Nonius, xix. 18; the smaller were called *trullæ*, Paul. Diac. p. 31. Cato, *R. R.* 13, mentions *trullas aheneas* and *ligneas*. Varro, *L. L.* v. 118, seems to use trua in a wider sense. On the use of trulla, as a wine-vessel, see Excurs. III. Sc. 9). Mortars of stone and metal (*pila*, for pounding in with the heavy pestle, *pilum mortarium*, for lighter work, Isid. iv. 11; Non. xv. 3; often in the Scriptores *rei rusticæ*, and in Pliny. See Forcell.); coal-scoops (Hor. *Sat.* i. 5, 36, *prunæque batillum;* see Heindorf, and Casaubon *ad Script. Hist. Aug.* p. 224. In *Mus. Borb.* x. 164, is a copy of an elegant coal-scoop, resting on five small feet; and also two small andirons of bronze, prettily ornamented. On *pruna* and *carbo*, see Isid. xix. 6). Several beautiful steel-yards of bronze have been found. See *Mus. Borb.* i. 56; viii. 16. The moveable weight attached to them is generally ornamented with a small bust of some deity. The scale-plate hung by chains.

3. Water-vessels. The most indispensable was the *urna* (*hydria*), like our bucket, adapted both for fetching water (Varro, *L. L.* v. 126), and also for keeping it in. For the former purpose it was provided with two moveable handles, which fell when the vessel was set down. When used for keeping water in, they had no handles; others again, for carrying water, besides the two large handles had two smaller ones fixed on below. *Mus. Borb.* vii. 31; comp. vi. 31, viii. 15, iii. 14. They were made of earthenware, wood, and metal. One of bronze with a very elegant handle is given in *Mus. Borb.* xi.

44; and Cicero, *Verr.* ii. 19, mentions *hydrias argenteas.* Sometimes the name of the owner was inscribed on them. Plaut. *Rud.* ii. 5, 21.

They were carried on the head. Prop. iv. 4, 16:

Urgebat medium fictilis urna caput.

or on the shoulder, iv. 11, 27:

Infelix humeros urgeat urna meos.

Something was usually placed on the head underneath the vessel. Paul. Diac. p. 6, and p. 45: *Cœsticillus appellatur circulus, quem superponit capiti, qui aliquid laturus est in capite.* They poured the water straight out of the bucket into the kettle. Plaut. *Pseud.* i. 2, 24. Hence urna is used of the vessels of the Danaides, though these ought properly to be called *urnulæ.* Varro in *Nonius*, xv. 8. The water-buckets were placed in the kitchen on the *urnarium*, as it was called, a kind of square table for the purpose. Varro, *L. L.* v. 126; and in *Non.* xv. 10. Other vessels for drawing and ladling water were *urceus* (somewhat less than an urna), and *urceolus.* Paul. *Dig. quibus aqua in ahenum infunditur.* Cato, *R. R.* 10, 13; Mart. xiv. 106, *urceus fictilis:*

Hic tibi donatur panda ruber urceus ansa.

Cato, 13: *urceus ahenus.* These served also for mixing drinks. Mart. xiv. 105. Another was called *nanus.* Paul. Diac. p. 176: *Nanum Græci vas aquarium dicunt humile et concavum, quod vulgo vocant situlum barbatum.* So Varro, *L. L.* v. 119.

Situlus or *situla* may also be compared to our bucket. Plaut. *Amph.* ii. 2, 39; Epigram in *Anth. Lat.* i. p. 493; Paul. *Dig.* xviii. 1, 40; Cato, *R. R.* 11. Vitruv. x. 9: *Ferrea catena habens situlos pendentes æreos.* Non. xv. 36. Lastly, *matella* and *matellio* were used in the kitchen for drawing water, as well as for mixing wine at table. Plautus in Non. xv. 2; Varro, *L. L.* v. 119; Cato, *R. R.* 10. Of *futis* Varro says (*ib.*): *Vas aquarium, quod in triclinio allatam aquam infundebant.*

VESSELS FOR HOLDING LIQUIDS.

THESE went by the general name *vasa* (Paul. *rec. sent.* iii. 6, 86), which word is also used in a wider sense. Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 19; Plaut. *Aul.* i. 2, 17. They varied so much in form, size, use, material, and workmanship, that it would be useless to attempt to give specific names to the many that have been preserved; a few general observations must therefore suffice. Varro, Festus, Macrobius, (*Sat.* v. 21), Nonius Marcellus, xiv., Isidorus, xx. 4, Poll. x. (σκεύη τὰ κατ' οἰκίαν χρήσιμα), Athen. xi. are our authorities on the subject.

Some of the chief modern works are, Panofka, *Recherches sur les véritables noms des vases grecs;* Letronne, *Observat. philol. et archéol. sur les noms des vases grecs;* and Ussing, *de nominibus vasorum Græc.* Most of these refer to Greek vessels, but in fact the majority of the Roman ones, except the commoner sorts, were derived from Greece. The Greek names of several of these, and the Greek subjects pourtrayed on them, long continued to show their first origin, e. g. the *scyphi Homerici* of Nero. Suet. *Ner.* 47.

The vasa were made (1) of earthenware, *fictilia*, Isid. xx. 4; Plin. *H. N.* xxxv. 46, either of very simple construction (*cumano rubicunda pulvere testa*, Mart. xiv. 114; xi. 27, 5; Hor. *Sat.* i. 6. 118), or valuable from their size and skilful workmanship (*propter tenuitatem*, Pliny). See Ruperti on Juvenal, iv. 131; Pliny, *ib.: eo pervenit luxuria, ut etiam fictilia pluris constent quam murrhina.* The art of the potter and modeller bloomed early in Italy, especially in Etruria (Mart. xiv. 98) and lower Italy (Mart. xiv. 102, 114); but even in Numa's time there was a guild of potters at Rome. Pliny, *ib.* All sorts of utensils and vessels were worked either after Greek patterns or from original designs. The numerous terra cottas still existing are conspicuous alike for their durability, colouring, and finish, as well as for the tasteful elegance of their shapes; the ingenuity displayed in ornamenting the handles and rims is truly wonderful. Ovens for baking them have often been discovered, and at Oria in Campania, a potter's workshop entire, with a number of vessels. See Hausmann, *de confectione vasorum antiq. fictilium.* On the terra cotta lamps, see the following Excursus, on the Manner of Lighting.

(2) The metal vasa were very numerous. The silver and golden utensils were either *pura* (*sine ullo opere artificis.* Plin. *Ep.* iii. 1; Juv. ix. 141; Mart. iv. 38; also *levia*, Juv. xiv. 62); or *cœlata, aspera, toreumata.* The latter were doubtless not always from the hand of the artist whose name they bore; but it was the name more than the workmanship that enhanced their value. [The Greek τορευτική corresponds exactly with the Roman *cœlatura;* and is only used of work in relief in metal; as Quinctilian expressly states, ii. 21; Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. Isid. xx. 4: *Cœlata vasa signis eminentibus intus extrave expressis a cœlo, quod est genus ferramenti, quod vulgo cilionem vocant.* Anciently, such vessels were termed *ancœsa.* Paul. Diac. p. 20: *quod circumcœdendo fiunt.* See Garatoni on Cic. *Verr.* iv. 23. This ornament was either constructed in a piece with the vessel itself (being either hammered out, or cast and then chased), like the dishes and cups ornamented with wreaths (*lances pampinatæ, patinæ hederatæ discus corymbiatus*, Treb. Poll. *Claud.* 17);

or the embossing was done on a separate piece of metal, which was afterwards fixed on to the vessel. Lead was used for soldering them together. Alp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 19; Paul. *Dig.* vi. 1, 23. Such plates in relief were named *sigilla*, Cic. *Verr.* iv. 22; and these were further called *emblemata* or *crustæ*. *Verr.* iv. 23. The first were massive pieces, stuck firmly into the vessel. (Hence the term *emblema vermiculatum* applied to designs in mosaic.) So Ulpian, *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 19: *emblemata aurea* (in argento), and § 6; so Paul. *ib.* 32, and *Rec. sent.* iii. 6, 89: *Vasis argenteis emblemata ex auro fixa.* Sen. *Ep.* 5. Pliny, *H. N.* xxxiii. 55, mentions, as a *phialæ emblema*, Ulysses and Diomed stealing the Palladium. Comp. Treb. Poll. *Tit. in* xxx. *Tyr.* 32. *Crustæ*, on the other hand (according to its true meaning, of thin covering generally, for instance, the plates of marble covering the walls, fishes' scales, &c.), denote thin plates or strips, with or without embossed work, which were not so much fixed in, as on and around the vessels. Thus a chaplet of embossed work placed round a vessel would be called only *crusta*, not *emblema*. The crusta was thin like veneering, the emblema compact and massive. Paul. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 32: *cymbia argentea crustis aureis illigata*, whereas infixa is used of the emblemata. Cic. *Verr.* ii. 24: *ita scite in aureis poculis illigabat* (i. e. crustas), *ita apte in scyphis aureis includebat* (i. e. emblemata). See Salmas. *ad Solin.* p. 736. Ernesti Clavis, v. *crusta*. Tiberius forbade the expression emblema, as being bad Latin, Suet. *Tib.* 71; Dio Cass. lvii. 51, but of course it continued to be used. *Vasa aurea* are also mentioned (Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 27), but the *argentea* were naturally more common. One hundred such have been discovered at Pompeii, most of them magnificently embossed. See *Mus. Borb.* x. 14; xi. 45; xiii. 49. A rich discovery of them was made in Normandy, from the temple of Mercury at Canetum.]

The *chrysendeta*, so often mentioned by Martial, are incorrectly explained to be drinking-vessels; on the contrary, they were flat vessels for serving up the food: at least this is the only use to which they are applied by Martial, ii. 43, 11; and xiv. 97; comp. vi. 94. The name itself, and the designation *flava*, gave rise to the supposition that they were silver vessels with a golden rim, perhaps also with inlaid gold-work.

The *vasa* of Corinthian brass were highly prized. See above. [Bronze vessels were naturally most frequent, numbers are to be seen in the *Museum Borbonicum;* which, notwithstanding the cheapness of the material, are always gracefully formed, the handles particularly so, with very fine embossing.]

(3) Vessels adorned with gems. We must not believe that in

every case where vessels of amethyst, etc., are mentioned, real precious stones are meant, though there were such also. We have only to call to mind the Mantuan vase, as it is called. Cic. *Verr.* iv. 27. [Prop. iii. 3, 26: *Nec bibit e gemma divite nostra sitis.* Virg. *Georg.* ii. 506; Mart. xiv. 110. See a cup of onyx, *Mus. Borb.* xii. 47. Little vessels of onyx were often used for anointing, and hence onyx came to denote an ointment vessel. Hor. *Od.* iv. 12, 17: *Nardi parvus onyx.* Prop. iii. 8, 22; ii. 10, 13; Mart. vii. 94; xi. 50.]

Vessels ornamented with precious stones were much more frequent, *gemmis distincta*, or composed of a quantity of cameos set in gold, Appian, *Mithr.* 115, which are often mentioned by the later poets. [Plin. xxxiii. 2: *turba gemmarum potamus et smaragdis teximus calices.* xxxvii. 6; Mart. xiv. 109; Juv. x. 26; v. 43; Auson. *epigr.* 8; Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 19.

(4) Vessels of amber were only of small dimensions, Mart. iv. 32: *De ape electro inclusa.* Metal vessels were also ornamented with amber. Paul. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 32; Mart. viii. 51:

Vera minus flavo radiant electra metallo.

Juv. v. 37; xiv. 307. Ivory seems to have been rarely used for vessels, or their ornaments. Mart. xiv. 78; Orell. 3838; *pyxidem eboream.*]

(5) Vessels of glass. The ingeniously-wrought objects in glass for which Alexandria particularly was famed, appear to throw all the skill of the English and Bohemian glass-polishers [*vitriarii*, Orell. 4229] completely into the shade. [Mart. xii. 74: *Cum tibi Niliacus portet crystalla cataplus.* Cic. *p. Rab.* 14; Treb. Poll. *Claud.* 17: *calices Ægyptios.* Vop. *Tac.* ii.] They knew as well as we how to impart to the glass any colour they pleased, and make skilful imitations of precious stones. Plin. xxxvi. 26, 67; comp. xxxvii. 7, 26, 6, 22; [Isid. xvi. 15; Strab. xvi. p. 758]; and this kind of coloured glass is no doubt often meant under the word *gemmæ;* e. g. the *amethystini trientes.* Mart. x. 49. To them belong also the variously-shaded *allassontes*, [from Egypt,] (Vopisc. *Saturn.* 8,) perhaps opal-glass, or something similar. The most valued however were the *crystallina*, of quite pure, white, and transparent glass. Plin. [Isid. xvi. 15.] We must always therefore understand it of crystal glass, when crystallina or *crystalla* (Mart. ix. 23, [xiv. 111,] xii. 74) are mentioned; and when we read (ix. 60, 13) of *turbata brevi crystallina vitro*, this must be supposed to be an impure, perhaps greenish, piece, or place, as i. 54, 6, *Aretinæ violant crystallina testæ.* They had also the secret of making glass of differently-coloured layers joined together, which they then cut into cameos like the onyx. Plin. xxxvi. 26, 66. The renowned Barberini or

Portland Vase, [from the tomb of Severus Alexander,] which was long considered a genuine sardonyx, is of this description. Hence the frequent mention of *sardonyches veri*, Mart. iv. 61, 6; ix. 60, 19.

[Still finer than the Portland vase is the embossed glass vase, with blue and white bas-reliefs, discovered in 1837, in a tomb at Pompeii. See *Mus. Borb.* xi. 28, 29.]

The opal bowl, described in Scene II., was discovered about the year 1725, in Navarre, and at the time Fea translated Winkelmann's *Hist. of the Arts*, was to be found in the collection of D. Carlo de' Marchesi Trivulsi. Such vessels were named *diatreta*, Mart. xii. 70, 9; Ulp. *Dig.* ix. 2, 27. On the other hand, *toreuma* (Mart. xi. 11, *tepidi toreumata Nili*, [xiv. 94,] et passim) has a more extended signification, and may be referred particularly to the *cælata*. Comp. Martial, xiv. 115. Paul. Diac. p. 115: *Lesbium genus vasis cælati a Lesbiis inventum*, and these were of purple-coloured glass. Ath. xi. p. 486. According to Quinct. i. 21, the term *cælare* cannot properly be used of glass; *sculptura* is the word to be used of wood, ivory, glass, and marble. See the Excursus on the Baths.

(6) *Vasa murrhina.* It is plain from the vagueness with which the ancients express themselves about the vasa murrhina, that they were not quite clear about its substance. For with the exception of the much-quoted passage of Prop. iv. 5, 26,

> Seu quæ palmiferæ mittunt venalia Thebæ,
> Murrheaque in Parthis pocula cocta focis,

there is no other which would not admit of a negative rather than of a positive use. Hence there has been a great variety of opinion about the material from which they were composed. Many have declared the *murrha* to be natural stone; [e.g. agate, onyx, sardonyx, etc.] On the other hand, the opinion, chiefly based on Propertius, that it was Chinese porcelain, has met with numerous defenders [as the Scaligers and Salmasius]. And this view of the subject seems to be the only admissible one, and agrees best with the majority of passages on the subject; besides which, it receives considerable support from the assertion (if true) of Gell, that porcelain went by the name of *Mirrha de Smyrna*, down to the middle of the sixteenth century. [The most important passage is in Pliny, *H. N.* xxxvii. 2, 8: *Oriens murrhina mittit. Inveniuntur enim ibi in pluribus nec insignibus locis Parthici regni, præcipue in Carmania. Humorem putant sub terra calore densari. Amplitudine nusquam parvos excedunt abacos, crassitudine raro quanta dictum est vasi potorio*, etc. Whence it appears that Pliny did not consider it an artificial product. The mineral which suits Pliny's description best, is the Fluor or Derbyshire spar, from which exactly similar vessels are made in England,

It is soft, and fragile, and of a faint brilliancy, &c., just as Pliny says. This opinion is the one now most generally adopted among the learned. The Roman jurists declared that murrhina (although of great value, Plin. xxxvii. 2, 7) were not to be counted as gems.] There were genuine and false murrhina, the latter probably an imitation in glass, as Plin. xxxvi. 26, 67, in enumerating the different glasses manufactured, says, *fit et album et murrhinum.* The passage of Propertius cited above probably refers to this imitation. In reference to the uses of the vessels we shall class them as follows.

1. *Vasa* for preserving liquids, in cellars, chambers, tabernæ, and partly for transporting them in

(*a*) larger sorts: *doli*, *cadi*, *amphoræ*, *lagenæ*, which, as they were chiefly for wine (though also for oil, Cato, *R. R.* 13; and honey, Cic. *Verr.* ii. 74), are mentioned in the Excursus on the Drinks. (*b*) Smaller sorts for keeping articles in though only for a short time, the contents being destined for speedy consumption. *Ampulla* (βόμβυλος, λήκυθος, ληκύθιον), short, and thickset in shape, with a narrow neck. Plin. *Ep.* iv. 30. If designed for hanging up, it was provided with a handle. Oil was kept in them for bathing. (Appul. Flor. ii. 9; Mart. iii. 82, 26; Cic. *de Fin.* iv. 12.) Also vinegar (Plin. *H. N.* xx. 14, 54), and wine. They were also used for drinking out of, Mart. vi. 35:

> . . . vitreisque tepentem
> Ampullis potas semisupinus aquam.

Suet. *Dom.* 21. This often happened on a journey. Plaut. *Merc.* v. 2, 86; comp. Pers. i. 3, 43. Leathern bottles were also used for this purpose, *scorteæ ampullæ.* Col. viii. 2.

Alabastrum was used only for ointment and oil; it was cylindrical in shape, decreasing upward, and always without handles. Plin. *H. N.* ix. 35, 56; xxi. 4, 10. It was made of onyx (hence called *onyx*), alabaster, and other sorts of stone, as well as glass. Many derive it from ἀ and λαβή, referring to the absence of handles. Others think that it received its name from the material of which it was usually made. Müller and Welcker, on the contrary, that the stone took its name from the vessel. Its use is evident from Cicero *in Non.* xv. 17, *plenus unguenti.* Mart. xi. 8; Plin. *H. N.* xiii. 2, 3, *unguenta optime servantur in alabastris;* xxxvi. 5, 12. The *alabastra* were carried in thongs, and there were regular stands for them, ἀλαβαστροθήκη.

2. *Vasa* for drawing, pouring out, and distributing.

Those for water, *urna*, *urceus*, *nanus*, &c., have been already discussed; those for wine were called *guttus*, *simpulum*, *epichysis*, *cyathus*, Varro, *L. L.* v. 124. Most probably guttus, and the Greek

epichysis (Plaut. *Rud.* v. 2, 32), were small cans with narrow necks (Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 118, *cum patera guttus*, i. e. the can with the saucer under it. See Heindorf, *ad loc.*; *guttus faginus* in Pliny, *H. N.* xvi. 73); *simpuvium* and cyathus, a special kind of wine ladles; see the Excursus on the Table Utensils. *Gutti* were not used as ladles, but more as oil or ointment cruets, Gell. xvii. 18. They are mentioned in the baths, Juv. iii. 263; xi. 158. *Gutturnium* was likewise a can with a narrow neck, Paul. p. 98; also called *cuturnium*, Paul. p. 51. The *simpuvium* was used at sacrifices, called by Varro, *in Non.* xv. 12, *modus matulæ*; it was of wood or earthenware. A similar can for pouring out water over the washing-basin was called *manalis*, Varro *in Non.* xv. 32. All these cans have a handle and mouth, but they vary much. Sometimes the handle rises high above the vessel; sometimes it is small; the narrow neck is sometimes long, sometimes short, &c. See some cans of wonderful workmanship in *Mus. Borb.* ii. 47; xii. 59; xiii. 43. Compare iv. 43; v. 15; vi. 29; xii. 55; xiii. 46; xiii. 27.

3. Drinking-vessels. See the Excursus on the Table Utensils.

4. Cooking-vessels. See p. 298.

5. Table utensils, as dishes, saucers, &c. See the Excursus on the Table Utensils.

6. Washing-vessels. One of the largest was called *nassiterna*. Fest. p. 169, *vas ansatum et patens*. Varro, *R. R.* i. 22, *ex ære*. Plaut. *Stich.* ii. 2, 27. *Labrum* was large, but it denotes in a wider sense every sort of large tub used for wine and oil, &c. Cato, *R. R.* 13. It was made of marble, clay, and metal. Col. xii. 15, 50. It is a bathing-tub in Plin. *Ep.* v. 6; Ovid. *Fast.* iv. 76; Cic. *ad Fam.* xiv. 20. *Pelvis* was, according to Nonius, xv. 4, *sinus aquarius in quo varia perluuntur*, i. e. a rinsing-tub. Juv. iii. 277, *patulas effundere pelves*. It also served as a foot-bath, Varro, *L. L.* v. 119. *Præfericulum* was a pelvis for religious uses. Festus and Paul. p. 248.

Aquiminarium resembled it, being a sort of rinsing-tub. Pomp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 21, where a silver one is mentioned; or perhaps it was used for washing the hands in. Paull. *Dig.* xxxiii. 10. *Polubrum* and *trulleum* were washing-basins. Nonius, xv. 11, makes both words identical. See Paul. Diac. p. 247. Non. xv. 32, *trulleum, quo manus perluuntur*. *Malluvium* is also explained to be a basin for washing the hands, Paul. and Fest. p. 160. *Lebes* is reckoned among the same sort by Servius, *ad Virg. Æn.* iii. 466; *Mus. Borb.* x. 35.

CURTAINS.

THEIR use in the theatre, in *atria* and arcades, and before doorways, has already been discussed. Such hangings seem to have also

been used as tapestry to cover the walls and ceilings. See above. Wustemann's explanation of the *suspensa aulæa* of Horace. Porphyr. on Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 54; Serv. on Virg. *Æn.* i. 701, *in domibus tendebantur aulæa ut imitatio tentoriorum fieret; unde et in thalamis hoc fieri hodieque conspicimus.* Such hangings are seen, tastefully draped, in several frescos; and on the lamp, in Passer. *luc. fict.* iii. 37.

Conopium was a kind of veil-like hanging, properly mosquito-net, used only by effeminate persons. Hor. *Epod.* ix. 16; Juv. vi. 80; and Schol. *culicare conopium*, Prop. iii. 11, 45.]

IMPLEMENTS FOR CLEANING.

THE implements used for cleaning the walls, floor, ceilings, and furniture, were *scopæ*, besoms made of the branches of the wild myrtle, *oxymyrsine* (ruscus aculeata, Linn.), or the tamarisk, *Tamarix Gallica*, Plin. xxiii. 9, 83; xvi. 26, 45 [Mart. xiv. 82; Cato, *R. R.* 152, *scopæ virgeæ*]; and sponges, *spongiæ*. [Mart. xiv. 144.] Amongst sponges, the Punic or African, and the Rhodian, were much prized; but the softest came from the Lycian town Antiphellos, Plin. *H. N.* ix. 45, 69; xxxi. 11. They were sometimes fastened to a long, and at others to a short, staff; in which case they were called *peniculi*, which signifies sponges, and not brushes or hair brooms. Terence, *Eun.* iv. 7, 7. [Paul. Diac. p. 208, *peniculi spongiæ longæ propter similitudinem caudarum appellatæ.*] This is the *infelix damnatæ spongia virgæ*, Mart. xii. 48; and the *arundo*, Plaut. *Stich.* ii. 2, 23. They were also used for cleaning shoes. Plaut. *Menæchm.* ii. 3, 40; ii. 2, 12. [Fest. v. *penem.* p. 230.] It appears doubtful whether they had not also similar contrivances made of bristles. We at least might infer this from the second diminutive *penicillus*, as they manufactured plasterers' brushes of bristles, Plin. xxviii. 17, 71. Why not also brooms? Plin. ix. 45, 66. [Long poles were used for clearing away the cobwebs, and ladders in cleaning the ceilings. Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiii. 7, 12, *perticæ quibus araneæ detergantur, scalæ quæ ad lacunaria admoveantur.* The besoms have been already mentioned. See note 17, page 122.]

The passages from which we have borrowed this description of the busy manner of cleaning the house, are Plaut. *Asin.* ii. 4, 18; *Stich.* ii. 2, 23; Juv. xiv. 63:

> Verre pavimentum; nitidas ostende columnas:
> Arida cum toto descendat aranea tela:
> Hic leve argentum, vasa aspera tergeat alter.

EXCURSUS IV. SCENE II.

THE MANNER OF LIGHTING.

ONE of the imperfections in the domestic economy of the ancients was the universal use of oil-lamps. Had they provided against the uncleanliness by having glass cylinders to consume the smoke (*fuligo*), we should not be so much surprised at the preference given to oil over tallow and wax. But they had no invention of the sort, and in spite of all the elegance and ingenuity displayed in their lamps of bronze and precious metals, the ancients could not prevent their ornamented ceilings from being blackened, and their breathing oppressed, by smoke. The nature of the country doubtless led them to use oil, but its cheapness does not appear a sufficient reason for their having continued to bear its discomforts, and we must therefore rather suppose that at that time wax and tallow candles were not made skilfully enough to afford a good light; hence we find that the *lucerna* was used by the poor, whilst the smoky oil-lamp was burned in the palaces of the wealthy.

The whole apparatus for lighting is mentioned by Appul. *Met.* iv.: *Tædis, lucernis, cereis, sebaceis, et cœteris nocturni luminis instrumentis clarescunt tenebræ.* The *tædæ*, properly slips of pine, were not intended for the usual house-lighting, so that only the lucernæ and *candelæ*, which latter are partly *ceræ*, and partly *sebaceæ*, remain to be noticed. We learn that these only were in use at a more ancient period, [no mention is ever made of them among the Greeks; see Becker's *Charicles*, Eng. Trans. p. 130,] the lamp being of later invention. Varro, *L. L.* v. 34; also *De vita Pop. Rom.;* in Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* i. 727; [Val. Max. iii. 6, 4; comp. Cic. *de Sen.* 13]; Mart. xiv. 43, *Candelabrum Corinthium:*

> Nomina candelæ nobis antiqua dederunt:
> Non norat parcos uncta lucerna patres.

Athen. xv. 700. Instead of our wick, they used for the candelæ, the pith of a kind of rush, the indigenous papyrus, *scirpus.* Plin. xvi. 37, 70; *Anthol. Pal.* vi. 249. Perhaps the same thing may also be understood by the *funiculus* of Varro. These rushes were smeared over with wax or tallow, although tallow-candles, *sebaceæ* (in Amm. Marc. xviii. 6, *fax sebalis*), were only employed for the

commonest purposes. We learn from Varro that there were other candelæ, in earlier times, besides the cereæ. Martial has, among his *Apophoreta*, two different epigrams (candela, 40,

> Ancillam tibi sors dedit lucernæ
> Tutas quæ vigil exigit tenebras.

and cereus, 42).

> Hic tibi nocturnos præstabit cereus ignes,
> Subducta est puero namque lucerna tuo.

in both of which he appears to mean that the candela and cereus were considered commoner than the lucerna. This is more plain from Juv. iii. 287, where Umbricius says of himself in distinction to the *œnea lampas* of the rich:

> . . . Quem luna solet deducere vel breve lumen
> Candelæ, cujus dispenso et tempero filum;

and from Pliny, xxxiv. 3, 6, where he speaks of the extravagant prices of the candelabra, which nevertheless took their name from so insignificant a thing. Wax candles are, however, mentioned with lamps in descriptions of splendour and profusion; and Virgil (*Æn.* i. 727) says of the Palace of Dido:

> . . . dependent lychni laquearibus aureis
> Incensi et noctem flammis funalia vincunt.

Boettiger was therefore wrong in supposing that the ancients were unacquainted with the use of wax lights. The cerei, the use of which at the nocturnal *comissatio* is mentioned by Seneca, *Epist.* 22, and the candelæ generally, were not torches, and the candelabra were formed to hold them. Serv. *ad Virg.* supra; [Paul. Diac. p. 46, 42; Isidor. xx. 10]; Donat. *ad Ter. Andr.* i. 1, 88. [The candelabra for candles were also called funalia, in a wider sense. Isid. xx. 10: *funalia candelabra exstantes stimulos habuerunt, quibus funiculi figebantur.* In Ov. *Met.* xii. 246,

> Lampadibus densum rapuit funale coruscis.

the word funalia seems used as a lamp-holder.] The hand-candelabra mentioned by Servius are probably like the *lychnuchi* used at the *Lampadedromiæ*, in which the plate under the candle served the double purpose of protecting the hand from the dripping of the hot wax, and the flame from the draught of air.

Lamps, *lucernæ*, are still extant in great numbers, and from the elegance of their forms, and the emblematic ornaments upon them, they, with the candelabra, are among the most interesting of antiquities. The most important works on this subject are [Liceti, *de Luc. antiq. reconditis*]; Bellori, *Lucernæ sepulcrales;* Passeri, *Luc.*

fictiles; Antichità d'Ercolano, viii.; *Mus. Borb.;* Millin. *Monum. ined.* ii. 160.

The difference frequently made between *lucernæ cubiculares, balneares, tricliniares, sepulcrales*, can only refer to the different uses, and the most we can assume is that the tricliniares were more elegant than the balneares, and had more wicks than the cubiculares, which last, although the proper night lamps, served for lighting the sitting-rooms generally. Mart. x. 38, 7, and xiv. 39. The sepulcrales, so called from having been frequently found in tombs, were not made for that purpose, but only given to the deceased as usual lamps. [This remark requires correction; for there were special lamps, the ornaments and inscriptions of which show that they were exclusively used in tombs, e. g. *sit tibi terra levis anima dulcis;* and *Diis Manibus*, Passer. iii. 49, 46, 51; Bellor. ii. 16. These lucernæ were placed by the relatives on the tomb or in the vault, either voluntarily or in compliance with the last will of the deceased. In Modest. *Dig.* xl. 4, 44, Mævia wills *ut monumento meo alternis mensibus lucernam accendant et sollennia mortis peragant.* See Petron. 3.]

Most of the lamps we possess are of *terra cotta* [hence called *testa*, Virg. *Georg.* i. 391], or bronze, but *lucernæ aureæ, argenteæ, vitreæ* [Passer. ii. t. 83], and even of marble, are mentioned. Those of terra cotta are usually of a long round form, flat and without feet: on the upper part, where the orifice for pouring in the oil is, there are often designs in relief, chiefly mythological [often beasts, as elephants, lions, eagles, peacocks, apes, horses, she-wolves with Romulus and Remus, hares, dolphins, or battles of gladiators, trophies, flowers, chaplets, masks; see Passer. iii. 20], and far better than could be expected on utensils of every-day use. [The models were made by particular *figuli sigillatores*, Orell. 4191, who sold them to the potter. The name of the maker, or a mark of the workshop, often stands at the bottom, e. g. a garland, a half-moon, etc.; sometimes the name of the patron or emperor. Passer. i. p. x. See *Mus. Borb.* vi. 30.] Sometimes they have only one wick, *monomyxos, monolychnis;* [*dilychnis*, Petron. 30]; at others, several, *dimyxi, trimyxi, polymyxi;* [*luc. bilychnes*, Orell. 3678; Poll. ii. 72; x. 115; *Anthol. Pal.* xii. 199]; Mart. xiv. 41, *Lucerna polymixos:*

> Illustrem cum tota meis convivia flammis
> Totque geram myxas, una lucerna vocor.

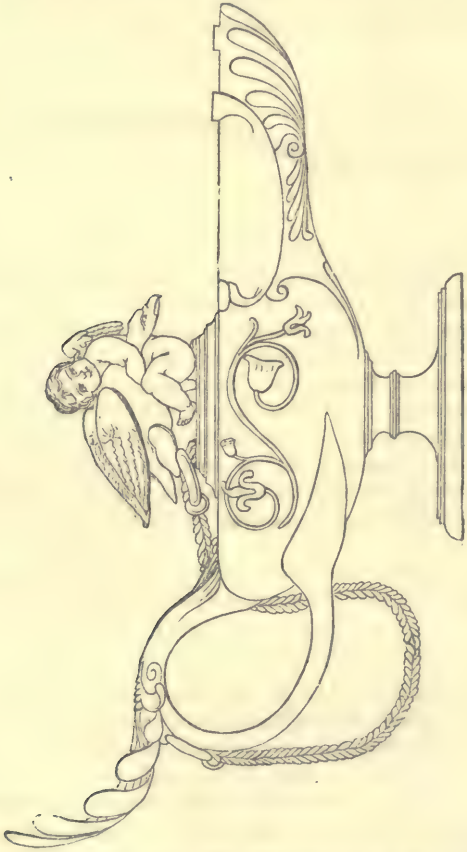
They seem to have been used chiefly in the *triclinia*, or the larger rooms. In the *Antich. d'Ercol.* are wreath-shaped lamps for nine

and twelve wicks, and one in the form of a skiff for fourteen wicks. See Juven. vi. 305:

> Quum bibitur concha quum jam vertigine tectum
> Ambulat et geminis exsurgit mensa lucernis.

Petron. 64.

The bronze lamps were still more elegant. Among the most tasteful are the dimyxos, on which a winged boy is grouped with a goose; a copy of which is here given from the *Mus. Borb* iv. 14;



one with three lights, on which is a dancer with the Phrygian cap (*Antich. d'Ercol.* t. 29), and one with a Silenus. *Mus. Borb.* i. t. 10.

Hemp, *cannabis*, and flax, or the tow taken from it, were used as wicks (Plin. xix. 1, 3), and the leaves of a kind of *verbascum*, thence called φλόμος λυχνῖτις. Diosc. iv. 106; Plin. xxv. 10, 74. A lamp is said to have been found at Stabiæ with the wick still preserved.

As the orifice for pouring in the oil was small, special boat-like vessels, *infundibula*, having in front a small hole only, through which the oil was poured, were used. Instruments were also used for raising and snuffing the wicks, and were fastened by a chain to the lamp. Small pincers for raising the wicks have also been found

at Pompeii in great numbers. When a figure stood upon the lamp, it sometimes held this instrument by a chain in its hand. *Antich.* etc. t. 28, 69; *Mus. Borb.* iv. t. 58, vii. t. 15.

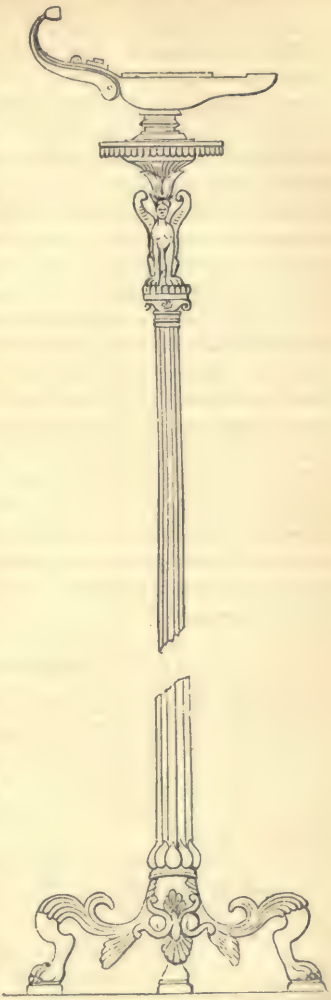
The lamps were either placed on a *candelabrum*, or were suspended by chains from the roof. Virg. *Æn.* i. 727, *dependent lychni laquearibus aureis.* Petron. 30. There were also *candelabra*, with a number of branches, on which lamps could be hung. Those found in the buried towns are of very different heights; from one Neapolitan palm to upwards of six, or even seven, palms. They stood upon the ground, but were, in comparison with the tables and sofas, of a considerable height. *Lucerna de specula candelabri.* Appul. *Met.* ii.

The poorer classes used those made of wood. Cic. *ad Quint. fr.* iii. 7; Mart. xiv. 44, *Candelabrum ligneum:*

> Esse vides lignum: serves nisi lumina, fiet
> De candelabro magna lucerna tibi.

Petron. 95; [Cæcil. in Non. iii. 74;] comp. Athen. xv. 700. In the temples and palaces, and places where they remained fixtures, they were made of marble, and ornamented with reliefs (*Mus. Pio-Clem.* iv. 1, 5, v. i. 3), [vii. 37; *Mus. Borb.* i. 54]; and when intended as offerings to the gods, of valuable metals, or even of precious stones, like that which Antiochus designed for the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Cic. *Verr.* iv. 28. But they were usually of bronze [Cic. *Verr.* iv. 26], and the labour spent on getting them up made this an important branch of ancient bronze manufacture.

The proper candelabræ (also *lychnuchi*)—for the *lampadaria*, in the form of statues and trees, were the inventions of a later age—consisted of three and sometimes four pieces—the foot, the shaft, and the *discus* or plate. The slender shaft was usually fluted, and rested on three feet of animals, above which was some leaf-ornament—it terminated in a capital, on which was a kind of vase, covered by the plate bearing the lamp. Sometimes a head or figure was above the capital, and supported the plate, as is the case in the *Mus. Borb.* iv. t. 57, and in the accompanying engraving.



The candelabra produced at Ægina and Tarentum were especially remarkable for the beauty of their workmanship, and each place signalized itself in the construction of certain parts. Plin. xxxiv. 3, 6; comp. Mueller, *Æginet.* p. 80. Some have a second plate immediately above the foot, and are beautifully ornamented. There were also Corinthian ones, as they were called, which sold at high prices (Mart. xiv. 43), but Pliny denies that they were genuine.

There were also candelabra so constructed that the lamps could be raised or lowered; in these the shaft was hollow, and into it a staff was fitted; this bore the plate, and had several holes, into which a pin could be inserted. One of these is copied in the *Antich.* t. 70, and a still more ingenious one in t. 71, and *Mus. Borb.* vi. 61: in the latter the animals' feet could be laid together by a hinge attached, and it seems to have been thus made for use on

a journey: it was only three palms five inches high, but could be lengthened if necessary.

There were also four other sorts of candelabra, in which the simple shaft became either a statue holding a torch, from which the lamp burned (*Mus. Borb.* vii. t. 15), or above which two arms were raised, holding the plate (iv. t. 59, vii. t. 30), [in xiii. 14, the statue forms the lower part of the shaft,] or the shaft was changed into a column, whereon a Moor's head served as a lamp (vii. t. 15). But still more numerous are those called lampadaria: they are stems of trees, or pillars standing on a base, from the capital of which the lamps were suspended. *Mus. Borb.* ii. t. 13, viii. t. 31; *Antich.* t. 65, 8. But these must not be confounded with the lychnuchi, mentioned by Pliny, xxxiv. 3, 8, *Placuere et lychnuchi pensiles in delubris aut arborum modo mala ferentium lucentes, qualis est in templo Apollinis Palatini*, as he was describing something unusual, and the *lychnuchi pensiles* may perhaps be compared to our chandeliers. That in the temple of Apollo, however, was of the time of Alexander. Something similar is possibly intended by Athen. xv. 700. The lamps often stood also on tripods. *Mus. Borb.* ix. 13, vi. 30.

They could scarcely have held sufficient oil to have kept burning continually, when the revels lasted late, and fresh oil was therefore supplied. Petron. 22; in c. 70, we find sweet-smelling oil added; an act of extravagance also mentioned in Martial, x. 38, 9, where the lucerna which lighted the bridal of Catinus is said to be *nimbis ebria Nicerotianis.*

[THE LATERNÆ, LANTHORNS.

Isid. xx. 10: *Laterna dicta, quod lucem interius habeat clausam. Etenim ex vitro, intus recluso lumine, ut venti flatus non adire possit, et ad præbendum lumen facile ubique circumferatur.* Mart. xiv. 61. Plaut. *Aul.* iii. 6, 30, *laterna Punica.* The frame was mostly of bronze, the other part of glass (Isid.) or thin plates of horn. Plaut. *Amph.* i. 1, 185.

Volcanum in cornu conclusum geris.

Ath. xv. p. 699; Mart. xiv. 6, *cornea;* or of oiled linen, Plaut. *Bacch.* iii. 3, 42:

It magister quasi lucerna uncto exspretus linteo.

Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 3, *linea laterna*, though the reading is doubtful. *Mus. Borb.* ii.]

EXCURSUS V. SCENE II.

THE CLOCKS.

NOTWITHSTANDING the magnificence of the domestic arrangements of the ancients, and the refined care bestowed on everything that could make life agreeable, they still were without many ordinary conveniences. For instance, a clock, to regulate the business of the day, according to a fixed measure of time, to us an indispensable piece of furniture, which the man of moderate means can command with facility, and even the poorest does not like to be without,—was, for nearly five hundred years, a thing quite unknown in Rome, and even in latter times only in a very imperfect state. Originally they did not divide the day into hours at all, but guessed at the time from the position of the sun. Varro, *L. L.* vi. 89; vi. 4, 5; Plin. *H. N.* vii. 60. Afterwards the division which followed was very inconvenient.

It is true, they reckoned twenty-four hours from midnight to midnight, but they divided the regular duration of the day, between the rising and setting of the sun, into twelve hours, and allotted the remainder of the time to the night. After the Romans became acquainted with the use of sun-dials, the natural day was divided into twelve equal hours. Not so the night, in which the position of the stars and the increasing or decreasing darkness were the only means of distinguishing single portions of time: hence there was no division of it into hours at first. Afterwards the use of water-clocks became more general, but even then the former custom derived from the camp, by which the night was divided into four watches, still remained much in use. In civil life it became more subdivided: eight divisions were adopted, named by Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 3, and found essentially the same in Censorinus, *de Die Nat.* 24. According to the former they were called, beginning with sunset, *vespera* (*crepusculum*), *prima fax* (*luminibus accensis*), *concubia* (*nox*), *intempesta* (*nox*): and from midnight to sunrise, *mediæ noctis inclinatio*, *gallicinium*, *conticinium*, *diluculum*. [See also Varro, *L. L.* vi. 6, 7; Isidor. v. 31.] Still even in Cicero's time the night was divided into twelve hours. *P. Rosc. A.* 7. On this account a faulty state of things naturally arose, for the hours of night and day being of variable length throughout the year, and only equal at the equinoxes, their eleventh hour, for instance, began at fifty-eight

minutes past two, according to our mode of reckoning, in the winter solstice, and at two minutes past five in the summer solstice. Thus any comparison of the Roman hours with ours is attended with this difficulty, that we must always know the natural length of the day for the latitude of Rome, in order that our calculation may be correct. Still for a tolerably near computation, the table given in Ideler's *Lehrbuch d. Chronologie*, and in the *Handbuch*, Part ii., is sufficient; 'it gives the length of the Roman day in our equi-form hours for the eight principal points of the ecliptic, in the year 45 B.C., being the first year of Julius Cæsar's regulation of the calendar.'

Day of the Year.	*Length of the Day.* hours.	min.
23 December	8	54
6 February	9	50
23 March	12	
9 May	14	10
25 June	15	6
10 August	14	10
25 September	12	
9 November	9	50

In order to give a more clear and comprehensive view of the matter, a Table is added, comparing the Roman hours with ours, at both the solstices, where the difference is greatest, while at the equinoxes alone our hours coincide with those of the Roman.

	In Summer.			*In Winter.*		
hour.	hours.	min.	sec.	hours.	min.	sec.
1	4	27		7	33	
2	5	42	30	8	17	30
3	6	58		9	2	
4	8	13	30	9	46	30
5	9	29		10	31	
6	80	44	30	11	15	30
7	12			12		
8	1	15	30	12	44	30
9	2	31		1	29	
10	3	46	30	2	13	20
11	5	2		2	58	
12	6	17	30	3	42	30
End of the day	7	33		4	27	

This division of the hours lasted a long time, and it is only in calendars of the latest period that we find the length of the night and day, through the different months, given according to equi-

noctial hours. Of this kind is the *Calendarium rusticum Farnesianum*, which is to be found in Græv. *Thes. antiq. Rom.* viii., with Orsini's explanations; and in *Mus. Borb.* ii. t. 44. Still it contains as yet no indication of a Christian æra, as in the case of the Viennese one, which is referred to the age of Constantine. In Græv. 97; Ideler, *Handbuch d. Chron.* ii. 139. A question difficult of solution offers itself, whether in giving the hour, as *hora sexta, nona, decima*, the current or already elapsed hour is meant (S. Salmas. on *Vopisc. Florian.* 6, 634; *Exerc. ad Solin.* 636); whether, for instance, *hora nona* denoted the equinoctial hour from two to three, or was equivalent to saying, at three o'clock. It is true that on ancient sun-dials the hours are only divided by means of eleven lines, which have no numbers placed against them. [See below. Sometimes, however, numbers were engraved. Varro, *L. L.* vi. 4: *meridies ab eo, quod medius dies, D antiqui, non R in hoc dicebant, ut Prœneste incisum in solario vidi.*] If the shadow of the finger (gnomon) fell upon the first line, the first hour would be already elapsed, and *hora prima* would be the commencement of the second. [So in Pers. iii. 4, *quinta dum linea tangitur umbra* denotes the end of the fifth hour, or eleven o'clock.] When, on the other hand, Martial, iv. 8, says,

> Prima salutantes atque altera continet hora,
> Exercet raucos tertia causidicos.
> In quintam varios extendit Roma labores;
> Sexta quies lassis, septima finis erit.
> Sufficit in nonam nitidis octava palæstris;
> Imperat exstructos frangere nona toros.

it is evident that in each case the current hour is meant; and as nona is the usual hour for the *cœna*, *hora nona cœnare* can, to agree with the passage, denote only, at the beginning of the ninth hour. The same seems also to follow from the epigram which has already been quoted by others. *Anthol. Pal.* x. 43:

> Ἓξ ὧραι μόχθοις ἱκανώταται, αἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὰς
> Γράμμασι δεικνύμεναι ΖΗΘΙ λέγουσι βροτοῖς.

For the letters ά—ς' would fall to the first six hours, and ζ' denote the whole of the seventh.

According to Pliny (vii. 60), there was no sun-dial in Rome until eleven years before the war with Pyrrhus (about 460 A. U. C.), although their use had already been made known in Greece by Anaximander or his scholar, Anaximenes, about 500 years before Christ. See Ideler, *Lehrb.* 97. L. Papirius Cursor placed the first on the temple of Quirinus, as Pliny, after Fabius Vestalis, relates. Varro, on the other hand, [as well as Censorin. *de D. Nat.* 23,] dates the introduction of this time-measure about twenty years later, and

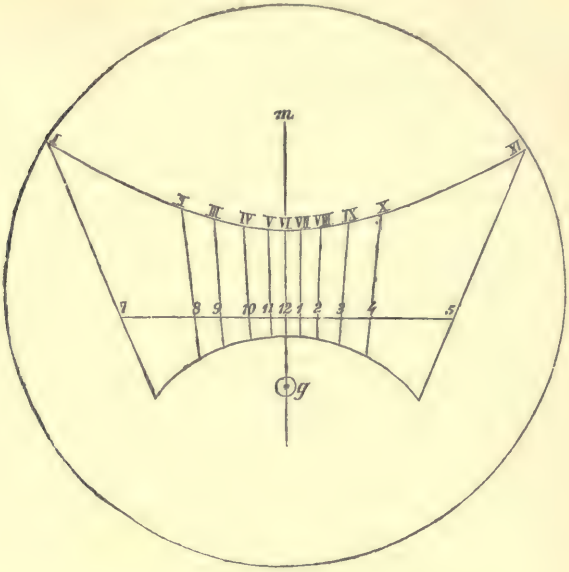
makes M. Valerius Messala bring to Rome the first sun-dial, captured at the conquest of Catana, A. U. C. 491. Meierotto was in error in concluding from the fragment of the *Bœotia*, or *Bis compressa* of Plautus, where the parasite says,

> Ut illum dii perdant, primus qui horas reperit,
> Quique adeo primus statuit hic solarium.—
> Nam me puero vetus hic erat solarium, etc.

(he means his stomach), that the first *solarium* came to Rome in the time of Plautus. This would have been about the time of the second Punic war; but was it actually necessary that Plautus should allude to his youth in order to make this joke? [The sun-dials, thus brought from Sicily to Rome, had one great and natural inconvenience, as Pliny says: *nec congruebant ad horas ejus lineæ; paruerunt tamen eis annis undecentum; donec Q. Marcius Philippus diligentius ordinatum juxta posuit.* Censorin. 23.] These earliest sun-dials were evidently of the kind called by the Greeks πόλος. The old sort, or γνώμων, was not introduced, as the Romans adopted the latest improvements of the Greeks (see Becker's *Charicles*, Eng. Trans. p. 173, note 3). Still there was one such gnomon at Rome, viz. the obelisk, one hundred and ten feet high, erected by Augustus in the Campus Martius, with the inscription, *Soli donum dedit;* now on Monte Citorio. Pliny describes it accurately, *H. N.* xxxvi. 10. The sun-dials, *horologia solaria*, or *sciotherica* [*solaria* alone, Varro, *L. L.* vi. 4,] were at a later period in very general use, and made of various forms. Comp. Vitr. ix. 9; [Isid. xx. 13;] Ernesti, *de solariis*, and *Clavis Ciceron.; Pitture d'Ercol.* iii. 337; Martini, *Abh. v. d. Sonnenuhren d. Alten.;* Van Beeck Calkoen, *Diss. Math. ant. de horologiis vett. sciothericis; Mus. Borb.* vii. Frontisp. As the shadow of the finger (gnomon) placed perpendicularly upon the horizontal surface, had to give the twelve hours of the natural day, which were at one time short, at another long, a threefold division was made. Vitr. ix. 8: *Omnium autem figurarum descriptionumque earum effectus unus, uti dies æquinoctialis brumalisque itemque solstitialis in duodecim partes æqualiter sit divisus.* [Of the numerous kinds of sun-dials two at least have been preserved, the hollow hemispherical, and the flat one; which are made of marble, common stone, or bronze; while the lines upon them often bear traces of having been coloured red. The first was found at Tusculum, in 1741. Soon after, several were discovered near Castel Nuovo and Tibur, more at Pompeii. Avellino (*Descr. di una Casa*, pp. 29, 32, 60) gives copies of two sun-dials, found in the house of the ornamented capitals. The hour-lines are, in almost every instance, engraved in the same manner, and mostly bounded by the segments of two

circles. The mid-day line *m*, which is sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, is cut by another line running from East to West, upon the

Midday.



Midnight.

intersections of which with the hour lines the shadow of the gnomon *g* must fall at fixed times. On these intersecting points the hours are here marked in the modern fashion, the corresponding Roman hours being given at the end of each line. In the first, and in the twelfth hour (between 6 and 7, and 5 and 6), the shadow falls between the circle and point 7 or 5.]

On dull days there was still as much uncertainty as ever about the time of day until *clepsydræ* became known; they, in some degree, amended this deficiency. They were similar to our sand-glasses, since the water contained in a vessel was allowed gradually to escape. On their form, κώδεια (αὐλός, ἠθμός), see Becker's *Charicles*, Eng. Trans. p. 174, note 4. But they are also called *solaria*. Cic. *de Nat. D.* ii. 34: *Solarium vel descriptum vel ex aqua.* [Censorin. 23: *P. C. Nasica censor ex aqua fecit horarium, quod et ipsum ex consuetudine noscendi a sole horas solarium cœptum vocari.*] So the clepsydra was also called γνώμων by the Greeks. Ath. ii.

p. 42. The clepsydræ mentioned by Aristotle were not transparent, the use of glass being then very restricted. Later, this the most fitting material was adopted. The first clepsydra was, according to Pliny (vii. 69), publicly set up by Scipio Nasica, in the year 595 A.U.C.; but lately, doubts have been raised (Ideler, *Lehrb.* 258) as to whether this water-clock was a mere *clepsydra*, as it is named *horologium* by Pliny, and *horarium* by Censorin. *de Die Nat.* 24. It has on the contrary been taken for an actual clock of the invention of Ctesibios. From this it would further follow that that ingenious mechanician did not (as Athenæus, iv. 174, relates) live under Ptolemæus Euergetes II., but perhaps under the first, which would place his date almost one hundred years earlier, since the second did not succeed to the throne till 608 A.U.C. The latter supposition, derived perhaps from a similar, but probably erroneous account, given by Beckmann (*Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Erfind.* i. 284), appears quite unnecessary; for Ptolemy VII. had reigned in Cyrenaica since 583 A.U.C., though he did not mount the throne of Egypt till later, and even then Ctesibios could very easily belong to his age, and his water-clock still be known as early as 595.

It does not seem, indeed, that so much must be inferred from the words horologium and horarium, which after all only signify hour-measures. Pliny evidently means to say, that until this period they had been confined entirely to sun-dials, and possessed no sort of water-clock. His words are, *Etiam tum tamen nubilo incertæ fuere horæ usque ad proximum lustrum. Tunc Scipio Nasica collega Lænatis primus aqua divisit horas æque noctium ac dierum, idque horologium sub tecto dicavit anno urbis* DXCV. Now it certainly was not a single *clepsydra* which marked perhaps the lapse of one hour; but why could it not be a junction of several of various size, or a larger vessel, on which there were certain marks by which the lapse of the several hours could be perceived? This last appears to be what Sidon. Apoll. means in the passage quoted by Ideler, *Ep.* ii. 9, *nuntius per spatia clepsydræ horarum incrementa servans.* Ideler's remark after Beckmann, that *clepsydræ* were not known to the Romans till under Pompey, is not supported by the slightest hint or trace of any such thing in the dialogue *de causis corruptæ eloquentiæ;* they are not even once mentioned, and it is only said that the orators were stinted by him (Pompey) to a fixed time (28). *Primus tertio consulatu Cn. Pompeius adstrinxit, imposuitque veluti frenos eloquentiæ.* On this account, *clepsydræ* were no doubt given them, of which frequent mention is made at a later period. Plin. *Ep.* ii. 11, says, *dixi horis pæne quinque, nam duodecim clepsydris, quas spatiosissimas acceperam* (they were different

ones then) *sunt addita quatuor*. Others read, *nam clepsydræ viginti*, and this certainly accords better with the *horis quinque;* for in that case to each *clepsydra* would be assigned the fifth part of an hour, so that *quatuor viginti clepsydræ* made up, doubtless, *pœne horas quinque*. Compare Mart. vi. 35, viii. 7. [Lyd. *de Mag.* ii. 16; Burchardi, *de ratione temporis ad perorandum in jud. publ. apud Romanos.*] These clepsydræ were naturally placed in private houses also. [Cic. *ad Fam.* xvi. 18, writes to Tiro at Tusculum, *horologium et libros mittam*. Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiii. 7, 12. But in temples, basilikas, public squares, or at monuments, sun-dials only were placed. Orell. 2032, 3298; Censorin. 23; Varro, *L. L.* vi. 4; Lyd. *de Mag.* iii. 35.] The hydraulic clocks of Ctesibios, also, were probably to be found here and there, although they would scarcely do for the Roman division of the day. Nevertheless, Weinbrenner has invented a piece of mechanism by means of which, he says, it was possible to denote the various hours, Vitr. ix. 9, 2; but all these contrivances were less to be depended on than a modern wooden-clock.

In order to know the hour without giving themselves any trouble, slaves were kept on purpose to watch the *solarium* and *clepsydra*, and report each time that an hour expired. Mart. viii. 67:

> Horas quinque puer nondum tibi nunciat, et tu
> Jam conviva mihi, Cæciliane, venis.

Juven. x. 216:

> . . . clamore opus est, ut sentiat auris,
> Quem dicat venisse puer, quot nunciet horas.

The stupid Trimalchio had in his *triclinium* a *horologium*, and a *buccinator* by it, to tell each time the hour was elapsed. Petr. 26.

EXCURSUS I. SCENE III.

THE LIBRARY.

THAT an extensive library should be found in the house of a learned and celebrated Roman poet, appears quite natural, and we should miss it, if it were not there; but it would be incorrect to argue from the presence of a costly library, the literary tastes of its owner. What in the earlier periods of Roman history was the want merely of a few individuals, who cultivated or patronized literature, became by degrees an article of luxury and fashion. The more ignorant a man really was, the more learned he wished to appear, and it was considered *ton* to possess a rich library, even though its owner never took up a Greek poet or philosopher, perhaps never advanced so far as to read over the titles on the rolls, contenting himself, at the utmost, with enjoying the neatness of their exterior. Seneca, *de Tranq. An.* 9, earnestly rebukes this rage of heaping together a quantity of books in a library: *quarum dominus vix tota vita sua indices perlegit.* He ridicules those *quibus voluminum suorum frontes maxime placent titulique;* and concludes: *jam enim inter balnearia et thermas bibliotheca quoque ut necessarium domus ornamentum expolitur. Ignoscerem plane, si e studiorum nimia cupidine oriretur; nunc ista exquisita et cum imaginibus suis descripta sacrorum opera ingeniorum in speciem et cultum parietum comparantur.* Lucian also found himself called upon to scourge sharply this folly, in a particular treatise, Πρὸς ἀπαίδευτον καὶ πολλὰ βιβλία ὠνούμενον; and very justly addresses to the object of his satire the proverbs: πίθηκος ὁ πίθηκος κἂν χρύσεα ἔχῃ σύμβολα, and, ὄνος λύρας ἀκούεις κινῶν τὰ ὦτα. Comp. Mart. v. 51. Cicero, Atticus, Horace (*Epist.* i. 18, 109), the elder and younger Pliny, naturally made a very different use of their libraries; and the same may be presumed of Gallus. That a library was in his time a necessary article of furniture, may be inferred from Vitruvius, who describes it in the same manner as other parts of the house. And Trimalchio in Petronius boasts of having three libraries. According to him a library should look towards the east, for a two-fold reason (vi. 7): *Cubicula et Bibliothecæ ad orientem spectare debent; usus enim matutinum postulat lumen: item in bibliothecis libri non putrescent.* We are enabled to form a better judgment on its further arrangements by the excavations in Herculaneum, which have led to the discovery of an ancient library with its rolls. Around the walls of

this room were cupboards, not much above the height of a man, in which the rolls were kept. A row of cupboards stood in the centre of the room, dividing it into two parts, so that passages for walking only remained on the sides. It served, therefore, solely for the preservation of books, and not for using them on the spot; and as a small room could contain a considerable number of rolls, the ancient libraries do not appear to have been in general very spacious. That discovered in Herculaneum was so small, that a man could, by extending his arms, almost touch the walls on either side. See Winkelm. *Amn. z. Gesch. der Bauk.* W. i. 401; Martorelli, *de regia theca calamaria*, i. xl. [*Philosophical Transactions*, 1752, p. 71; 1754, p. 634.]

The occasional observations of ancient writers correspond very well with the results of the discovery thus made. Vitruvius (vii. *Præf.* 7) says of Aristophanes, who wished to detect plagiarisms; *e certis armariis infinita volumina eduxit.* Vopisc. *Tacit.* 8, *habet bibliotheca Ulpia in armario sexto librum elephantinum*, etc.; and also in Pliny, ii. 17: *Parieti* (cubiculi) *in bibliothecæ speciem armarium insertum est, quod non legendos libros, sed lectitandos capit.* Here then it was a wall-cupboard. [Sidon. Apoll. *Ep.* ii. 9, *armar. biblioth.*; Ulp. *Dig.* xxxii. 1, 52.] Whether these cupboards were provided with doors, and could be locked, like those in which money and so on was deposited, we cannot determine. Seneca (*Tranq.* ix.) speaks generally not of *armaria*, but of *tecto tenus exstructa loculamenta*, which can also be understood of mere open repositories. The assertion that these armaria were also called *scrinia*, is, however, erroneous. Respecting the scrinia, see the following Excursus. On the other hand, Juven. iii. 219, uses for them the expression *foruli*, which may however mean simply movable depositories. Martial very significantly calls them *nidi* (i. 118, 15; vii. 17, 5); and the comparison with a *columbarium* was certainly very obvious.

After Asinius Pollio had placed in the public library which he founded, the pictures or busts of illustrious men, the example began to be followed in private libraries. Plin. xxxv. 2; Suet. *Tib.* 70. An interesting proof of this is to be found in Martial (ix.), where, in the first epigram, the poet sends the inscription for his portrait to Avitus, who was desirous of placing it in his library. Then, in an epistle to Turanius, we read: *Epigramma, quod extra ordinem paginarum est, ad Stertinium, clarissimum virum, scripsimus, qui imaginem meam ponere in bibliotheca sua voluit.* So also in the library which Hadrian founded at Athens. Paus. i. 18, 19. (*οἰκήματα*) *ἀγάλμασι κεκοσμημένα καὶ γραφαῖς· κατάκειται δ' ἐς αὐτὰ βιβλία.*

They not only desired to exhibit the portraits of contemporaries, but, as Pliny says, *quin immo etiam, quæ non sunt, finguntur pariuntque desideria non traditos vultus, sicut in Homero evenit.* Statues also, of the Muses, for instance, were placed there (Cic. *Fam.* vii. 23), or the lofty goddess of wisdom and creative intellect presided; her statue or bust, *media Minerva* (Juven. iii. 219), giving to the spot a higher sanctity.

For the purposes of the library, not only to superintend it, but also to increase its stores, and attend to the neatness of its exterior, special slaves were kept, who belonged to the larger class of the *librarii.* The name denotes generally all those who were used for writing purposes; whence they are called also simply *scribæ.* As such, however, they are to be distinguished; first, from the *scribæ publici*, who were *liberi*, and formed an order of their own; and next, from the *bibliopolæ*, who were also called *librarii.* Comp. Eschenbach, *de scribis vett.* in *Polen. thes.* tom. iii.; Ernesti, *Clav. Cic.* s. v. *scriba.* Among the *scribæ* kept by a private individual, a distinction is made between the *librarii a studiis, ab epistolis*, and *a bibliotheca;* but whether the connection of the two words, *librarius a bibliotheca*, can be found, appears doubtful. In inscriptions it generally runs, *librarius et a bibliotheca;* and the latter would then have been the one who held the superintendence over the whole, for which purpose a librarius would naturally be used. The librarii, who transcribed for the libraries, were at a later period called *antiquarii* also. *Cod. Theod.* iv. 8, 2. Still the explanation given by Isid. *Orig.* vi. 14, *Librarii iidem et antiquarii vocantur: sed librarii sunt, qui et nova et vetera scribunt, antiquarii, qui tantummodo vetera, unde et nomen sumserunt*, can hardly be deemed the true one. It appears more correct to suppose, that when the old Roman text began to pass into the running hand, those who adhered to the old, respectable uncial character, were named antiquarii, with the same right as those authors who purposely used *antiqua et recondita verba* (Suet. *Aug.* 86), were called by this name. And hence the glossaries explain the word by ἀρχαιογράφος and καλλιγράφος.

The librarii were not mere transcribers, but at the same time book-binders, if we may apply this term to the rolls.

On this subject, see Lipsius, *de bibliothecis syntagma*, iii.; Lomeier *de bibliothecis* (in an antiquarian point of view very unimportant). [Geraud, *Sur les livres dans l'antiquité, particulièrement chez les Romains.*]

EXCURSUS II. SCENE III.

THE BOOKS.

SCHWARZ, in his learned dissertation, *De ornamentis librorum apud veteres usitatis*, has treated in detail about the external form of the books of the ancients; mixing up, it is true, much that could be dispensed with. Still much remains, even after his laborious inquiry, to be corrected and explained; and the rolls that have been discovered in Herculaneum will afford a partial enlightenment. Some points have been touched on by Becker, *ad Tibull.* iii. 1, and *Elegeia Romana*, 242. [Boot, *Notice sur les Manuscrits trouvés à Hercul.*]

The material on which the books were generally written was the fine bark (*liber*, the single layers, *philyræ*) of the Ægyptian Papyrus, which, at the time of Augustus, had been brought into such a state of perfection, by preparation and bleaching (*ablutio*), that the quality formerly considered the best (*hieratica*) was now only ranked as third rate, while that named after Augustus took the first place, and the next to it bore the name of Livia. There were various manufactories of it at Rome: Plin. xiii. 12, 23, says, after speaking of the kinds above mentioned, *Proximum* (nomen) *amphitheatricæ datum fuerat a confecturæ loco. Excepit hanc Romæ Fannii sagax officina, tenuatamque curiosa interpolatione principalem fecit e plebeia et nomen ei dedit. Quæ non esset ita recurata, in suo mansit amphitheatrica.* He mentions eight sorts in all, the commonest of which, the *emporetica*, was unfit for writing on, and only used for packing with, whence its name (*a mercatoribus cognominata*). [On the passage in Pliny see Salmas. *ad Vopisc. Firm.* 5, and Boot, *ib.*, who asserts that paper was made in Egypt, and then dressed, only, in Rome; though papyrus was certainly exported raw to Italy. Ulp. *Dig.* xxxii. 1, 52: *papyrum ad chartas paratum.* See Cassiodor. *Var.* xi. 38; Isidor. vi. 10, where seven sorts of paper are enumerated. The chief excellencies of paper were considered to be *tenuitas*, *densitas*, *candor*, *lævor*; the chief faults, which were removed by dressing, *scabritia*, *humor*, *lentigo*, *tænia*.]

The narrow strips of this paper—in the Herculanean rolls only six fingers broad—glued together, became *paginæ*, *schedæ*, which, in Mart. iv. 90, does not signify a single leaf, as in Cic. *Attic.* i. 20, but the last strip of the roll. The width, and of course the length, of the rolls varied. Those found at Herculaneum are

generally a Neapolitan palm wide, but some are narrower. [Pliny gives the breadth at from six to thirteen inches. The best sorts were thirteen; the hieratic eleven; the Fannian paper ten; the amphitheatric nine; the emporetic six inches. The roll of Egyptian papyrus, containing a fragment of the Iliad, is eight feet long, and ten inches broad. By ἁπλᾶ is meant single strips of papyrus, or books consisting of one leaf. See Ritschl's *Die Alexandrin. Bibliothek*, an excellent work. Guilandini, *Comm. in Plin. de Pap.* p. 180.]

Next to Papyrus, parchment, *membrana* (*Pergamena*), the invention of Eumenes of Pergamus, was the most practical material. Plin. xiii. 11, 21. [These sheets of parchment were folded and sewn in different sizes, like modern books; hence Ulp. *Dig.* xxxii. 52, *membranæ nondum consutæ.*] The use of it, however, was much more confined, as it was probably much higher in price. Although we read besides of writings on leather (Ulp. *Dig.* xxxii. 1, 52), or on linen (Salm. *ad Vopisc. Aurel.* viii. 439. Comp. Marc. Capell. ii. 35), or even on silk (Symmach. iv. *Ep.* 34), they must be considered as belonging to the imperfections of the more ancient, or to the eccentricities of later times, or perhaps nothing of the nature of books is alluded to. [Isid. vi. 12.]

The ink with which they wrote, *atramentum librarium*, was a kind of pigment, or Chinese ink, prepared from lamp-black [and gum]. Plin. xxxv. 6, 25: *Fit enim et fuligine pluribus modis, resina vel pice exustis. Propter quod officinas etiam ædificavere, fumum eum non emittentes; laudatissimum eodem modo fit e tædis. Adulteratur fornacum balinearumque fuligine, quo ad volumina scribenda utuntur. Sunt qui et vini fæcem siccatam excoquant*, etc. Id. xxvii. 7, 28: *Atramentum librarium ex diluto ejus* (absinthii) *temperatum literas a musculis tuetur.* [Vitr. vii. 10.] Winkelmann's account of the Herculanean MSS. agrees very well with this. "The Herculanean MSS. are written with a kind of black pigment very much like the Chinese ink, which has more body than the common ink. If the writing be held towards the light, it appears to be in slight relief, and the ink which was found still remaining in an inkstand, is a sure proof that this was the case." We must conclude, however, from Pers. iii. 12, that the juice of the *sepia* was used for this purpose, although the Scholiast denies it. He says,

> Tunc querimur, crassus calamo quod pendeat humor,
> Nigra quod infusa vanescat sepia lympha:
> Dilutas querimur geminet quod fistula guttas.

Ausonius, also (iv. 76), calls the letters *notas furvæ sepiæ*, so that it would appear that Persius used the word in its proper signi-

fication. [So Auson. *Ep.* vii. 54. Comp. Davy, *Philos. Transactions*, 1821, pp. 191, 205.] The ancients do not appear to have been acquainted with any artificial sympathetic ink, requiring a particular manipulation to become visible, and intended only for those initiated into the secret. But on the other hand, the use of some natural substances, such as milk, or the juice of a flax-stalk, for such a purpose, were not unknown to them. Hence Ovid, *Art.* iii. 627, advises,

> Tuta quoque est, fallitque oculos e lacte recenti
> Litera: carbonis pulvere tange: leges.
> Fallet et humiduli quæ fiet acumine lini,
> Et feret occultas pura tabella notas.

For more on this subject see Beckmann's *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Erfind.* ii. 295. [Avellino describes two, very beautifully wrought, antique inkstands, of bronze, with rich silver mounting. They are round, and attached to each other, one being for black, the other for red ink.]

They used, instead of the pens now employed, a reed cut like ours with the *scalprum librarium* (Tac. *Ann.* v. 8; Suet. *Vit.* 2). The best sort came from Ægypt, Cnidus, and the Anaitic Lake. Plin. xvi. 36, 64; [Appul. *Met.* i.]; Mart. xiv. 38, *Fasces calamorum:*

> Dat chartis habiles calamos Memphitica tellus:
> Texantur reliqua tecta palude tibi.

[Auson. *Ep.* vii. 48: *Grassetur Cnidiæ sulcus arundinis.* Cic. *ad Qu. Fr.* ii. 15.]

In a fresco-painting discovered at Herculaneum, there is such a *calamus* lying across an inkstand. See *Mus. Borb.* i. tab. 12; Winkelm. W. ii. tab. iii.; Gell, *Pompeiana*, ii. 187. Some petrifactions of them have also been discovered. [*Philos. Transact.* 1758, p. 620.] See Winkelm. as above, and Martorelli, *de regia theca calamaria.*

The writing was, frequently, divided into columns, [four to six inches broad,] and lines, probably of red colour, *minium*, were ruled between them. In the Herculanean rolls these lines appear white, which is easily accounted for. See Winkelm. 233. The title of the book was placed both at the beginning and the end.

In general, only one side of the *charta*, or *membrana*, was written on, and therefore Juven. i. 5, says of an inordinately long tragedy,

> . . . summi plena jam margine libri
> Scriptus, et in tergo, necdum finitus Orestes.

Perhaps, however, this was caused by an excess of economy, of which Mart. viii. 62, may be taken as an instance:

> Scribit in aversa Picens epigrammata charta,
> Et dolet, averso quod facit illa deo.

For trivial writing, as for instance the exercises of children, they used material which had already writing on one side. The passage in Hor. *Epist.* i. 20, 17, referred by Porphyrio to this, may evidently be understood in another sense, though the words of Martial, iv. 86, on directing his book to Apollinaris, cannot be misunderstood:

> Si damnaverit, ad Salariorum
> Curras scrinia protinus licebit,
> Inversa pueris arande charta.

Such *Opisthographa* (Plin. *Epist.* iii. 5) generally contained merely notes, memoranda, compilations, or even pieces of composition, of which a fair copy was afterwards to be written. If the contents of the book were, however, of no value, they would rub out all the writing, and write again on the same paper, which was then called *palimpsestus.* Cic. *Fam.* vii. 18. Comp. Catull. xxii. 4. Hence Mart. iv. 10, wished to append a sponge to his book; for

> Non possunt nostros multæ, Faustine, lituræ
> Emendare jocos; una litura potest.

The back of the book was generally dyed, with cedrus or saffron. Luc. *πρὸς ἀπαίδ.* iii. 113: *καὶ ἀλείφεις τῷ κρόκῳ καὶ τῇ κέδρῳ.* This is, in Persius, iii. 10, the *positis bicolor membrana capillis*, and in Juven. vii. 23, *crocea membrana tabellæ.* Whatever is to be understood under the term *cedrus* (Plin. xiii. 13, 86, *libri citrati.* Comp. Billerb. *Flora Class.* 199), it is at least certain, that the book was protected against worms, and its back dyed yellow by this means. [Vitruv. ii. 9, 13, explains the use of the preservative very clearly: *ex cedro oleum nascitur, quo reliquæ res unctæ, uti etiam libri, a tineis et a carie non lœduntur.* Mart. iii. 2, *cedro perunctus;* v. 6; Hor. *Art. Poet.* 331, *carmina linenda cedro.* Pers. i. 42, *cedro digna locutus.*] Ovid. *Trist.* iii. 1, 13:

> Quod neque sum cedro flavus nec pumice levis;
> Erubui domino cultior esse meo.

When the book was filled with writing to the end, a stick or reed was probably fastened to its last leaf or strip, and around this it was coiled. [Porphyr. *ad Hor. Epod.* 18, 8, *in fine libri umbilici ex ligno aut osse fieri solebant.*] These reeds, which are still visible on the Herculanean rolls, did not project on either side beyond the roll, but had their extremities in the same plane as the base of the cylinder. They are supposed to be what the ancients called *umbilicus.* See Winkelm. ii. 231; Mitsch. on *Hor. Epod.* xiv. 8; and certainly expressions such as *ad umbilicum adducere* (Horace), and *jam pervenimus usque ad umbilicos*, support this supposition. The expression would not be an unfit one for the cavity in the centre of

each disc; but if we consider that Martial, in recounting the various ornaments belonging to a book, always mentions umbilici, and never cornua—though this latter word is always used by Tibullus and Ovid, for whom indeed the word umbilicus was not adapted—(see the passages quoted below), we must be convinced that both terms signify the same thing. Besides, Mart. iii. 2, calls the umbilici *picti*, so that these cannot be merely the hollows of the tube. So Tibullus also says, *pingantur cornua*. The most any one can assume is, that the former expression has a more extended signification, and denotes the apertures with the knobs belonging to them; and in corroboration of this Martial, v. 6, 15, may be quoted:

> Quæ cedro decorata purpuraque
> Nigris pagina crevit umbilicis.

Martial mentions the cornua only once, xi. 107, where *explicitus usque ad sua cornua liber*, is equivalent to iv. 90: *Jam pervenimus usque ad umbilicos.*

A small stick was passed through the tube, serving as it were for an axis to the cylinder, and on both of its ends, which projected beyond the disc, ivory, golden, or painted knobs were fastened. These knobs are the cornua, or umbilici. The stick itself was named in later Greek, κοντάκιον.

Before this, however, the bases of the roll were carefully cut, smoothed with pumice-stone, and dyed black. [Isid. vi. 12.] These are the *geminæ frontes*, in the centre of which were the umbilici or cornua. [Mart. i. 67, *frons pumicata*; 118, *rasum pumice*; viii. 72; Catull. xxii. 8.] It is worthy of remark, that generally in the paintings at Herculaneum and Pompeii, nothing is to be seen representing such knobs, and that no trace of them has been discovered in the Herculanean manuscripts.

In order to preserve the rolls more effectually from damage, they were wrapped up in parchment, which was dyed on the outside with purple, or with the beautiful yellow of the *lutum*, *lutea* (*Genista tinctoria*, Linn.). This envelope (not a *capsa*) was called by the Greeks simply διφθέρα, and by the Romans *membrana*. Martial uses for it, x. 93, *purpurea toga*. [iii. 2; viii. 72, *murice cultus*; i. 67:

> Nec umbilicis cultus atque membrana.]

The Greek σιττύβαι is something similar. Cic. *Attic.* iv. 5. Hesych. σιττύβαι, δερμάτιναι στολαί. Nothing else is meant by Mart. xi. 1, when he says, *cultus sindone non quotidiana*. See the wood-cut in p. 332.

Finally came the title, *titulus*, *index*, which was written on a narrow strip of papyrus, or parchment, in deep red colour, *coccum*,

or *minium* [Mart. xii. 3, *quid titulum poscis.* Sen. *de Tranq. An.* 9, *indices.* Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 4, 5, σιλλύβους, see p. 331]; but it is not easy to say where this ticket was placed.

Winkelmann, 242, denies that the rolls were bound; at least no trace of it was to be found on those at Herculaneum. It is true that Martial, xiv. 36, says, *Scrinium:*

> Constrictos nisi das mihi libellos,
> Admittam tineas trucesque blattas;

but not to mention that others read *constructos*, it is not very clear how the *constringere* could serve as a protection against the *tineæ* and *blattæ*. So that this one passage offers no positive proof. [Herzberg explains *constrictos* by smoothed, and quotes Cic. *de Or.* i. 42, *quæ (ars) rem dissolutam conglutinaret, et constringeret;* but there, *constringere* means to glue together, not to smoothe. In Plin. xiii. 12, 26, *constringere* means merely to compress. And so in Mart. *constrictos* is not a technical expression; but most likely means, that the rolls were wound round so tightly, as to prevent vermin from getting in, altogether, or nearly so.] The cover itself, or the single book complete, was called by the Greek name *tomus.* Mart. i. 67.

The passages in which the ancient authors enter into a more detailed account of the ornaments of the books, now remain to be examined. In the first place, let us quote the well-known passage of Tibullus, iii. 1, 9:

> Lutea sed niveum involvat membrana libellum,
> Pumex et canas tondeat ante comas:
> Summaque prætexat tenuis fastigia chartæ,
> Indicet ut nomen litera facta meum:
> Atque inter geminas pingantur cornua frontes;
> Sic etenim comtum mittere oportet opus.

The author cannot renounce the supposition expressed in his *Eleg. Rom.*, that it should be read *tenuis charta:* for since the poet is speaking of the *index*, and the book was rolled up in a *membrana*, the title could not possibly have been upon the *charta* itself, or the *membrana* would have concealed it. *Tenuis charta* would be the strip upon which the title was written with *minium.*

The description in Ovid, *Trist.* i. 1, 5, is more complete:

> Nec te purpureo velent vaccinia fuco:
> Non est conveniens luctibus ille color.
> Nec titulus minio, nec cedro charta notetur,
> Candida nec nigra cornua fronte geras.
> Nec fragili geminæ poliantur pumice frontes,
> Hirsutus passis ut videare comis.

and that of Martial, iii. 2, 8, most comprehensive of all:

> Cedro nunc licet ambules perunctus,
> Et frontis gemino decens honore
> Pictis luxurieris umbilicis;
> Et te purpura delicata velet,
> Et cocco rubeat superbus index.

Compare i. 67, viii. 72, [v. 6. Catull. xxii:

> . . . chartæ regiæ, novi libri,
> Novi umbilici, lora rubra, membrana
> Directa plumbo et pumice omnia æquata.]

Lastly, Lucian affords an interesting contribution, Πρὸς ἀπαίδευτον, iii. p. 113, *τίνα γὰρ ἐλπίδα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων εἰς τὰ βιβλία καὶ ἀνελίττεις ἀεὶ, καὶ διακολλᾷς, καὶ περικόπτεις καὶ ἀλείφεις τῷ κρόκῳ καὶ τῇ κέδρῳ, καὶ διφθέρας περιβάλλεις, καὶ ὀμφαλοὺς ἐντίθεις, ὡς δὴ τί ἀπολαύσων;* and *περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνόντων*, sub fin., *ἅπαντες γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὅμοιοί εἰσι τοῖς καλλίστοις τούτοις βιβλίοις, ὧν χρυσοῖ μὲν οἱ ὀμφαλοὶ, πορφυρᾶ δ' ἔκτοσθεν ἡ διφθέρα.*

The *librarii* were no doubt charged with thus equipping the books. Cic. *Attic.* iv. 4. [In the following letter, where Cicero writes, *Bibliothecam meam tui pinxerunt constructione et sillybis*, Herzberg conjectures *constrictione*. But the technical meaning of *constringere* is against this emendation. *Constructio* means the arrangement, and glueing together of both the newly-written books, which as yet consisted of separate strips of paper, and also of the old volumes that were injured by age or use. This was done by the *glutinatores*, mentioned in the previous letter. So that Cicero speaks of two things in both letters; the constructio (or fastening the rolls together), and the attaching the *indices*, with which is connected the *pingere*, colouring the back, the cover, etc. They first wrote books upon separate leaves, and afterwards glued all these together. Ulpian, *Dig.* xxxii. 1, 52: *Perscripti libri nondum malleati, nondum conglutinati.*]

It became usual to have the portrait of the author painted on the first page. Senec. *de Tranq. An.* 9; Martial, xiv. 186:

> Quam brevis immensum cepit membrana Maronem!
> Ipsius vultus prima tabella gerit.

We may also perhaps assume that the paintings in the Vatican, Virgil and Terence, are imitations of a more ancient, or, at least, ancient custom! Pliny adduces Greek botanical works, in which the plants were copied, xxv. 2, 4.

The following engraving, taken from a drawing in Gell's *Pompeiana*, ii. 187, though not existing in any one place as a painting at Pompeii, may nevertheless be considered antique, as it consists

of a union of all the usual implements of writing, collected from a great number of ancient paintings in the two ruined cities.

On the left is a circular wooden or metal case, with a lid, containing six books or volumes rolled up and labelled, each according to its contents, so as to be easily distinguished. Below this lies a *stylus* and a pentagonal inkstand, not unlike those now in common use. In the centre lies a pen made of reed, and thence called *calamus*. Next to the case of books is the *tabella* or *tabulæ*, joined together as with hinges, and sometimes, perhaps always, covered with wax. Another sort is hung up above this, where the stylus serves as a pin to suspend it against the wall. A sort of thick book of tablets, open, lies to the right of the last. In the centre are seen single volumes in cases, one of which is open on the left, and the other shut. On the right are four volumes, lying in such a manner as to want no explanation, two of which have their titles, one attached to the *papyrus* itself, and the other from the *umbilicus* or cylinder of wood in its centre. The form of the books naturally dictated the shape of the cases containing them; they were cylindrical or round, greater or smaller, according as they were designed to hold one or many rolls; generally perhaps of wood, on account of its lightness. Plin. xvi. 43, 84. *Capsæ* or *scrinia*, is the name of the cases; and when Pliny distinguishes them, he perhaps, under the latter term, understands the larger ones. See Böttig. *Sab.* i. p. 102. Mart. i. 3, *Scrinia da magnis; me manus una capit;* or because in the scrinia, only books, letters, and writings were preserved, but in the capsules, other things also. Plin. xv. 17, 18; Mart. xi. 8; [iv. 33: *Plena laboratis habeas cum scrinia libris.*

Pliny, vii. 30, mentions Alexander's costly scrinium.] They are not unfrequently to be found along with Roman statues clad in the toga. [Suet. *Gramm.* 9: *statua ejus ostenditur, habitu sedentis ac palliata, appositis duobus scriniis.*] When a Roman had need of documents in public business, his scrinium was carried after him by a slave, and children of quality were accompanied to school by a *capsarius*. [On a journey, books were thus carried. Catull. lxviii. 33, 36:

> Nam, quod scriptorum non magna est copia apud me—
> Huc una ex multis capsula me sequitur.]

At other times its most natural position was beside the *lectus* in the *cubiculum*. Plin. *Ep.* v. 5. Although *custodes scriniorum* were kept on purpose, still it is not unlikely that they (scrinia) were sealed, especially when important documents were deposited in them. Martial, i. 67, 5:

> Secreta quære carmina et rudes curas,
> Quas novit unus, scrinioque signatas
> Custodit ipse virginis pater chartæ.

EXCURSUS III. SCENE III.

THE BOOKSELLERS.

As soon as the desire for foreign and domestic literature became general, and men of letters, or those who affected to be so, began to consider a library in their house indispensable, persons were to be found who gained their livelihood by supplying this want. When Cicero, *ad Quint. Fr.* iii. 4, writes, *De bibliotheca tua Græca supplenda, libris commutandis, Latinis comparandis valde velim ista confici.—Sed ego mihi ipsi ista per quem agam non habebo, neque enim venalia sunt, quæ quidem placeant*, etc., we cannot suppose that anything else is alluded to than a regular trade in books. He speaks also in like manner of the copies of the laws sold by the *librarii*, *Leg.* iii. 20, *a librariis petimus; publicis literis consignatam memoriam publicam nullam habemus*, and mentions, *Philipp.* ii. 9, a *taberna libraria*, in which Clodius took refuge. Under Augustus, we find it already becoming a distinct trade, and Horace himself mentions the brothers, *Sosii*, by whom his poems were sold. *Epist.* i. 20, 2, *ut prostes Sosiorum pumice levis. Art. Poet.* 345: *Hic meret æra liber Sosiis* (viz. the book, *qui miscuit utile dulci*). [Under the first Emperors, the trade reached its highest prosperity, and several librarii are mentioned in old authors or inscriptions, as Tryphon, the publisher of Quinctilian and Martial. Mart. iv. 72; xiii. 3; Quinct. *Inst. Præf.*; and Dorus in Senec. *De Benef.* vii. 6.] These librarii at first transcribed the books themselves [whence their name], and no doubt kept assistants for the greater and more rapid multiplication of copies of them. [These scribes were some of them the booksellers' slaves, some freedmen, who worked for hire. Probably one person dictated to several at once. The Romans of quality had also their slaves, librarii (see above), who copied the works of their masters or others; so Pomponius Atticus. Nep. *Att.* 13; Cic. *ad Att.* iv. 4, 5; xii. 6; xvi. 6. He even made a trade of it, and kept copies of several of Cicero's works on sale. Cic. *ad Att.* xii. 12, and 44; ii. 2. The labours of the scribe were no doubt often lessened by dictation. Pliny (*Ep.* iv. 7) says that Regulus had his son's life *in exemplaria transcriptum mille.*] They also went by the name of *bibliopolæ*, Mart. iv. 71, xiii. 3; Poll. vii. 33, βιβλίων κάπηλοι, βιβλιοκάπηλοι; Luc. πρὸς ἀπαίδ. i. 4, 24. Their business seems mostly to have been considered merely in a

mercantile point of view, whence celerity was desired rather than correctness. On this account Martial vindicates himself, ii. 8:

> Si qua videbuntur chartis tibi, lector, in istis
> Sive obscura nimis, sive Latina parum:
> Non meus est error; nocuit librarius illis,
> Dum properat versus annumerare tibi.

And for this reason authors obliged their friends by looking over their copies, and correcting the errors, Mart. vii. 11: *Cogis me calamo manuque nostra emendare meos libellos;* and *Epist.* 16:

> Hos nido licet inseras vel imo,
> Septem quos tibi mittimus libellos,
> Auctoris calamo sui notatos.
> Hæc illis pretium facit litura.

[Cic. *ad Att.* xvi. 6, *eas ego perspiciam, corrigam, tum denique edentur.*]

In Martial's time these librarii, or bibliopolæ, had their shops, *tabernæ*, chiefly about the *Argiletum*, i. 4, 118; but elsewhere also, i. 2, as in the *Vicus Sandalarius*, Gell. xviii. 4: *In Sandalario forte apud librarios fuimus.* Galen. *de libr. suis*, iv. 361: *ἐν γὰρ τῷ Σανδαλιαρίῳ καθ' ὃ δὴ πλεῖστα τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ βιβλιοπωλείων ἐστὶν, κ. τ. λ.* [In the *Sigillariis*, Gell. v. 4, ii. 3.] The titles of the books on sale were suspended on the doors of the shops, or if the taberna were under a portico, on the pillars in front of it. Thus Mart. i. 118, describes the place where his Epigrams were to be sold:

> Argi nempe soles subire letum:
> Contra Cæsaris est forum taberna,
> Scriptis postibus hinc et inde totis,
> Omnes ut cito perlegas poetas.

And this is what Horace, *Art. Poet.* 372, refers to: *mediocribus esse poetis non homines, non dii, non concessere columnæ;* and more plainly, *Sat.* i. 4, 71,

> Nulla taberna meos habeat, neque pila libellos;

on which see Heindorf's remarks. Comp. Seneca, *Ep.* 33. [The shelves of the tabernæ were called *nidi;* in these the works lay bound. Mart. i. 118, *rasum pumice purpuraque cultum;* viii. 61:

> Nec umbilicis quod decorus et cedro
> Spargor per omnes Roma quas tenet gentes.]

The price at which the books were sold, after all, appears but moderate, especially when we remember that the cost of the external ornaments is to be taken into account. Martial, i. 118, says, the bookseller (dabit)

> Rasum pumice purpuraque cultum
> Denariis tibi quinque Martialem;

and yet this first book contained 119 Epigrams, some of them tolerably long. He places the price still lower in *Ep.* 67, where he exclaims to a *plagiarius*,

> Erras, meorum fur avare librorum,
> Fieri poetam posse qui putas tanti.
> Scriptura quanti constet et tomus vilis
> Non sex paratur, aut decem sophos nummis.

And Tryphon, he says, could actually sell the Xenia for two sesterces. See xiii. 3. It is true he says of his poems (ii. 1), *hæc una peragit librarius hora*, so that perhaps the binding often cost more than the book. [Sidon. Apoll. v. 15.]

In what relation the bookseller and author stood to each other, is not an uninteresting subject for inquiry. People are usually inclined to suppose that the ancient authors wrote only for the sake of reputation, and did not expect any pecuniary remuneration. If, however, this may be considered as in general true, and especially in the earlier times, still there is no doubt that, in other cases, writers obtained a substantial gain from their works. This is not concluded from the *paupertas impulit audax, ut versus facerem;* for at that period Horace had only published poems intended for circulation among friends, but by which he hoped to recommend himself to the great. See *Sat.* i. 4, 71. Still if Plautus, Terence, and others, sold their comedies to the Ædiles [Gell. iii. 3; Juv. vii. 87], it will surely not appear strange that other authors should receive remuneration for their labour. Thus the elder Pliny was offered by a private individual the sum of 400,000 sest. for his *Commentarii electorum*, Plin. *Ep.* iii. 5. This was, it is true, not the offer of a bookseller, but Martial frequently states, that transactions of this nature did take place between them, as for instance, when he recommends those who wished to have his poems presented or lent to them, to purchase them of his bookseller, iv. 71:

> Exigis ut donem nostros tibi, Quincte, libellos:
> Non habeo, sed habet bibliopola Tryphon.
> "Æs dabo pro nugis, et emam tua carmina sanus?
> Non, inquis, faciam tam fatue." Nec ego.

Comp. i. 118, where the poet very humorously declines lending them; but the matter is quite clear from xi. 108, when he declares he will conclude the book, because he wants money:

> Quamvis tam longo poteras satur esse libello,
> Lector, adhuc a me disticha pauca petis.
> Sed Lupus usuram, puerique diaria poscunt.
> Lector, solve, taces, dissimulasque? Vale.

When, therefore, he elsewhere designates the business of the poet as a poor one, xiv. 219, *nullos referentia nummos carmina*,

(comp. i. 77), this must be understood of the smallness of the pay in comparison with that of other productive occupations, [for, the remuneration he got for his fourteen books of Epigrams, was much too little to support him during the number of years he was writing,] and v. 16, where he certainly says,

> At nunc conviva est comissatorque libellus,
> Et tantum gratis pagina nostra placet.

he only means, that those who took pleasure in his poems, did not reward the author, as had been the case in Virgil's time; in the same way he complains, xi. 3, that he was no richer for his epigrams being read in Britain, Spain, and Gaul; for *nescit sacculus ista meus.* This, however, does not exclude the possibility of his having, by some stipulation with the bookseller, derived a profit; and it is inconceivable how Martial, who, according to his own account, was always in want of money, should have endured quietly to look on, while Tryphon, or Pollius, or Secundus, made a considerable profit of his poems; for we have reason to believe that his books were very successful. See Hor. *Art. Poet.* 345; Mart. xiv. 194; [xiii. 3, vi. 61,

> Meque sinus omnis, me manus omnis habet.]

and as regards a later period, Sulpic. Sever. *Dial.* i. 23, who is quoted by Schöttgen, in his rather superficial treatise *De librariis et bibliopolis antiquorum*, and in Poleni, *Suppl. thes. Gr.* tom. iii. [Sen. *de Ben.* vii. 6, calls the publisher *emptor*, which shows that he acquired the copyright by purchase.]

Some of the copies, however, found their way, in the shape of waste paper, into the taverns, and to the vendors of salt-fish, from whom the school-children obtained what they needed. See Mart. iv. 86, iii. 2, xiii. 1, and particularly vi. 60, 7:

> Quam multi tineas pascunt blattasque diserti,
> Et redimunt soli carmina docta coqui.

It was not in Rome and Greece only, or in the countries into which Greek refinement was introduced, that the literature of Rome was disseminated; but also among the less civilized provinces. Hence Horace says of a good book, *trans mare curret*, and Martial is read in Gaul, Spain, and Britain. [vii. 88 viii. 61, x. 104, ix. 100, xi. 3, xii. 3.] So also Plin. *Epist.* ix. 11: *Bibliopolas Lugduni esse non putabam, ac tanto lubentius ex literis tuis cognovi vendi-tari libellos meos.* [Sidon. Apoll. *Ep.* ix 7, Hor. *Ep.* i. 20, 13. The booksellers' shops were fashionable lounges. Gell. xviii. 4, *in multorum hominum cœtu*, xiii. 30, v. 4. See Schmidt, *Geschichte der Denk-und Glaubens freiheit im ersten Jahrhundert der Kaiser;* an important work.]

EXCURSUS IV. SCENE III.

THE LETTER.

THE Roman of quality, who even at his studies used to avail himself of the hands of another to write extracts for him, still more generally employed a slave in his correspondence, which, notwithstanding all the impediments thrown in its way, by the want of public conveyances, appears to have been tolerably rapid. They had slaves or freedmen for the purpose, *ab epistolis*, who belonged to the class of the *librarii*, and were also called *ad manum, a manu, amanuenses*. Orell. *Inscr.* 1641. 2874. *Jucundus Domitiæ Bibuli librarius ad manum.* Orelli, it is true, makes the distinction; *librarius, idemque ad manum:* but the amanuensis is called also librarius. Cic. *Attic.* iv. 16: *Epistolæ nostræ tantum habent mysteriorum, ut eas ne librariis fere committamus.* Plin. vii. 25: (Cæsarem) *epistolas tantarum rerum quaternas pariter librariis dictare aut, si nihil aliud ageret, septenas* (accepimus). As correspondence was frequently carried on in Greek, they had also *libr. ab epistolis Græcis* (Orell. 2437), as well as *ab epistolis Latinis.* Id. 2997.

Before a letter was ready to be despatched, five things were required, which we find mentioned all together in Plaut. *Bacch.* iv. 4, 64:

> Chr. Nunc tu abi intro, Pistoclere, ad Bacchidem, atque effer cito—
> Pi. Quid? Chr. Stilum, ceram, et tabellas et linum.

The ring comes afterwards. Of these, the *tabellæ* were, like the *pugillares*, or *codicilli* [*codicillus* and *codex* is properly *plurium tabularum contextus.* Sen. *de Brev. Vit.* 13: Isid. vi. 13], thin tablets of wood (the pugillares also of ivory or citrus, Mart. xiv. 3, 5, and of parchment, ib. 7), and were covered over with wax (Ovid. *Art. Am.* i. 437, *cera rasis infusa tabellis*), in which the letters were formed with a *stilus.* [Isid. vi. 8, *Ante chartæ et membranarum usum, in dolatis ex ligno codicellis epistolarum colloquia scribebantur.* Ovid. *Am.* i. 12; Festus *s. v.*] They naturally varied in size. For elegant love-letters, very small tablets were used, which bore a name of doubtful signification,—*Vitelliani.* Mart. xiv. 8 and 9, *Vitelliani.*

> Quod minimos cernis, mitti nos credis amicæ.

[Schol. *ad Juv.* ix. 36.] Of this description are the *tabellæ* which Amor brings to Polyphemus in an antique painting. Still, letters were also written on papyrus. Cic. *Fam.* vii. 18 [*ad Qu. fr.* ii. 15:

Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiii. 9, 3], and Mart. xiv. 11, with the Lemma, *Chartæ epistolares:*

> Seu leviter noto, seu caro missa sodali,
> Omnes ista solet charta vocare suos.

As the smooth surfaces thus covered with wax could not be allowed to rest upon one another, and by inserting a board between them, the writing would have been obliterated by the pressure, we must suppose that the tablets had a somewhat elevated border. This supposition gains probability from an antique painting in *Mus. Borb.* vi. t. 35, in which a girl is holding the stilus and the pugillares, the two tablets of which clearly exhibit such an elevated border. So also in Gell's *Pomp.* ii. 187.

The letter being ended, the tabellæ were bound together by a linen thread, or more correctly, a fine pack-thread, probably crossways, and where the string was fastened, were sealed with wax (see concerning this and the sealing earth, *cretula*, Cic. *Verr.* iv. 9; Beckmann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Erfind.* i. 474), and stamped with the ring. Plaut. *Bacch.* 4, 96:

> Cedo tu ceram ac linum actutum, age obliga, obsigna cito.

Cic. *Catil.* iii. 5: *Ac ne longum sit, Quirites, tabellas proferri jussimus, quæ a quoque dicebantur datæ. Primum ostendimus Cethego signum: cognovit. Nos linum incidimus: legimus. Erat scriptum ipsius manu.* If the letter were written by the *librarius*, this seal afforded the only guarantee of its genuineness, for which reason the seal was generally examined, previous to opening the letter, and before it was injured by cutting the string asunder. We should almost suppose that the handwriting, being on wax, and in uncial character, must have been difficult to recognize, and yet the proof of the letter's authenticity is often taken from this. Plautus himself says (*Bacch.* v. 78): *nam propterea te volo scribere, ut pater cognoscat literas quando legat.* So Cicero in the passage quoted above, and frequently. Comp. Ovid. *Heroid.* xv. 1; Sabin. *Ep.* i. 3. [The address was, of course, written on the outside. In a fresco at Pompeii there is a letter addressed *M. Lucretio.*]

As the advantage of public posts was not known they were obliged to dispatch special messengers, unless an opportunity by chance occurred, and frequently to very remote places: tabellarii kept for this purpose, therefore, were the regular letter-carriers of private persons and are often mentioned. See Cic. *Phil.* ii. 31; *Fam.* xii. 12, xiv. 22; *Verr.* iii. 79; *Auct. bell. Hisp.* 12, 16, 18. [It remains to be observed that the above tabellæ were used as writing-materials generally; and not merely for correspondence. So the

school tablets, and the *tabulæ testamenti* (also called *ceræ*). Heindorf and Wüstemann *ad Hor.* Sat. ii. 5, 54. Small tablets (*pugillares, codicilli*) were used as pocket books to note down anything at will. Auson. *Epigr.* 146, *bipatens pugillar.* Sen. *Ep.* 108. According to the number of leaves, they were called *diptychi, triptychi*, or *triplices.* Martial xix. 6. The outer side was often ornamented with ivory, gold, or silver. Orell, *Inscr.* 3838, *pugillares membranaceos cum operculis eboreis.* Vop. *Tac.* 8. A stile (*stilus graphium*) was attached (Isid. vi. 9; Martial xiv. 21), the one end of which was pointed for writing, the other blunt for erasure. Hence *stilum vertere.* Hor. *Sat.* i. 10, 72; Cic. *Verr.* iv. 41. In the days of the emperors, the consuls, prætors, and other magistrates, used, upon taking office, to present their friends with very costly tablets, adorned with the portrait of the donor, and all sorts of symbolical devices. Symmach. *Ep.* ii. 81, v. 56, vii. 76, ix. 119; Claud. *in Stilich.* iii. 346.

> Qui (sc. dentes) secti ferro in tabulas auroque micantes,
> Inscripti rutilum cælato Consule nomen
> Per proceres et vulgus eant.

Sirmond. *ad Sidon. Ap. Ep.* viii. 6. Several of these ivory diptychi are preserved; only one of the commoner wax-tablets, dating from 167 A. D., which was found in 1790, in Transylvania. It is made of fir-wood with writing on four sides.]

EXCURSUS I. SCENE IV.

THE LECTICA AND THE CARRIAGES.

WITH the great love of comfort that distinguished the upper ranks of the Roman world in later times, we may easily imagine that sufficient provision was made for the means of locomotion unaccompanied by any exertion on their own part. We should form a very erroneous conception if we fancied that the Romans did not possess, as well as the moderns, their travelling, state, and hackney equipages: on the contrary, the means of conveyance in their times, though not so regularly organized as our stage-coaches and omnibuses, nor so generally used by all classes, were even more numerous, and, to a certain extent, better calculated for the purpose they were intended to answer, although this was intimately connected with the (to us unknown) system of slaves, and also depended on conditions of climate.

These subjects have been often and circumstantially treated of, and but little of importance remains to be added, so that we shall rather seek to select and properly apply the more essential points of what has already been made known. The most important writings are: Schefferi, *De re vehiculari veterum*, lib. ii. *in Poleni thes.* t. v., to which is appended, *De vehiculis antiquis diatribe;* Beckmann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Erfind.* i. 390; and Ginzrot, *Die Wägen und Fahrwerke der Griechen und Römer und and. alt. Völk.* 2 vols. 4; a work which has the advantage of being written by a connoisseur in these matters, though as a philologist he is by no means all we could wish. Concerning the *lectica* in particular, see Lipsius, *Elect.* i. 19; Alstorph. *De lecticis veterum, diatribe*, with the *Dissert. de lectis.*

The *Lectica.*—We have here to discuss only that description which was used for journeys, or for being carried about in, within the city: concerning the *lectica funebris*, see the Excursus on *The Burial of the Dead.* This lectica was probably like the common *lectus* in its chief points—at all events in its earlier form—except that it had no *pluteus.* It was a frame made, for the sake of lightness, of wood, and with girths across it, upon which the mattress, torus, and probably at the head a cushion, *pulvinar*, were placed. The use of girths is very intelligible, although the passages in Martial (ii. 57) and Gellius (x. 3), which have been adduced as proving their use, may be considered to allude to something quite

different. It is generally supposed that the lecticæ were, in more ancient times, uncovered (see Boettig. *Sab.* ii. 179, 200), although there appears not any ground for this opinion, as the copy of a lectica, which Scheffer after Pighius gives from a tomb, must rather pass for a lectus funebris, such as have been discovered on other monuments, worked in relief. See Goro, v. Agyagf. *Wand. d. Pomp.* tab. vi.; Ginzrot, tab. lxvii. What Boettiger after Gruter has given as a lectica, with a figure reposing on it (ibid. Fig. 3), is as unlike as possible. When mention is sometimes made of *lecticæ apertæ*, this may be understood in a different sense.

If, as is most probable, such palanquins were introduced from the East, it is also to be supposed that they were adopted in Rome in the form usual there, and were therefore covered. Such lecticæ opertæ are mentioned in Cicero's time, and even earlier. Cic. *Phil.* ii. 45: *Cum inde Romam proficiscens ad Acquinum accederet, obviam ei processit magna sane multitudo; at iste operta lectica latus est per oppidum ut mortuus.* We must take care not to infer from the last words, the usage of a lectica operta at funerals. When a corpse was conveyed from one place to another, a closely covered vehicle was no doubt made use of. Of this kind was that of C. Gracchus, mentioned in Gell. x. 3, otherwise the peasant could not have asked, *num mortuum ferrent.* Cicero himself was in a covered lectica when he was overtaken by his murderers. Plut. *Cic.* 48. Ἐσφάγη δὲ τὸν τράχηλον ἐκ τοῦ φορείου προτείνας; Aufid. Bass. *ap. M. Sen. Suas.* i. 6: *Cicero paullum remoto velo postquam armatos vidit*, etc.

The lectica had a head and curtains (*lectica tuta pelle veloque*), as Martial calls it, xi. 98; for *pellis* is the head of leather. An instance, from the same period, where a proscribed person was saved by his slave placing himself inside, whilst the master acted the part of *lecticarius*, is related by Dio. Cass. xlvii. 10, φορεῖον κατάστεγον. When therefore lecticæ apertæ are mentioned, as Cic. *Phil.* ii. 24, *Vehebatur in essedo tribunus plebis; lictores laureati antecedebant, inter quos aperta lectica mima portabatur*, we must not understand thereby a completely uncovered lectica, which was least of all suitable for a long journey, especially for a *Cytheris*, but that the curtains were drawn back and fastened up. These curtains, *vela*, were also called *plagæ* or *plagulæ*. Non. iv. 361; xiv. 5; Suet. *Fit.* 10; *cum inde lectica auferretur, suspexisse dicitur dimotis plagulis cœlum.* In later times they did not content themselves with curtains, but closed up the whole lectica with *lapis specularis*, not only for the use of the women, but also of the men. Juven. iii. 239:

> Si vocat officium, turba cedente vehetur
> Dives, et ingenti curret super ora Liburno,

Atque obiter leget aut scribet vel dormiet intus,
Namque facit somnum clausa lectica fenestra.

iv. 20:

Est ratio ulterior, magnæ si misit amicæ,
Quæ vehitur clauso latis specularibus antro.

So also we read of the *basterna*, to be mentioned presently. *Anthol. Lat.* iii. 183; *radians patulum gestat utrinque latus:* effeminacy procured more easy pillows, and had them stuffed with feathers. Juv. i. 159:

Qui dedit ergo tribus patruis aconita, vehatur
Pensilibus plumis, atque illinc despiciat nos?

An instance of still more refined luxury is to be found in Cic. *Verr.* v. 11: we subjoin the whole of this remarkable passage: *Nam, ut mos fuit Bithyniæ regibus, lectica octophoro ferebatur, in qua pulvinus erat perlucidus Melitensi rosa fartus. Ipse autem coronam habebat unam in capite, alteram in collo, reticulumque ad nares sibi admovebat tenuissimo lino minutis maculis, plenum rosæ. Sic confecto itinere cum ad aliquod oppidum venisset, eadem lectica usque in cubiculum deferebatur.* [The pulvinus is also mentioned by Senec. *ad Marc.* 16.] It may easily be inferred that there was no lack of ornament, costly wood, decorations of silver, gold and ivory, and splendid coverlets.

The poles on which the lectica was carried, *asseres*, do not appear (at least in all cases) to have been fastened to it. Whether it had iron rings, as Ginzrot (*Th.* ii. 278) has assumed, we leave undetermined. What Mart. ii. 57, says, *Recens cella linteisque lorisque*, appears to refer to this: also the *struppi* in Gell. x. 3: which assumption accords very well with the explanation of the word in Isid. *Orig.* xix. 4. It is at any rate clear that the asseres were movable, from Suet. *Cal.* 58: *Ad primum tumultum lecticarii cum asseribus in auxilium adcurrerunt;* and that by this we are to understand the carrying-poles, may be gathered from the other passages where they are mentioned. Juv. vii. 132:

Perque forum juvenes longo premit assere Medos;

comp. iii. 245; Mart. ix. 23, 9:

Ut Canusinatus nostro Syrus assere sudet,
Et mea sit culto sella cliente frequens.

Different from the lectica, and belonging to a later period, was the *sella gestatoria*. According to Dio. Cassius, Claudius was the first who made use of it (lx. 2): *καὶ μέντοι καὶ δίφρῳ καταστέγῳ πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων ἐχρήσατο, καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ νῦν οὐχ ὅτι οἱ αὐτοκράτορες ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ὑπατευκότες διφροφορούμεθα· πρότερον δὲ ἄρα ὅ τε Αὔγουστος καὶ ὁ Τιβέριος, ἄλλοι τέ τινες ἐν σκιαποδίοις ὁποίοις αἱ γυναῖκες ἔτι*

καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν ἔστιν ὅτε ἐφέροντο. But this account appears very extraordinary, if we reflect that Suetonius says of Augustus, 53: *In consulatu pedibus fere, extra consulatum sæpe adoperta sella per publicum incessit*, and that Dio. Cassius himself frequently mentions, at an early period, the δίφρος κατάστεγος; xlvii. 23, lvi. 43. It is only explicable from a gross inaccuracy in the use of the two expressions, as the interchange of them is to be found elsewhere. Thus Martial (iv. 51) says:

> Cum tibi non essent sex millia, Cæciliane,
> Ingenti late vectus es hexaphoro.
> Postquam bis decies tribuit dea cæca, sinumque
> Ruperunt nummi, factus es, ecce, pedes.
> Quid tibi pro meritis et tantis laudibus optem?
> Di reddant sellam, Cæciliane, tibi.

But the *ingens hexaphoron* can only be understood of a lectica, which is called afterwards sella; though it is evident from the interdiction of the emperor Claudius (Suet. *Cl.* 35), that they were different: *Viatores ne per Italiæ oppida, nisi aut pedibus, aut sella, aut lectica transirent, monuit edicto;* and Martial distinguishes them thus (xi. 98):

> Lectica nec te tuta pelle veloque,
> Nec vindicabit selle sæpius clausa.

and x. 10: *Lecticam sellamve sequar?* [Suet. *Dom.* 2: *sellam ejus ac fratris, quoties prodirent, lectica sequebatur.* Sen. *de Brev. Vit.* 12.] As the lectica was a litter, so was the sella a sedan, which was mostly covered, but it might also be a common uncovered easy chair; at least we so understand, when Cælius Aurelianus, i. 5 (quoted by Scheffer), opposes the *cathedra* to the *sella fertoria* (also *portatoria*). [The elder Pliny always used such a one in Rome. Plin. *Ep.* iii. 5; Lampr. *Heliog.* 4.]

The *lecticæ* were borne by fewer or more slaves, according as they varied in size. An *ingens lectica* required six or eight *lecticarii*, and was called *hexaphoron*, or *octophoron* (Juv. i. 64), *sexta cervice ferri.* We have already discussed these bearers in the account of *The Slaves;* for persons of rank and wealth kept for this purpose their own slaves, [Ulp. *Dig.* xxxii. 1, 49,] who were clad in a distinct red livery, *Canusinæ rufæ, canusinati.* See Bött. *Sab.* ii. 206. In Martial's time this dress appears to have been customary; but Nero also drove *Canusinatis mulionibus.* Suet. *Ner.* 30. Those who could not afford this, might obtain on hire abundance of litters, which stood ready at a certain spot, *Castra lecticariorum*, in the fourteenth region *trans Tiberim*, and no doubt elsewhere also. See P. Victor. *De reg. Urb. in Græv. thes.* iii. 49, and Onuphr. Panv. *Descr. Urb. Rom.* 312; Juv. vi. 352.

The question as to when the lectica came into fashion in Rome, is best answered with Lipsius,—most probably after the victory over Antiochus, when this, along with the other Asiatic luxuries, became known to the Romans. No mention is made of it earlier, and Lipsius infers from Plautus' silence (especially *Aul.* iii. 5, where the requirements of the ladies are enumerated, and *muli*, *muliones*, *vehicula* are mentioned, while *lectica* is omitted), that in his time it had not come into use. It is also a question whether this scene (*Aul.*) entirely belongs to the poet, and whether, at the renewed representation of the piece, just as in *Epid.* ii. 2, several new fashions were not introduced; for in that case, the ignorance of the lectica might be extended also to the succeeding period, to which the additions to the play would belong. The lectica does not appear to be mentioned earlier than in the fragment of C. Gracchus, in Gell. x. 3, but in Cicero's time it was common, though the use of it was confined to the country and journeys, and women and invalids (Dio. Cass. lvii. 17. Suet. *Tib.* 30. *Cal.* 27) alone used it in the city. By degrees, however, men also began to use it in the city; and what originally served merely as a distinction for certain individuals, became (Suet. *Claud.* 28, *Cæs.* 43. *Lecticarum usum nisi certis personis et ætatibus perque certos dies ademit. Dom.* 8) a general custom under the succeeding emperors.

Within the city, the use of carriages was even more restricted than that of the lectica, and the women who had obtained this privilege from the senate, by sacrificing their golden ornaments, were confined, in exercising it, to particular festive occasions, *sacra ludi*, *dies festi*, *et profesti*, Liv. v. 25, and were nearly losing it again in consequence of the second Punic war; for the *lex Oppia*, which was sanctioned through the exigences of the times, laid down, *Ne qua mulier plus semiunciam auri haberet, neu vestimento versicolori utereter, neu juncto vehiculo in urbe oppidove, aut proprius inde mille passus nisi sacrorum publicorum causa veheretur.* Liv. xxxiv. 1. The *dies festi* and *profesti*, therefore, were excluded. See Cato's speech, c. 3. This strict sumptuary law must have the more annoyed the Roman women, because those of the allies did not suffer any such restriction; it was, however, rescinded twenty years after, and from that period perhaps a greater licence by degrees crept in. [Driving in the city was forbidden; except for triumphators, higher magistrates, and priests on solemn occasions. Liv. xlv. 1; Tac. *Ann.* i. 15; Plin. *Pan.* 92; Juv. x. 36. Claudius and later emperors interdicted it afresh. Suet. *Claud.* 25; Cap. *Ant. Phil.* 23; Vop. *Aurel.* 5. This explains why there were so few stables and coach-houses in Pompeii. It is plain however, that the inter-

dict was not strictly enforced from Seneca, *Ep.* 56: *In iis quæ me sine avocatione circumstrepunt essedas transcurrentes pono et fabrum inquilinum et serrarium vicinum, aut hunc, qui ad metam sudantem tabulas experitur et tibias;* where the *meta sudans*, near which Seneca's house lay, shows that he speaks generally, and not of Baiæ, but of Rome. So in Juv. iii. 237, *rhedarum transitus arcto vicorum in flexu* is assigned as one of the many causes why one could not sleep in Rome. Wains and carts might pass early in the morning; later in the day this was not allowed, on account of the traffic in the streets. Spart. *Hadr.* 22; Plin. *Pan.* 51,—Plut. *qu. Rom.* 68, is not to the purpose.]

The use of carriages on a journey was more frequent, and no small number of names occur, though they give us but little insight into the peculiar nature of the different vehicles. The carriages found on monuments are much more frequently such as were adapted for festive processions, games, or war, than for private use, or for a journey. It is only in the main points, and in the manner of usage, that we are enabled to show how they differed from one another; any attempt at fixing their form more accurately, must always be a matter of conjecture.

We divide carriages into those having two and four wheels. To the first class belongs the *Cisium* [Non. ii. 139, explains it *vehiculi biroti genus*], probably a light uncovered cabriolet, used for quick journeys. The passages in Cicero are known. *Phil.* ii. 31, *Inde cisio celeriter ad urbem advectus domum venit capite involuto. Rosc. Am.* 7, *decem horis nocturnis sex et quinquaginta millia passuum cisiis pervolavit.* Hence also in the lampoon on Ventidius Bassus, *Catalect. Virg.* viii. 3, *Volantis impetus cisii.* It was no doubt drawn by two horses, or mules, although Auson. viii. 6, calls it a *trijuge.*

The *Essedum*, properly a British or Belgic war-car, had also two wheels: see Ruperti *ad Juven.* iv. 126, [Cæs. *Bell. Gall.* iv. 33: Virg. *Georg.* iii. 204:

Belgica vel molli melius feret esseda collo.

Prop. ii. 1, 86:

Esseda cælatis siste Britanna jugis.]

but as early as Cicero's time was in frequent use for journeys, *Attic.* vi. 1: *Vedius venit mihi obviam cum duobus essedis et rheda equis juncta et lectica et familia magna.* He had just before termed the man a *magnus nebulo*, and afterwards calculates what he would have to pay, if Curio's proposed law were to pass. Also *Phil.* ii. 24. It was a small carriage, not essentially differing from the cisium, and was also used especially for a

journey. Hence Ovid says, when he invites Corinna to come to Sulmo (*Amor.* ii. 16, 49):

> Parvaque quam primum rapientibus esseda mannis
> Ipsa per admissas concute lora jubas.

And Martial to his book, which Flaccus was to take with him to Spain (x. 104):

> Altam Bilbilin et tuum Salonem
> Quinto forsitan essedo videbis.

We perceive from the coins stamped in honour of Julia and Agrippina, that the *Carpentum* also was two-wheeled. See Sueton. *Cal.* 15. This vehicle is mentioned in the oldest times of Rome, Liv. i. 34, 48; v. 25, [Ov. *Fast.* i. 619:

> Nam prius Ausonias matres carpenta vehebant:
> Hæc quoque ob Evandri dicta parente reor.]

although it certainly had not then the form in which it appears on these coins, and, according to the first passage referred to in Livy, could not at that time have had a cover. We must not always interpret the name strictly, and fashion appears to have effected great changes in the form of the carriages. Generally, we may assume of the later carpentum, that it was a covered state-carriage, [hence also used at public festivals, and called *carpentum pompaticum*, Isid. xx. 12; Suet. *Cal.* 15; *Claud.* 11,] though it was also used for travelling. Prop. iv. 8, 23; where it means a state-equipage, with silk curtains. Comp. Juven. viii. 147; ix. 132.

The *Pilentum* differed from it, as we see from Livy, v. 25: *honoremque ob eam munificentiam ferunt matronis habitum, ut pilento ad sacra ludosque, carpentis festo profestoque uterentur.* And they are opposed to each other in Trebell. *Poll.* xxx. tyr. 29, and Lamprid. *Heliog.* 4. But whether the difference consisted in the *carpentum* being a close carriage, and the *pilentum* merely having a head on four supporters, will hardly admit of sure demonstration. [The real difference was rather this, that the pilentum had four wheels, as Isidor. xx. 12, expressly states. Several authors assert that this carriage was especially used by women. Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* vi. 666:

> —— castæ ducebant sacra per urbem
> Pilentis matres in mollibus.

Festus. *s. v.* Prud. c. Symm. ii. 1088.]

The *Covinus* was properly a Belgic carriage, armed with scythes, the shape of which Ginzrot seems to have given correctly (*Plate* xxv. 1); [Lucan. i. 426:

> Et docilis rector constrati Belga covini.]

but there were also conveyances at Rome, bearing the same name,

and possibly, like our cars, perfectly closed on three sides, and only open in front. There was no seat for the *mulio*, but the person sitting in the carriage drove the horses or mules himself, as we see from a neat epigram in Martial, xii. 24:

> O jucunda, covine, solitudo,
> Carruca magis essedoque gratum
> Facundi mihi munus Æliani:
> Hic mecum licet, hic, Juvence, quidquid
> In buccam tibi venerit, loquaris.—
> Nusquam mulio; mannuli tacebunt, etc.

The description of its form, given above, is rightly inferred by the poet's praise of its retirement and privacy.

Of the larger carriages with four wheels, the *Rheda*, or *reda*, is first to be mentioned. See Boettig. *Sab.* ii. 41. [Isid. xx. 12, *quatuor rotarum.* In *Cod. Th.* viii. 5, 8, the rheda is opposed to the *birota.*] Like the *cisium*, the *essedum*, and the *covinus*, it is said to have been of foreign origin; [Quinct. i. 5, 57;] but that is of little consequence, as the Romans no doubt made it according to their own ideas, and it perhaps denotes the travelling-carriage generally. In such a rheda Clodius met Milo (Cic. *Mil.* 10, 20), and it appears to have been the carriage in general use when a man travelled with his family and baggage. We see from Juv. iii. 10, that it was arranged for this last-mentioned purpose, *dum tota domus rheda componitur una;* and Mart. iii. 47, where Bassus travels into the country, *plena in rheda, omnes beati copias trahens ruris.* It was mostly covered, as was necessary for a long journey. That there were *rhedæ* with two wheels, does not appear clear, as they would then no longer deserve the name.

To the same class belongs the *Carruca*, which was perhaps only shorter and more elegant. The name does not appear to have been adopted till late, and Martial confounds it with the rheda (iii. 47), where we first read, *plena Bassus ibat in rheda*, and then *nec otiosus ibat ante carrucam, sed tuta fœno cursor ova portabat.* [It was used as a stage coach. *Cod.* xi. 19. But earlier, it was used also for travelling; by Nero for example. Suet. *Ner.* 30. Lamprid. *Heliog.* 31. It was constructed even for sleeping in; Scæv. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 13, *carruca dormitoria.* Paull. *Rec. Sent.* iii. 6, 91; Ulp. *Dig.* xxi. 8, 38, *mula carrucaria.* The last passages show that it was generally drawn by mules.]

The *Petorritum* also belongs to this class, according to Festus [Quinct. i. 5, 57] and Gellius, of Gallic origin, as was the name, *petorritum est non ex Græco dimidiatum, sed totum transalpibus; nam est vox Gallica.* Gell. xv. 30. Heindorf, *ad Horat. Sat.* i. 6,

103, mentions that in the Celtic lexicon of Bullet is to be found *petoar*, or *pedwar* (four), and *rit* (rad) wheel. According to Schol. Cruq. *ad Hor. Epist.* ii. 1, 192, it was a carriage for the servants, *pilenta vehicula matronarum, sicut petorrita famularum;* and this agrees very well with the first passage (*Sat.* i. 6, 103), *plures calones atque caballi pascendi, ducenda petorrita;* but we must not affirm that they were used exclusively for this purpose.

The *Basterna* was something between the carriage and the lectica, a litter borne by two mules, one before and one behind, going in shafts. [Isid. xx. 12; Schol. *ad Juv.* iv. 21; *Anthol. Lat.* iii. 183.

Aurea matronas claudit basterna pudicas.]

See concerning it, Salm. *ad Lamprid. Heliog.* 21.

The ornaments of the vehicles [especially of the body, *capsus*, or *ploxenum*, a Gallic expression. Fest. p. 280; Isid. *ib.;* Quinct. i. 5, 8; Vitruv. x. 14] were all in keeping with the luxury displayed in other matters. Pliny (xxxiv. 17) declaims against this extravagance: *Cœpere deinde et esseda, et vehicula, et petorrita exornare, similique modo ad aurea quoque, non modo argentea staticula inanis luxuria pervenit, quæque in scyphis cerni prodigium erat, hæc in vehiculis atteri cultus vocatur.* [xxxiii. 49, *carrucas ex argento cœlare.*] Such carriages were sometimes of immense value, as Mart. iii. 72, relates:

Aurea quod fundi pretio carruca paratur.

Claudius, as Censor, considered it right to do away with such an article of luxury. Suet. *Claud.* 16: *essedum argenteum sumtuose fabricatum ac venale ad Sigillaria redimi concidique coram imperavit.* [Vop. *Aurel.* 46; Paul. *Dig.* xxxiii. 10, 5.] Among the Etrurians it was customary to ornament the carriages with plates of embossed metal, as bronze (see Inghirami, *Monum. Etruschi*, iii. 18, 23), or of silver (see Millingen, *Uned. Monum.* ii. 14). Probably the essedum argenteum was ornamented in the same manner.

Their manner of connecting the animals with the carriage was quite different from ours, as these did not draw by means of traces, but by a yoke fastened to the front of the pole, and lying on their necks. This yoke was very various in form, being often only a simple wooden bow, but generally having two rounded hollows, into which the neck fitted. See the illustration in Ginzrot, i. tab. iii. b. —iv. b. If the carriage were drawn only by one horse or mule, it went in shafts, though even then a yoke was placed on it. It was only when three or four animals were employed, that the outside ones drew with traces, and they were then called *funales.* [The Homeric παρήοροι. Dion. Hal. vii. 73.] Suet. *Tib.* vi.: *Actiaco triumpho*

currum Augusti comitatus est, sinisteriore funali equo, cum Marcellus Octaviæ filius dexteriore veheretur. [Auson. *Epith.* 35, 9:

Pegasus hic dexter currat tibi: lævus Arion
Funalis, quartum det tibi Castor equum.]

Sometimes horses, at others mules, were used as beasts of burden. Of the former, the small Gallic race (*manni*, *mannuli*, and *burrichi*) was especially esteemed, on account of their speed (Salm. *ad Vopisc. Carin.* 20; Schol. Cruq. *ad Hor. Epod.* iv. 14. See Mitscherl. *ad Hor.* supra). It is evident that these manni were an article of luxury, and the possession of them indicated a man of wealth, from the indignant words, *Sectus flagellis hic triumviralibus Præconis ad fastidium Arat Falerni mille fundi jugera, Et Appiam mannis terit.*

The Romans did not always drive their own equipages; for in Rome, and also in the smaller towns of Italy, there were numbers of hack carriages, and there are many allusions from which we may conclude, that on the greater roads there were stations where they changed carriage and horses. Scheffer has already drawn attention to the fact, that in the passage of Cicero, *pro Rosc. Am.* 7, *decem horis nocturnis* LVI *millia passuum cisiis pervolavit*, the plural, *cisiis*, implies a change of carriages; and it is only in this sense that we can understand what Suetonius says of Cæsar (57): *Longissimas vias incredibili celeritate confecit, expeditus meritoria rheda, centena passuum millia in singulos dies;* for how could this have been effected with the same horses? So Mart. x. 104, seqq.,

Hispanæ pete Tarraconis arces.
Illinc te rota tollet, et citatus
Altam Bilbilin et tuum Salonem
Quinto forsitan essedo videbis.

is also to be taken.

Five days' journey may certainly be meant, but with a change of carriages, a fresh *vetturino* being most likely hired at different points of the journey. It was in such rhedæ that Horace performed a part of his journey in the company of Mæcenas.

EXCURSUS II. SCENE IV.

THE INNS.

IN the present day, when a traveller of the rank of Gallus arrives at a good-sized town, more than one hotel presents itself where obsequious waiters are ready to receive his carriage, and elegantly-furnished apartments are at his disposal,—nothing in short is omitted for his entertainment: and even in the smaller towns the same rule applies. Matters were, however, quite different among the ancients generally, and in Italy also. When there is no call for any particular branch of industry, no necessity for its cultivation is felt; and it is evident that the number and accommodations of the inns of modern times have been considerably improved by the increased propensity for travelling. The ancients, however, were quite unused to the frequent arrival and departure of large numbers of strangers, and when they did travel, had everywhere (especially if Roman citizens) private connections enough, to be relieved from the necessity of stopping at an inn.

Hence all establishments of this nature were on an exceedingly low scale, and, properly speaking, only public houses for the lower classes, to whom, naturally, a friend's house was not always open. But we should be going too far in supposing that respectable people also did not, under particular circumstances, make use of such establishments. Zell, in his essay, *Die Wirthshäuser d. Alten*, gives by far too low a character of the Roman inns. Indeed, he has only depicted one side of the tavern life, and spoken merely of the *cauponæ* and *popinæ* in Rome itself; whereas, in order to become acquainted with the use the Romans made of the inns, we ought not so much to consider those in Rome, as those to be met with on a journey. It is easily conceivable that the Roman of distinction did not spend his evening at places of public entertainment as we do; that there were no clubs or concerts, &c., and that he would never dream of lounging about in cook-shops and wine-taverns, places in as little estimation at Rome as at Athens, where Socrates used to boast of himself: *quod nunquam in tabernam conspexerat* Petr. 140. And yet as public life fell into decay, and people became less and less interested in state matters, and rather avoided than sought the Forum, the more polite classes had also places where they could pass their idle hours, though certainly these were quite different from popinæ. We must, however, first consider

those inns which presented themselves to the traveller on the high road.

Of course even those most extensively connected could not meet with the houses of acquaintances on every high road to stop at, and therefore were sometimes obliged to go to houses of public entertainment. We need not adduce in particular the well-known passage relating to Greece, in Cicero, *Div.* i. 27: *Cum duo quidam Arcades familiares iter una facerent et Megarem venissent, alterum ad cauponem devertisse, ad hospitem alterum;* or the very interesting account of a murder at an inn, in Cic. *Inv.* ii. 4, for we are not acquainted with the rank of the persons alluded to, nor do we require, in the consideration of Roman life, to draw analogies from Greece. Let us only follow the route of Horace, in the train of Mæcenas, to Brundusium, which he so humorously describes (*Sat.* i. 5), and we shall find him putting up at inns more than once. The lines of the commencement,

> Egressum magna me excepit Aricia Roma
> Hospitio modico,

may be thus understood, for he who stopped at the house of a *caupo* was also called by this word *hospes*, and neither a state-entertainer nor a private friend is meant, for Horace would have mentioned these more particularly; and, besides, *hospitio modico* would have been no great compliment. See Plaut. *Pœn.* iii. 3, 60, and v. 75, 80. It was doubtless a *caupona* also in Forum Appii at which Horace could eat nothing, on account of the badness of the water, although his companions were less particular. When he says of the next morning after the night-voyage, *Millia tum pransi tria repimus*, a breakfast in a *taberna* is probably alluded to, which might have been either in the vicinity of the temple of Feronia, or further on. Matters doubtless assumed a different aspect after he joined Mæcenas, who, with his suite, was entertained everywhere by the authorities, although they passed the night at a place which cannot well mean anything else than a caupona, v. 77:

> Incipit ex illo montes Appulia notos
> Ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus, et quos
> Nunquam erepsemus, nisi nos vicinia Trivici
> Villa recepisset, lacrimoso non sine fumo.

for the delicate anecdote in the context shows that this could not have been the villa of a friend, but a house of public resort. [Duentzer understands by *villa*, a small farm, erected by the state, where state-officers were entertained by the *Parochus*. Comp. Non. i. 239, and line 45.

> Proxima Campano ponti quæ villula, tectum
> Præbuit, et parochi, quæ debent, ligna salemque.]

Possibly the road was too heavy to allow of the travellers reaching any other place that day, and they therefore stopped at the villa which had a caupona.

But we need not advance such suppositions, as we have clearer proofs. As, for instance, the suggestion to Ballatius, that if we meet with much that is disagreeable anywhere, we must not immediately condemn the whole place, but seek out some other quarters, just as the traveller who was forced to stop at a caupona of the *Via Appia*, as a refuge from the weather, would not wish to spend his whole life in an inn, in order not to venture on the road again. *Epist.* i. 11, 11:

> Sed neque qui Capua Romam petit, imbre lutoque
> Conspersus, volet in caupona vivere.

And Propert. iv. 8, 19, when Cynthia, travelling with a favoured lover in an elegant equipage to Lanuvium, puts up in a taberna:

> Appia, dic quæso, quantum te teste triumphum
> Egerit effusis per tua saxa rotis.
> Turpis in arcana sonuit quum rixa taberna;
> Si sine me, famæ non sine labe meæ.

Again, Cicero, *pro Cluent.* 59: *Atque etiam, ut nobis renuntiatur, hominem multorum hospitum, A. Binnium quendam, coponem de Via Latina subornatis, qui sibi a Cluentio servisque ejus in taberna sua manus allatas esse dicat.* [Appul. *Met.* i. p. 110.] The instance of Antony need not be advanced. Cic. *Phil.* ii. 31: *Cum hora diei decima fere ad Saxa Rubra venisset, delituit in quadam cauponula;* nor that of Petronius, the scene of whose narration is chiefly laid in inns. See cap. xv. 19, 80. One passage shall suffice (124): *tandem Crotona intravimus, ubi quidem parvo deversorio refecti postero die amplioris fortunæ domum quærentes incidimus in turbam*, etc. Comp. Hor. *Epist.* i. 17, 8: *Si te pulvis strepitusque rotarum, si lædet caupona.*

Such inns, then, were not only to be found in the towns, but also standing isolated along the roads, as on the *Via Appia* not far from the Pontine Marshes, the *Tres tabernæ*, mentioned Πραξ. τ. Ἀποστ. xxviii. 15: Κἀκεῖθεν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἀκούσαντες τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν ἐξῆλθον εἰς ἀπάντησιν ἡμῖν ἄχρις Ἀππίου φόρου καὶ Τριῶν ταβερνῶν. Other houses were naturally built about them, and thus arose a hamlet, which obtained the name of the inn. [Schwarz *de foro Appii et tribus tabernis.*]

These taverns were probably attached to the various villas along the road, for the profit of the owners, as they thus disposed of the wine produced on their estate. Hence Vitruv. vi. 8: *Qui autem fructibus rusticis serviunt, in eorum vestibulis stabula, tabernæ sunt*

facienda. Varr. *R. R.* i. 2, 23: *Si ager secundum viam et opportunus viatoribus locus, ædificandæ tabernæ diversoriæ.* Suet. *Claud.* 38: (Senatorem relegavit) *quod in ædilitate inquilinos prædiorum suorum contra vetitum cocta vendentes multasset, villicumque intervenientem flagellasset.* The *popinæ* were restricted to the sale of drink only, under Tiberius (Suet. 34); the interdiction, however, did not continue long in force, but was removed under Claudius (Dio. Cass. lx. 6): revived again under Nero (Suet. *Ner.* 16), *Interdictum, ne quid in popinis cocti præter legumina aut olera veniret, cum antea nullum non obsonii genus proponeretur;* (Dio. Cass. lxii. 14, says, πλὴν λαχάνων καὶ ἕτνους); and again by Vespasian (Dio. Cass. lxvi. 10). To this is also to be referred, Mart. iii. 58:

Non segnis albo pallet otio copo.

The name of such inns is caupona, taberna, *taberna diversoria* Plaut. *Menæchm.* ii. 3, 81, where Menæchmeus, who has just arrived from the ship, on making use of the opportunity offered to him, from his being confounded with his brother, says to Messenio, as he goes to breakfast with the *Hetaera Erotium:*

Abduc istos in tabernam actutum diversoriam:

also similarly, *diversorium*, or perhaps more correctly, *deversorium.* See Drakenb. *ad Liv.* xliv. 43. Val. Max. i. 7, *ext.* 10, in the story above quoted from Cicero, names it *taberna meritoria*, and in Martial, vi. 94, the same is expressed by *stabulum.* And often thus in the *Dig.* and in Appul.

Similar houses of entertainment doubtless existed in Rome, but were only used by persons of the lower orders, who chanced to be there; for strangers of importance readily found an *hospitium* in a private house. [Thus the ambassadors of the Rhodians complained that they were forced to lodge at Rome, *sordido diversorio, vix mercede recepti.* Liv. xlv. 22.] For the population of the city itself, there were numerous places where refreshments were sold. The general name for these establishments was *taberna* and *caupona;* the first denotes generally every booth, not only for the sale of wares, but those of the *tonsores*, the *medici*, and *argentarii* also. *Caupona*, on the contrary, is only used for such places where wine particularly, and other necessaries, were sold; it still remains to be proved that *caupo* denotes every sort of retailer. Whenever the caupo is mentioned, he is the seller of the necessaries of life, especially wine; hence the joke of Martial, about the rain in the vintage, i. 57:

Continuis vexata madet vindemia nimbis.
Non potes, ut cupias, vendere, caupo, merum:

and hence the modest poet wishes to have for life, besides the

lanius, a *caupo*, in order to be insured a supply of meat and drink, ii. 48. The *popinæ*, cookshops, were a particular class, in which cooked meat chiefly, but drinks also, were sold; whilst the *caupo* mostly sold his refreshments to be taken out of the shop, the *popa* (the occupier of the *popina*) sold his viands for consumption in the *taberna*, and drew wine which was drunk on the premises. Cic. *Mil.* 24: *Quin etiam audiendus sit popa Licinius nescio quis de Circo maximo: servos Milonis apud se ebrios factos sibi confessos esse*, etc.; then, *sed mirabar tamen credi popæ.* [Hor. *Ep.* i. 14, 21, *uncta popina.*] Originally, only persons of the lowest class and slaves were to be found taking their seats on the chairs of the taberna, and to do so was considered unseemly. [Juv. viii. 172 mentions *nautæ, fures fugitivi.*] The neat epigram of Martial (v. 70) alludes to this:

> Infusum sibi nuper a patrono
> Plenum, Maxime, centies Syriscus
> In sellariolis vagus popinis
> Circa balnea quatuor peregit.

Even if we were disposed to assign to the passage another meaning, and compare the *sellariolæ popinæ* with the *lecticariola* (xii. 58), the following verses clear up all doubt as to the meaning:

> O quanta est gula, centies comesse!
> Quanto major adhuc, nec accubare!

In later times such eating-houses were the lounge of idle and disorderly-living persons of the better classes; [as Gabinius in Cic. *in Pis.* 6; and Thrasyllus in Appul. *Met.* viii. init. See Juv. viii. 158; Suet. *Gramm.* 15; *Vit.* 13;] and it is clear that good entertainment was to be met with in them, from Syriscus having squandered away in a short time *centies* sesterces; for which no doubt pleasures of all sorts were to be had.

Ganeum, or *ganea*, is so far different, that every popina may certainly be called a ganeum, though not *vice versa*. The ganeum means generally only a place for secret debauchery, whence Livy twice (xxvi. 2, and *Epit.* l. c.) joins it with *lustrum*. [Cic. *Sext.* 9, *ganeis adulteriisque confectus.* Suet. *Cal.* 11.]

What Plautus (*Curc.* ii. 13, 10; *Rud.* ii. 6, 45; *Trin.* iv. 3, 6) calls *thermopolium*, is nothing more than the popina, as we see from the imperial interdicts which are cited.

Salmasius *ad Spart. Hadr.* 22, says that tabernæ in Rome were never opened before the ninth hour. Although we have not the authority of any old author, to quote in opposition to this assertion, it appears scarcely credible in itself, as doubtless many took their *prandium* there, and several passages occur which cannot at all be reconciled with it. In the case of the baths and *lupanaria* (see

the Excursus Sc. VI. and Exc. 1 Sc. VII.), it is very natural that a fixed hour was appointed, before which they could not be opened; but as regards the eating-houses, no proof has been adduced, nor does such a restriction appear admissible. Passages in opposition to it are Plaut. *Most.* iv. 2, 52:

> Vide sis, ne forte ad merendam quopiam devorteris,
> Atque ibi meliuscule, quam satis fuerit biberis.

Menœchm. v. 1, 3:

> Immersit aliquo sese credo in ganeum:

but it is about mid-day, and Menæchmeus is himself just coming from prandium. *Pseud.* ii. 2, 63, Harpax says:

> Ego devortor extra portam huc in tabernam tertiam.

and v. 69, *ubi prandero dabo operam somno.* The most decisive proof is to be found in Plaut. *Pœn. Prol.* 40:

> Et hoc quoque etiam, quod pæne oblitus fui,
> Dum ludi fiunt, in popinam pedisequi
> Irruptionem facite: nunc dum occasio est,
> Nunc dum scribilitæ æstuant, occurrite.

and if we are not inclined to attach much weight to this passage, as being a joke, let us add thereto an actual fact. Cic. *Pis.* 6: *Meministine, cœnum, cum ad te quinta fere hora cum C. Pisone venissem, nescio quo e gurgustio te prodire, involuto capite, soleatum? et cum isto ore fœtido teterrimam nobis popinam inhalasses, excusatione te uti valetudinis, quod diceres, vinolentis te quibusdam medicaminibus solere curari?*

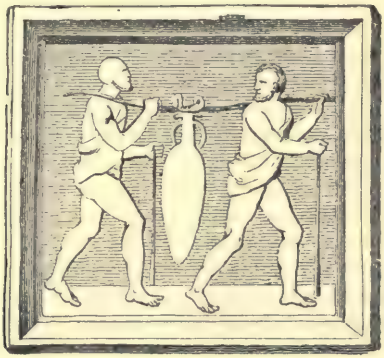
The whole class of innkeepers was despised in Rome, and it is very easy to perceive why. When Hor. *Sat.* i. 1, 29, calls them *perfidi* and *maligni* (5, 4), [Mart. iii. 57, *callidos*] it is 'because people of this kind were infamous in Greece and Rome, for cheating, adulteration of wares, and fraud of every description; so that in Greek, καπηλεύειν means also to adulterate.' Heind. *ad* I. i. 29. The popina also exhibited generally, if not always, the union of all kinds of debauchery. [The interdicted game of hazard was most likely played in the popinæ. Mart. v. 84:

> Arcana modo raptus e popin
> Ædilem rogat udus aleator.

So that the surveillance of the ædiles was very necessary. Suet. *Tib.* 34; *Claud.* 38.] There were perhaps among the rest exceedingly dirty holes, as may fairly be expected from the character of the company. Comp. Stockmann, *De popinis Rom. L.* 1805. [Wunderlich, *De Vett. popinis;* Scheid, *De cauponum origine.*]

Respectable people therefore did not, at least till a later period,

enter such houses or booths; but they were not without places of social entertainment, for not unfrequently many assembled in the *medicinæ*, *tonstrinæ*, and such like places, for their recreation. See Salmas. *ad Plaut. Epid.* ii. 2, 14; and Heindorf *on Hor. Sat.* i. 7, 3. At a later period it was customary to congregate in the *tabernæ librariæ*, and in the *gymnasia*, to converse on all manner of subjects. Gell. xiii. 30: *Laudabat venditabatque se nuper quispiam in libraria sedens.* But the public baths were the chief places of assembling. [In the so-called *lupanar*, at Pompeii, there is a fresco representing several persons sitting and drinking in a tavern. The utensils of such an establishment are enumerated. Paull. *Dig.* xxxiii. 7, 13, *dolia*, *vasa*, *ancones*, *calices*, *trullæ*, *urnæ*, *congiaria*, etc. The woodcut below is from a shield carved in stone, in a tavern at Pompeii.]



EXCURSUS. SCENE V.

THE GARDENS.

THE description given in the Fifth Scene of the gardens belonging to the villa, may appear but little in accordance with the habits and tastes of antiquity, and many may be inclined to imagine that some garden in the old French mode of the seventeenth or eighteenth century had served as a model. But the old proverb, that there is nothing new under the sun, holds good in this case. Gardens laid out in this style, in which vegetation was forced into stiff geometrical figures, and the knife and shears of the gardener annihilated every vestige of nature's free dominion, were in fashion at Rome, and not reserved for the invention of a later age. [This is further evident from the frescos at Pompeii, representing gardens.] Indeed the ancients were more deserving of excuse for such absurdities, for the means afforded by nature in those days were but small in comparison with the abundant resources of our time. Foreign countries had not as yet unfolded their rich treasures of luxuriant and splendid vegetation, nor their thousand shrubs and flowers; and restricted to a barren *flora*, but little improved by culture, the Romans sought to create, by artificial means, a striking contrast to the free forms of Nature; and their trees and shrubs, such as the laurel, the cypress, the taxus, the buxus, the myrtle, and the rosemary, [which in Italy reaches to the height of six or seven ells,] being in some measure naturally stiff in form, were quite adapted for their purposes. Were we to take from our parks the ornament of the seringas, bignonias, spiræa, the cytisus, the ribes, and pyrus—were we to banish from our flower-beds the magnificent tulips and hyacinths, the numerous varieties of roses and dahlias, the rich fund of perennials and annuals, we should soon begin to think how we could, by means of artificial designs, distinguish the garden from the woods and fields. [Wüstemann more correctly thinks that this odd taste was an imitation of Oriental gardening; for the Greeks knew nothing of these unnatural forms.]

It may certainly be doubted whether there were at that period entire gardens laid out in this formal fashion. On the contrary, we may conclude, from the descriptions extant, that a mixture was resorted to, and that artificially trained hedges and alleys alternated with thickets and clear green spaces, and in most cases vines, fruit, and even vegetables, were not excluded.

It is strange that the Romans had no fixed name for the gardener, *hortulanus* being a term of later date. He is designated either by the more general term *villicus*, [who, as such, took care of the gardens situated at villas. So in Sen. *Ep.* 12, the villicus has to attend to the *platani*,] *cultor hortorum*, or in respect of individual portions of the garden, *vinitor*, *olitor*, [*arborator*.] But the proper fancy-gardener was called *topiarius;* and it is best to connect with this name whatever is to be said concerning the period and nature of such gardens.

Topiarii are mentioned by Cicero, and indeed as in general use, though this would not justify us in transferring their art to the vagaries of a later period. [Also in inscriptions; Orell. 2966. See Salmas. *ad Spart. Hadr.* 10.] He names them among the more respected slaves, *Parad.* v. 2: *Ut in magna stultorum familia sunt alii lautiores, ut sibi videntur, sed tamen servi, atrienses, topiarii*, and expresses himself satisfied with his own *topiarius*, *ad Quint. fr.* iii. 1, 2: *topiarium laudavi: ita omnia convestit hedera, qua basim villæ, qua intercolumnia ambulationis, ut denique illi palliati topiariam facere videantur et hederam vendere.* This covering of the walls, the trees, and the terraces with ivy, evergreen, and acanthus, was entirely the business of the *topiarius;* hence Pliny (xxi. 11, 39) says, *Vinca pervinca semper viret, in modum lineæ foliis geniculatim circumdata, topiaria herba;* and xxii. 22, 34, *Acanthos est topiaria et urbana herba.* In the same manner the trees round the Hippodrome in the Tuscan villa of the younger Pliny, were clad with ivy. *Ep.* v. 6, 32: *Platanis circuitur, illæ hedera vestiuntur, utque summæ suis, ita imæ alienis frondibus virent. Hedera truncum et ramos pererrat, vicinasque platanos transitu suo copulat.* In addition to this they found sufficient occupation in the disposition and care of numerous arbours and covered paths, constructed especially of vines. But these simple ornaments of the garden were not enough; trees and shrubs received, by means of tying up and pruning, artificial shapes; walls, figures of beasts, ships, letters, and so forth, were made out of them. The elder Pliny testifies how far people used to go in these absurdities. Speaking of the cypress, he says (xvi. 33, 60): *Metæ demum aspectu non repudiata, distinguendis tantum pinorum ordinibus, nunc vero tonsilis facta in densitate parietum coercitaque gracilitate perpetuo tenera. Trahitur etiam in picturas operis topiarii, venatus classesve et imagines rerum tenui folio brevique et virenti semper vestiens.* The *buxus*, which played such a prominent part in the garden of the Tuscan villa, was used in a similar manner. [So also laurel and myrtle: Plin. *H. N.* xv. 39.] The description of it given by Pliny (*Ep.* v. 6) is the main source of our knowledge

about the ancient art of gardening. Among other things he says (sect. 16): *Ante porticum xystus concisus in plurimas species, distinctusque buxo; demissus inde pronusque pulvinus, cui bestiarum effigies invicem adversas buxus inscripsit. Acanthus in plano mollis et pœne dixerim liquidus. Ambit hunc ambulatio pressis varieque tonsis viridibus inclusa; ab his gestatio in modum circi, quæ buxum multiformem humilesque et retentas manu arbusculas circumit. Omnia maceria muniuntur. Hanc gradata buxus operit et subtrahit.* [Firmic. *Math.* viii. 10: *Buxeas arbores tondentes in belluas fingunt aut virides porticus in circulum flexis vitibus faciunt.*] The treacherous bear that conceals a snake in his jaws decidedly belongs to these *bestiarum effigies.* Mart. iii. 19:

Proxima centenis ostenditur ursa columnis,
  Exornant fictæ qua platanona feræ.
Hujus dum patulos alludens tentat hiatus
  Pulcher Hylas, teneram mersit in ora manum.
Vipera sed cæco scelerata latebat in ore,
  Vivebatque anima deteriore fera.

Such bears are to be found amidst similar company in gardens, even in the present times. The description given in another part of Pliny (sect. 35) corresponds still more with the cones, pyramids, and letters of modern gardens. *Alibi pratulum, alibi ipsa buxus intervenit in formas mille descripta, literas interdum, quæ modo nomen domini dicunt, modo artificis. Alternis metulæ surgunt, alternis inserta sunt poma, et in opere urbanissimo subita velut illati ruris imitatio. Medium spatium brevioribus utrimque platanis adornatur. Post has acanthus hinc inde lubricus et flexuosus; deinde plures figuræ pluraque nomina.* [Plane-trees and cypresses were also cut unnaturally short. Plin. *H. N.* xii. 6: *Chamæplatani vocantur coactæ brevitatis, quoniam arborum etiam abortus invenimus. Hoc quoque ergo in genere pumiliorum infelicitas dicta erit. Fit autem et serendi genere et recidendi. Primus C. Matius ex equestri ordine Augusti amicus, invenit nemora tonsilia.* xvi. 60. Wüstemann, *Kunstgärtnerei der Römer.*]

The vacant spaces set with flowers and borders were possibly in accordance with the taste of the whole garden, and subdivided into various forms by enclosures of box, as in the French gardens of the present day. At least we may gather as much from what the same Pliny says about the *xystus* before the *porticus* of his villa (sect. 16): *Ante porticum xystus concisus in plurimas species, distinctusque buxo:* for these *plurimæ species* cannot well pass for anything else than the small beds (*areolæ*) of divers forms. Frequently, too, such borders may have been elevated terrace-fashion (*pulvini surgentes:*

Plin. xxii. 22, 34; Gierig, *ad Plin. Ep.*), in which case, the margin rising in the form of an arch (*torus*, Plin.), was covered with evergreen or bears-foot.

The *gestatio* and *hippodromus* were essential parts of such gardens. The former was a broad regular pathway, perhaps to be compared with an alley, although not always in a straight line, in which they used to be carried about in the lectica, when they did not wish for any violent exercise. It is true that Celsus (ii. 15) says, *Genera gestationis plura sunt: lenissima est navi, vel in portu, vel in flumine; vel in lectica aut scamno; acrior vehiculo;* from which we might suppose that the gestatio was also designed for being driven in. But where there was a regular hippodrome, such a use of it would seem to be superfluous, and Celsus uses the word in its most extended meaning.

Gierig (*ad Plin.* sect. 32) has rightly explained the hippodrome, and defended the word against the other reading *hypodromus*. We cannot conceive that Pliny means a covered pathway. It was evidently a course similar to a circus, with several ways, separated by box-trees. Not only does the passage adduced by Gierig from Martial (xii. 50) prove that there were such hippodromes in gardens,

> Pulvereumque fugax hippodromon ungula carpit,
> Et pereuntis aquæ fluctus ubique sonat:

but also *Epigr.* 57, 20, where the poet, in answer to the question of Sparsus, why he so often visited his badly situated Nomentan villa, says, he can certainly very easily do without the country, when in Rome itself he has as good as a villa:

> Cui plana summos despicit domus montes,
> Et rus in Urbe est vinitorque Romanus;
> Nec in Falerno colle major auctumnus,
> Intraque limen latus essedo cursus.

These parts of the garden were possibly less artificial, and here it is that we must look for the so often mentioned woods of laurel and plane-trees (*platanones*, *daphnones*), and myrtle thickets (*myrteta*). Mart. iii. 58, x. 79, xii. 50. It was then the business of the *topiarius* to maintain all these various parts of the garden in proper order. It is doubtful whether the *viridarii*, whose name often occurs in inscriptions, differed from them. We may perhaps understand the latter word of those who took care of the *viridaria* in the houses, the *cavædium* and *peristylium*, as well as the gardens on the roof; but there is no sufficient ground for making such a distinction. On the contrary, Ulpian (*Dig.* xxxiii. 7, 8) says: *dolia, etiamsi defossa non sint, et cupæ quibusdam in regionibus accedunt instrumento: si villa cultior est, etiam atrienses, scoparii: si etiam viridaria,*

topiarii. [Ulpian says nothing against making a distinction between *topiarius* and *viridarius.* In the above passage he speaks only of a villa, where a topiarius had charge of all the gardens, consequently of the small *viridaria* also; whilst the viridarius, who probably ranked lower, was especially designed for the small house-gardens in the city.]

Besides him, however, we must suppose the existence of a particular *aquarius* [ὑδραγωγός], under which term is neither to be understood one of the *collegium fontanorum*, nor a water-carrier, nor a *minister aquæ* at table, but a slave who constructed and kept in order all the aqueducts, as well as very ingenious fountains (of course also in the city residence). Such a one appears to be meant in Paull. iii. 7: *Domo cum omni jure suo, sicut instructa est, legata, urbana familia item artifices et vestiarii et diœtarii et aquarii eidem domui servientes legato cedunt.*

Much might be said concerning the flowers known to the Romans: for though the Flora of those days was but poor in comparison with ours, still Beckmann is wrong in supposing (*Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Erfind.* iii. 296) that the Romans contented themselves solely with the wild plants, and laid out neither flower-gardens, nor cultivated any exotics. But it would be useless to set down a mere catalogue of the important names of flowers given by Virgil, Pliny [xxi. 38], Columella, and others, and to enter into a more accurate investigation would require a special work: for after all that Voss, Schneider, Billerbeck (*Flora Classica*), Sprengel (*Historia rei Herbariæ*), and others, have said on the subject, we still are in want of a detailed critical elaboration of the classical Flora.

We may take for granted in general that the *violaria* and *rosaria* were the main ornaments of the gardens. Next came the bulbous plants, the crocus, narcissus, lilies, of more than one sort, gladiolus, irides, also hyacinths, in our sense of the word (*hyacinthus orientalis*, probably meant by Col. x. 100, 149, is understood by Schneider to mean iris), poppies, amaranthi, and so on. The rose was much grown, as it was the flower chiefly used for garlands; and the proverb *sub rosa* bears testimony to the fact. It also serves to mark the regular *comissatio.* Mart. x. 19, 19. *Cum furit Lyæus, cum regnat rosa, cum madent capilli;* and iii. 68, 5, *deposito post vina rosasque pudore.* Myrtle and roses were a common intermixture. See Mitscherlich *ad Hor. Od.* i. 38. The heavy *centifolia* was less adapted for garlands. Pliny, xxi. 4. The Milesian (Pliny, *ardentissimo colore non excedens duodena folia*) is, according to Billerbeck (*Flora Classica*, p. 133), the damask rose, under which name is probably not to be understood that so called by our gardeners, but a variety

of the *rosa lutea*, with a bright red flower; but as this has not *duodena folia*, we must rather suppose a *holoserica* to be meant. Perhaps after all, amid the endless present varieties, the true Milesian rose is no longer distinguishable. More will be said on the *coronæ* in the Excursus on the Chaplets and Games.

Green-houses, for the protection of the more tender kinds of exotics against cold, and for the production of flowers and fruits at other seasons than nature assigned to them, do not appear to be mentioned before the first century. Martial alludes to them frequently, as viii. 14:

> Pallida ne Cilicum timeant pomaria brumam,
> Mordeat et tenerum fortior aura nemus,
> Hybernis objecta Notis specularia puros
> Admittunt soles et sine fæce diem.

and viii. 68:

> Invida purpureos urat ne bruma racemos,
> Et gelidum Bacchi munera frigus edat,
> Condita perspicua vivit vindemia gemma,
> Et tegitur felix, nec tamen uva latet.—
> Quid non ingenio voluit natura licere?
> Auctumnum sterilis ferre jubetur hiems.

This was a regular hot-house, where winter-grapes were grown. Columella (xi. 3, 52) teaches how to have early melons, and Pliny (xix. 5, 23) relates of the portable gherkin and melon-beds of Tiberius: *Nullo quippe non die contigit ei pensiles eorum hortos promoventibus in solem rotis olitoribus, rursusque hibernis diebus intra specularium munimenta revocantibus.* [Salmas. *ad Script. Hist. Aug.* i. p. 419.] We see from Martial (iv. 21, 5) that flowers also were forced in green-houses:

> Condita sic puro numerantur lilia vitro;
> Sic prohibet tenuis gemma latere rosas.

When therefore Böttiger says (*Sab.* i. 253), 'Among the fruits which Martial in his *Apophoreta* has ennobled with his distichs, there were no doubt several made only of wax, and the garlands of roses, in the middle of December, which he calls (xiii. 127) *festivas coronas brumæ*, were probably made of coloured wax;' this is a perfectly untenable conjecture, and an incorrect account, for the reading is not *festivas rosas*, which would not suit the metre, but the epigram runs thus:

> Dat festinatas, Cæsar, tibi bruma coronas:
> Quondam veris erat, nunc tua facta rosa est.

But in *festinatas* lies the most convincing proof that they were forced roses. Compare vi. 80:

Ut nova dona tibi, Cæsar, Nilotica tellus
Miserat hibernas ambitiosa rosas:
Navita derisit Pharios Memphiticus hortos,
Urbis ut intravit limina prima tuæ.
Tantus veris honos, et odoræ gratia Floræ,
Tantaque Pæstani gloria ruris erat.

[It appears also from this epigram, that, as the supply of native roses did not equal the excessive demand for them at Rome, roses were imported from Egypt; and this in winter. Of course means were used for keeping them as fresh as possible on the road.] Comp. iv. 28. But it is not necessary to suppose that in every case where *rosæ hibernæ* are mentioned, we must understand roses artificially forced in hot-houses. The roses of Pæstum bloomed for a second time in the autumn, *biferi rosaria Pæsti*, Virg. *Georg.* iv. 119; Mart. xii. 31; and when in mild winters the *rosa pallida* is seen to bloom in Germany in the open air at Christmas, and even in January, why should not the same thing have been possible in a milder climate? Roses and garlands of wax are not in any case to be thought of. [That they had artificial flowers, is beyond all doubt. See the Excursus on the Chaplets and Games.

Fruit-trees were, partly, to be found in the midst of large gardens, among other sorts of trees (Plin. *Ep.* v. 6, 35), although Becker interprets this passage differently; partly in the fields, or in orchards (*pomaria*), where they stood in a quincunx. Col. *de Arb.* 19. Their cultivation was very common; hence Varro says, *R. R.* i. 2: *non arboribus consita Italia est, ut tota pomarium videatur.* See also Cato, Varro, Columella, and others *passim*. But it afterwards degenerated into luxury. Plin. *H. N.* xix. 19: *Ferendum sane fuerit exquisita nasci poma, alia sapore, alia magnitudine, alia monstro pauperibus interdicta.* xi. 1. The chief kinds of fruits among the Romans are as follows.]

Honey-apples, *melimela, a sapore melleo.* Plin. xv. 10, 14, 15. These were one of the earliest species of apples; but did not last long; while, on the other hand, the *Amerina* kept longest. Plin. 16. On the melimela, which are often mentioned by Martial, see Schneider *ad Varr.* i. 59. [Besides these, there were the *orbiculata, cotonea, Sestiana, Matiana, Amerina.* Colum. xii. 45; v. 10; Macrob. ii. 15.] Among the sorts of pears (of which Pliny enumerates thirty), the most valued were the Crustumian. Plin. xv. 16; Voss *ad Virg. Georg.* ii. 88, the Falernian, and the Syrian. Mart. v. 78, 18. Comp. Colum. v. 10, 17. The *volema*, fist-pear, was chiefly celebrated on account of its size. Virg. *gravis*, Col. *ib.* Cat. 7, 3; perhaps the same that Pliny calls *libralis*. Macrob. ii. 15.

There were numerous varieties of plums, *ingens turba prunorum*, says Pliny, xv. 12. Among these were the *Armeniaca*, *cereola* or *cerima*, *Damascena*. [Col. x. 404.] The latter were imported dry from that country. Mart. xiii. 29. [The drying of fruits was also very common in Italy. Pall. iii. 25, xii. 7; Col. xii. 14. They had also cherries, quinces, peaches, pomegranates (*malum Punicum*, Colum. v. 10; *de Arb.* 23; Plin. xv. 11); several sorts of figs (Macrob. ii. 16; Plin. xv. 19; Col. v. 10); nuts (Macrob. ii. 14; Col. v. 10; Plin. xv. 24; Cat. 8); chestnuts (Pallad. xii. 7; Col. iv. 33; Plin. xv. 25, xvii. 34); almonds, medlars, and mulberries. (Plin. xv.) The cultivation of wine and olives was of great importance. The oil (Col. v. 8) was used for food as well as for burning and anointing. The Venafran and Tarentine were celebrated. Varro, *R. R.* i. 2. On the different sorts of olive-trees (*oleæ*), see Plin. *H. N.* xv. 1, xvii. 29; Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 16; Col. v. 8; Cat. 6. The vine was either grown in vineyards (*vinea*) attached to poles; or to trees (such gardens were called *arbustum*); or it grew against houses, or the arcades of the interior. Plin. ii. 165. Vine-arbours were called *pergulæ*. In this branch, which was considered by the Romans quite the climax of horticulture, they displayed much cleverness; upon which they prided themselves not a little. Plin. xiv. 2. There were more than thirty sorts of grapes, partly for the table, partly for wine: the *Aminea*, *Nomentana*, *euganea*, *Allobrogica*, *Apicia*, *gemella*, were among the best. Col. iii. 5; Pallad. ii. 10; Cato, 6; Macrob. ii. 16; Plin. xiv. xvii. 35. See more in Excurs. 4, Sc. IX.

On the vegetables, see Excurs. 1, Scene IX. Comp. Cic. *de Sen.* 16.]

In conclusion, we may remark, that in Rome there were also window-gardens (flower-pots in the windows): we cannot otherwise understand what Martial says, xi. 18:

> Donasti, Lupe, rus sub urbe nobis;
> Sed rus est mihi majus in fenestra.

[Above all, Plin. *H. N.* xix. 19: *Jam in fenestris cuis plebs urbana in imagine hortorum quotidiana oculis rura præbebant, antequam præfigi prospectus omnes coegit multitudinis innumeratæ sæva latrocinatio.* Respecting the *solaria*, see above.]

EXCURSUS I. SCENE VII.

THE BATHS.

THE bath was a most important event in the every-day life of the Romans of that period which is here principally described, and one of their most essential requirements. Bodily health and cleanliness, although its original object, had long ceased being the only one; for the baths, decorated with prodigal magnificence, and supplied with all the comforts and conveniences that a voluptuary could desire, had become places of amusement, whither people repaired for pastime and enjoyment. In earlier times, bathing was much less frequent, as Seneca tells us, citing the authority of more ancient authors. *Epist.* 86: *Nam, ut aiunt, qui priscos mores urbis tradiderunt* (perhaps Varro) *brachia et crura quotidie abluebant, quæ scilicet sordes opere collegerant: cæterum toti nundinis lavabantur.* Cato, *de lib. educ.* in Non. iii. 5, v. *ephippium: Mihi puero modica una fuit tunica et toga, sine fasciis calceamenta, equus sine ephippio, balneum non quotidianum, alveus rarus.* And Columella does not approve of the slaves bathing daily or frequently (i. 6, 20): *nam eas quoque* (balneas) *refert esse, in quibus familia, sed tantum feriis lavetur, neque enim corporis robori convenit frequens usus earum.*

Hence the ancient baths, both public and private, being, in the words of Seneca, *in usum, non oblectamentum reperta,* were of very simple construction. In the villa of Scipio Africanus, where Seneca found so much cause for instituting a comparison between the ancient and modern times, there was a *balneolum angustum, tenebricosum ex consuetudine antiqua.* Then he says: *non videbatur majoribus nostris caldum, nisi obscurum;* and further on: *In hoc balneo Scipionis minimæ sunt rimæ magis quam fenestræ, ut sine injuria munimenti lumen admitterent.* So also he designates the public baths as *obscura et gregali tectorio inducta.* The ancients seem to have confined themselves merely to a cold and a warm bath, the temperature of which was under the superintendence of the ædiles, as Seneca relates in the letter mentioned. Eventually, sweating and hot-water baths were added. [The ædiles superintended not merely the temperature and cleanliness of the baths, but also preserved public decorum; particularly in reference to the two sexes; who were not allowed to bathe together.]

We are rich in means to enable us to form a clear idea of the arrangement of the Roman baths, as we not only possess the works of several ancient writers who have either given plans for constructing baths, or descriptions of them, but also considerable remains, which agree with the accounts that have been handed down to us. Of the authors we must mention first Vitruvius (v. 10), and Palladius (i. 40), who treat of the plan of the baths. In addition to whom, Lucian (Ἱππίας ἢ βαλάνειον); Pliny, in both the letters about his villas (ii. 17); Statius (*Balneum Etrusci*); *Silv.* i. 5; Martial (vi. 42); and Sidon. Apoll. (*Epist.* ii. 2), have left interesting accounts; and we obtain from the epigrams of Martial, and from Seneca (*Epist.* 51, 56, and 86), numerous notices on the nature of the baths, and life in the same.

But the remains, at present in existence, of ancient baths themselves, are much more instructive than all these written accounts; among which are the ruins of the baths of Titus, Caracalla, and Diocletian, in Rome. It would be difficult to explain, with any degree of certainty, the proper connection of the various parts of these extensive establishments, and to do so would require not only a good architect, but also a learned antiquarian and philologist; and it is on this account that there is so much diversity in the plans that have been given of them. We shall here, however, refer only to the general customs and manners which can be with certainty determined, rejecting all hypotheses about these baths, and simply giving a description of other smaller ones, which, being in a better state of preservation, will afford us a clearer idea of the essential parts of a Roman bath. A specimen of this kind is to be found in the ruins discovered in 1784 at Badenweiler, though they are only just enough preserved to enable us to distinguish the individual divisions from each other. Far more important than these, are the *thermæ*, discovered some years since at Pompeii, which were in such a condition when excavated, as to allow of our assigning with certainty to most of the parts their particular destination.

Of more modern writings on this subject, besides several passages in the works of Winckelmann, the following are particularly worthy of consideration: Cameron, *The Bath of the Romans; Le terme dei Romani disegnate da A. Palladio, con alcune osservazioni da* O. B. Scamozzi; *Description des Bains de Titus* (a work, however, which is occupied far more with the paintings found there, than with the baths themselves); Stieglitz, *Archäol. der Bauk*, ii. 267; Hirt, *Gesch. der Bauk*, iii. 233; Weinbrenner, *Entwürfe und Ergänzungen antiker Gebäude*, which contains the bath of Hippias, after Lucian, and the ruins of Badenweiler. Besides which, we

have the remarks of the editors of Vitruvius, particularly Schneider, ii. 375—391. Stratico is more superficial, and Marini has done little more than repeat the old erroneous opinions. Concerning the baths of Pompeii, we have detailed accounts from Gugl. Bechi, in the *Mus. Borb.* ii. t. 49—52, and in Gell's *Pompeiana: the topography, edifices, and ornaments of Pompeii. The result of excavations since* 1819. Lond. 1835. i. 83, ii. 80.

The baths of Pompeii, which were discovered complete not only in their essential parts, but also in their ornaments, inscriptions, and even utensils, are adapted above all others for making us generally acquainted with the internal arrangements of Roman baths. Moreover, we may assume that other baths were laid down after the same plan, as those at Stabiæ, and (as far as regards the *caldarium* at least) that found in the villa of Diomedes (see *Voyage pittor. de Naples*, liv. 10 *et* 11, pl. 79), agree almost entirely with that of Pompeii; and the arrangement of baths in private houses and villas was no doubt similar, though they were of course not on so large a scale as the great public *thermæ*. A description of the baths of Pompeii would on this account be appropriate here, and we therefore extract the principal parts of Sir W. Gell's account, which seems preferable, because it is not only more general, but also dwells on interesting peculiarities, and thus presents a most comprehensive view of the plan and internal arrangements. In other respects, we cannot deny that Bechi, with far more extensive antiquarian research, often gives more correct explanations, as we shall have occasion to observe in our parenthetical remarks.

The plates we here give represent: I. The bath we are about to describe; II. The baths of Stabiæ (according to Gell, i. 131); and III. The well-known and instructive painting, representing the section of a Roman bath, found in the baths of Titus.

The grand entrance (such are the words of Gell, i. 88) seems to have been that in the street of Fortune, so called, at present, from the temple of that goddess. [Bechi, on the contrary, considers that marked 21[e], on the opposite side, to have been the grand entrance. B.][1] All or many of the rooms opening into the street, on each side this entrance, seem to have been vaulted, thus contributing to the support of the arches thrown over the larger chambers in the interior.

This entry or passage, marked 21[a] on the plan, opened into a court, 20, about sixty feet long, bounded on two sides by a Doric portico, and on the third by a crypt. Over the crypt was a second story, where the doubtful indications of a chimney may be observed.

[1] The passages in brackets marked B. are inserted by Becker. *Transl.*

At the opposite angle of the court was another exit, marked 21ᵉ, leading into an alley which runs from the *forum* to the house

I.

PLAN OF THE BATHS AT POMPEII.

of Pansa. At this exit was the *latrina*, 22, the uses of which are unequivocally visible. The spot marked 19, which is singular on account of a sort of *pronaos* with seats, is vaulted, and was lighted at night by a lamp, so placed that its rays fell into the chamber 15 on one side, and enlightened 19 on the other. The same contrivance existed in the recess 14, where a lamp gave light also to the portico. Both these lamps were protected by circular convex

glasses, the fragments of which were found in the inner chambers at their excavation.

As the baths of Pompeii were not of sufficient consequence to be furnished with every sort of apartment, like those of the capital, we are to look for the *vestibulum* and the *exedra*, or a place which might serve instead of them, near the entrance of the *thermæ*. '*In vestibulo deberet esse porticus ad deambulationes his qui essent ingressuri.*' That portico is undoubtedly the one in the court; and the exedra, so called from the ἕδραι, or seats, where those who did not choose to walk in the portico might repose, is represented by the benches which run along the wall. [These are not given by Gell, but copied here from the *Mus. Borb.*, and marked with *o*. Bechi considers them meant for the use of slaves who accompanied their masters to the bath, and calls the room 19 an *œcus or exedra*. B.] Vitruvius mentions that, while some were bathing, others were generally waiting to succeed them.

In this court, or vestibule, was found a sword with a leather sheath (?) and the box for the *quadrans*, or money, which was paid for each visitor. The quadrans was the fourth part of the *assis*,

II.

PLAN OF THE BATHS OF STABIÆ, AFTER GELL.

A. *Præfurnium.*
B. *Laconicum.*
C. *Tepidarium.*
D. *Natatorium.*
E. *Frigidarium.*

and the fourteenth part of a *denarius*. [Fourteenth is put by mistake for fortieth. It is natural, that after the denarius was computed equal to sixteen asses, the quadrans also underwent a reduction, and sixty-four went to a denarius. B.] A sum so moderate, that the heating of the baths could not have been defrayed without a crowd of bathers. The poet remarks upon the trifling sum with which a man made himself as happy as a king: *Dum tu quadrante lavatum rex ibis.* Hor. *Sat.* iii. [The meaning of this ironical passage has been clearly misunderstood by the author. B.]

Juvenal says that youths under the age of fourteen paid nothing. *Sat.* ii. [The words are (v. 152): *Nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum œre lavantur;* but the sense seems rather to be, children who do not as yet visit the public baths. B.] The smallness of the sum, however, was a great encouragement to bathers, who, according to Pliny, sometimes bathed seven times in one day. [The author is much mistaken if he fancies this was usual. The passage in Pliny does not occur to me; but Æl. Lamprid. (11) says of Commodus: *Lavabat per diem septies atque octies.* However, this was a monstrous way of living. B.]

It is exceedingly probable (?) that the sword was that of the keeper of the *thermæ*, or *balneator*, whose station, with his box of money, must have been the *ala* of the portico, 19. This room was not painted, and the roof seems to have been blackened by the smoke of the lamps. Those who had paid here might have entered with some sort of ticket. Tickets for the theatre have been found at Pompeii, and have been engraved. One for the show of gladiators is in the possession of Mr Dodwell at Rome.

In this Doric portico persons waited for admission to the *thermæ*, which were not of sufficient size to admit conveniently more than twenty or thirty at once. Here, therefore, notices of shows, games, exhibitions, or sales, might conveniently be exposed to the public. Accordingly, on the south wall was painted in large letters, *Dedicatione*, &c. [Here follows the inscription, and then an explanation of the *sparsiones*, which I have omitted, as being of very little importance. We must however remark that he adduces another inscription, in which *spassiones* occurs. The author holds this to be a provincialism (?), and suspects that the first inscription had the word also thus written, though it was no longer fresh enough to ascertain this. Bechi says nothing about it. *Relaz. d. Sc. Mus. Borb.* ii. B.]

From the court, those who intended to bathe passed by a small corridor, into the chamber 17, which must be supposed to have corresponded with the first room of the Turkish bath, where a

stranger is undressed. [The author describes (p. 86) the arrangements of the Turkish baths, from which he proceeds to a description of those at Pompeii, which he considers analogous to them. B.] In this corridor was found a great number of lamps, perhaps more than five hundred, but above one thousand were discovered in the whole circuit of the baths, of which it is said the workmen were ordered to make a general destruction, after the best had been selected.

These lamps were generally of common *terra cotta*, and some of them had the impression of the figures of the Graces, and others of Harpocrates, of moderate execution. Athenæus (b. xv.) says that the lamps in baths were of brass, [He probably alludes to the words: *ὁ δὲ Εὔβοιος πολλὰ μὲν εἴρηκεν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι χαρίεντα· περὶ μὲν τῆς τῶν βαλανείων μάχης· Βάλλον δ' ἀλλήλους χαλκήρεσιν ἐγχείῃσιν.* But what right there is to assume from thence that the *lamps* were of brass, we cannot conceive. B.] and distinguished by names expressive of the number of burners, such as *monomyxi*, *dimyxi*, *trimyxi*, and *polymyxi;* but the authors who have written on the subject, seem to speak always of buildings and customs on a scale of magnificence too extravagant to guide us in the explanation of the Pompeian thermæ. Some attention has been paid to the decoration of this passage, the ceiling being covered with stars.

In the room 17, all who frequented the thermæ for the purpose of bathing met, whether they entered by the portico, or from either of the doors from the street on the north; and here was certainly the *frigidarium*, in which many persons took off their garments, but more especially those who intended to make use only of the *natatio*, or cold bath. To them, at least, this chamber served as the *spoliatorium*, *apodyterium*, or *apolyterium*, so called from the *Ἀποδυτήριον* of the Greeks, signifying the place where the clothes were left; [The apodyterium, as Bechi also observes, was never called *spoliatorium*, and even *spoliarium* is very doubtful as far as regards baths. Apolyterium is perfectly erroneous. B.] and accordingly we may observe on entering, certain holes in the wall, in which had either been inserted rafters or pegs for supporting shelves, or for hanging garments. Pliny mentions that people first entered into the apodyterium, or *tepidarium*, with a temperate air, and consigned their garments to *caprarii*, which were probably pegs, so called from their likeness to horns. [Where Pliny says this, we know not; for the author is not used to give references to the passages he alludes to. Bechi, too, says: 'There are apertures in the wall made to receive the wooden props or hooks on which were hung the garments of those who undrest here,

before taking the bath in the adjoining rooms.' But it seems almost indubitable, that a sad confusion has been made here between *caprarii* and *capsarii*, persons who took charge of the clothes at the bath. Shelves are visible in the painting from the baths of Titus, in the tepidarium, on which a man is just placing garments. B.]

The chamber itself, which is spacious, is vaulted, and the arch springs from a projecting cornice, covered with a richly-coloured painting of griffins and lyres. The ceiling appears to have consisted of panels of white within red borders, and the pavement of the common sort of white mosaic. The walls were painted yellow. Stone benches occupy the greater part of the walls, with a step running below them slightly raised from the floor. A little apartment at the north end may have been either a *latrina*, or, if it had sufficient light, a *tonstrina* for shaving, or it might possibly have served for keeping the unguents, *strigils*, towels, and other articles necessary for the accommodation of the visitors.

It is probable that a window once existed at the north, like that now remaining at the south end; but in no case could this, or any other room in the Pompeian thermæ, answer to the description of the wide windows of the *frigidarium* of the author, who says, *Frigidarium locus ventis perflatus fenestris amplis.* The yet remaining window admitted light from the south, and is placed close under the vault of the roof, and rather intrenching upon it. It opens upon the roof of the chamber 18, and was not only formed of glass, but of good plate-glass, slightly ground on one side so as to prevent the curiosity of any person upon the roof. Of this glass all the fragments remained at the excavation; a circumstance which appeared not a little curious to those who imagined that its use was either unknown, or very rare among the ancients, and did not know that a window of the same kind had been found in the baths of the villa of Diomedes.

Glass seems to have at first been brought from Egypt (?), and to have, in fact, received its name of ὑαλὸς from the Coptic. Crystal, κρύσταλλος, or the permanent ice of the ancients, originally designated the natural stone itself. It is said to have been little known in Rome before 536 A. U. C., but this would give ample time for its use at Pompeii long before its destruction.

There are few subjects on which the learned seem to have been so generally mistaken as that of the art of glass-making among the ancients, who seem to have been far more skilful than was at first imagined. Not to mention the description of a burning-glass in the *Nubes* of Aristophanes, v. 764, the collection which Mr Dodwell

first formed and brought into notice at Rome by repolishing the fragments, is sufficient to prove that specimens of every known marble, and of many not now existing in cabinets, as well as every sort of precious stone, were commonly and most successfully imitated by the ancients, who used these imitations in cups and vases of every size and shape.

In the time of Martial, about a century after Christ, glass cups were common, except the *calices allassontes*, which displayed changeable or prismatic colours, and, as Vossius says, were procured in Egypt, and were so rare that Adrian, sending some to Servianus, ordered that they should only be used on great occasions.

The vast collection of bottles, glasses, and other utensils discovered at Pompeii, is sufficient to show that the ancients were well acquainted with the art of glass-blowing in all its branches; but it is not the less true that they sometimes used, much as we do, horn for lanterns, which Plautus terms Vulcan in a prison of horn; [*Amphitr.* i. 1, 185: *Volcanum in cornu conclusum geris.* So also mention is made in Athenæus, xv. p. 699, of κεραΐνου φωσφόρου λύχνου σέλας, and in Martial, xiv. 61 and 62, *laterna ex vesica* and *cornea*. So too is explained *laterna Punica* in Plautus, *Aul.* iii. 6, 30. B.], and that windows and, Cicero says, lanterns [*ad Attic.* iv. 3, *linea laterna.* B.] were sometimes made of linen instead of glass, as we see oiled paper in modern times. The common expression for these objects in Latin appears to be *Fenestræ volubiles vel lineis velis, vel specularia vitratis clausæ.* [The *vela*, at all events, are something quite different. B.]

In process of time, glass became so much the fashion, that whole chambers were lined with it. The remains of such a room were discovered in the year 1826, near Ficulnea, in the Roman territory; and these are hinted at in a passage of the Roman naturalist: *Non dubie vitreas facturus cameras, si prius id inventum fuisset.* [Plin. xxxvi. 25, 64. B.] In the time of Seneca the chambers in thermæ had walls covered with glass and Thasian marble, the water issued from silver tubes, and the decorations were mirrors. [This is incorrect. Seneca says, *Epist.* 86: *Nisi parietis magnis et pretiosis orbibus refulserunt;* and even if he had written *speculis*, still we must rather have understood thereby the marble medallions, which, like the *abaci*, served to adorn the walls. B.]

In the semicircular compartment containing the window was a large basso-relievo in stucco, of which the subject appeared to be the destruction of the Titans (giants) by Jupiter, or perhaps by Saturn (!), whose colossal head appeared in the centre. Bacchus

was one of the great assistants of Jupiter in that combat; and the cup of Bacchus, or one of the same shape, appears on the right, as if thrown at the Titan. The subject is at present scarcely intelligible, having suffered much in the reparation of the roof. [And this fact may have led the author astray in his conjectures. Bechi says: 'Underneath this window is wrought in stucco a huge and bearded mask, from the pendent locks of which flow streams of water. Two tritons, with vases on their shoulders, are struggling to reach the centre of the fountain, and a shoal of dolphins, harnessed by cupids, are represented as sporting impatient at their chains.' These would certainly be more befitting ornaments for a bath than a *gigantomachia*. B.] On the frescos in his frigidarium, Sidon. says (*Ep.* ii. 2), *Non hic per nudam pictorum corporum pulchritudinem turpis prostat historia—absunt ridiculi vestitu et vultibus histriones—absunt lubrici tortuosique pugillatu et nexibus palæstritæ:* which marks the usual decorations.

From the frigidarium a short passage opened into the street on the north, and a little recess is observable in it, where possibly another person sat to receive the money of the bathers. The third passage communicated with the hypocaust, or stoves, and these again with the street.

A door, uniform with that leading from the court, opened into apartment 18, in which was the *natatio*, or *natatorium*, *piscina*, or cold bath. Some may be inclined to apply the term *baptisterion* to the vase into which the bathers plunged. The word *piscina* is applied to the bath by the younger Pliny. It appears that λοῦτρον was the Greek appellation. That this was called *baptisterium* in the time of Pliny appears from this passage, considering its connection with the frigidarium: *Inde apodyterium balinei laxum et hilare excipit cella frigidaria in qua baptisterium amplum atque opacum.* [Hereupon vid. inf. B.]

This is perfectly preserved, and nothing is wanting but the water, which anciently gushed from a copper pipe opposite the entrance, about four feet from the floor, and fell into a cistern, being supplied by pipes, yet to be traced, from the great reservoir near the *præfurnium*. This apartment is a circle enclosed by a square, in the angles of which are four alcoves, called by the ancients *scholæ*, a word derived from the Hebrew, and signifying repose.

The diameter of the circle is eighteen feet six inches. Round the whole runs a walk, or *ambulatory*, two feet four inches and a half wide. The *piscina*, or vase itself, is twelve feet ten inches in diameter, and has a seat eleven inches wide, surrounding it at the

depth of ten inches below the lip, and two feet four inches from the bottom, allowing a depth of water equal to about three feet. The alcoves, or scholæ, are five feet two inches wide, by two feet half-an-inch deep. Their arches, which rise to the height of one foot eight inches, spring from a point five feet six inches above the floor.

The whole of the *piscina*, or *natatio*, with its seat or step, the pavement of the scholæ, or the *ambulatorium*, is of white marble, and in perfect preservation. The roof is a dome, or rather a cone, of which a small part of the summit is destroyed. It appears to have been painted blue, and had an opening or window near the top, toward the south-west, possibly not glazed, as, being a cold bath, the increase of temperature was not required. The walls have been painted yellow, with certain branches here and there of green. The walls of the alcoves were blue or red, and the arches have a pretty relieved border in stucco.

About eight feet from the floor, a cornice runs round the whole, nearly eighteen inches high, coloured red, and adorned with stucco figures representing, in all appearance, the course on foot, on horseback, and in chariots. The *spina*, or perhaps the goal, is also visible; and, though much ruined, the chariot-race and the running horses with their riders have an air of life and verity, which seems to evince that they were at least copied from sculptures of the most brilliant period of the arts.

The *natatorium* of the baths of Diocletian was 200 feet long, by half that width, the *Aqua Martia* supplying copious streams of water, which spouted forth in grottos artificially contrived. With the magnificence of the capital, the piscina of Pompeii cannot pretend to vie; but nothing can be more elegant, or more aptly calculated for the purpose of bathing, than the chamber in question.

A doorway, the jambs of which are somewhat inclined, and prove that the folding-doors, which turned upon *umbilici*, or pivots, were calculated to shut by their own weight, conducted the visitor to the chamber 15, which was called either *tepidarium*, ἀλειπτήριον, *apodyterium*, *elæothesium*, or *unctuarium*; for, in *thermæ* of small dimensions, one chamber must have served for many of those purposes to which, in the imperial city, separate apartments were allotted.

It is therefore probable, that though the frigidarium served as an apodyterium to the cold bathers, those who took the warm bath undressed in the second chamber, 15, which was warmed not only by a portable fire-place, or *foculare*, called by the Italians *bracciere*, but by means of a suspended pavement, heated by the

distant fires of the stove of the *caldarium*, or *laconicum*. [This seems quite a mistake, and is entirely at variance with the section of the baths given by Gell himself. The caldarium alone had *suspensuræ*, according to Bechi. The tepidarium was warmed only by the large fire-place. In the picture from the baths of Titus, the matter is doubtful; for according to the copies we have of it, a part of the tepidarium seems to have suspensuræ. B.] The temperature did not, probably, much exceed that necessary to impart an agreeable warmth, and supply the want of the more cumbrous articles of dress.

In the tepidarium are three seats of bronze, about six feet long, and one broad. (They were placed along the side walls, while the foculare stood across the bottom of the apartment.) The seats are inscribed with the name of the donor, *M. Nigidius Vaccula*, whose heraldic cognizance, if that expression were admissible, was a pun upon his name, the legs of the seats being those of a cow, whose head forms their upper ornament, and whose entire figure is the decoration of the foculare. The inscription runs thus: M. Nigidius Vaccula, P. S. (*pecunia sua*).

The hearth, 16, is about seven feet long, and two feet six broad. It is of bronze, and is ornamented by thirteen battlemented summits and a lotus at the angles. Within there is an iron lining, calculated to resist the heat of the embers, and the bottom is formed by bars of brass, on which are laid bricks supporting the pumice-stones for the reception of the charcoal.

This apartment was decorated in a manner suitable to its appearance. The pavement of white mosaic, with two small borders of black, the ceilings elegantly painted, the walls covered with crimson, and the cornice supported by statues, all assisted in rendering this a beautiful and splendid place of relaxation for the inhabitants of Pompeii. The cornice begins at four feet three inches above the pavement, and is one foot two inches and a half high, the *abacus*, which is five inches and a half, included. Above this, the figures (Telamones) with the entablature rise to the height of three feet five inches more, and above these is the flowery Corinthian tracery. These figures are about two feet in height, stand upon little square plinths or dies of three inches high, and hold their arms in a posture fitted for assisting the head to bear the superimposed weight. They are of *terra cotta*, and stand with their backs placed against square pilasters, projecting one foot from the wall, and with an interval of one foot three inches and a half between each. The use of these figures in the baths of Pompeii, by whatever name they may have been called, was evidently to

ornament the separations between a number of niches or recesses, in which the garments of those who went into the *sudatorium*, or inner apartment, to perspire, were laid up till their return.

The heat in this chamber was a dry warmth, produced by the hypocaustum and the foculare, and consequently an agreeable place for perfuming, anointing, and all other operations after the sudatorium. The ancients had an astonishing number of oils, soaps, and perfumes, and their wash-balls seem to have had the general name of *smegmata* [soaps, no doubt; still it ought to be mentioned, that regular soap, *sapo*, is not mentioned by any author before Pliny (xviii. 12, 51), who calls it a Gallic invention, but which was also very well known to the Germans. Moreover, Pliny says: *Galliarum inventum rutilandis capillis*, and the *pilæ Mattiacæ*, or German soap-balls (Mart. xiv. 27), as also the *spuma Batava* (Id. viii. 23, 20), or *caustica* (Id. xiv. 26), are everywhere mentioned as means for dyeing the hair, and not for purifying it. They were therefore rather pomades than soaps. See Beckmann, *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. Erfind*, iv. 1, seqq. It is also very possible that when Ovid says (*Ars Am.* iii. 163), *Femina canitiem Germanis inficit herbis*, and (*Amor.* i. 14) *Ipsa dabas capiti mista venena tuo*, nothing else is meant by him than such a pomade, whence its use might be extended backward up to the time of Augustus. Comp. Boettig. *Sab.* i. p. 121, 142. B.] Among the oils are named the *mendesium*, *megalium*, *metopium*, *amaracinum*, *cyprinum*, *susinum*, *nardinum*, *spicatum*, and *jasminum;* and Heliogabalus never bathed without oil of saffron or *crocus*, which was thought most precious. [We might add to these many others from Pliny (xiii. 1), and among others *rosaceum*. See Oudend. on *Appul. Met.* x. p. 717. B. The *nardinum* (both an oil and a pomade), made from the blossoms of the Indian and Arabian nard-grass, was much prized. B.] [Plin. *H. N.* xii. 12, 26, *principalis in unguentis*. Pallad. iv. 9, *nardinum oleum*. Ath. ii. p. 46, v. 195, x. 439, xv. 689. It was used for anointing the hair previous to crowning it with the garland, at festive symposiums. Hor. *Od.* ii. 11, 16: *Assyriaque nardo potamus uncti*. Petron. 78: *nardi ampulla*. Salmas. *Exercitt. ad Sol.* p. 750. Pompon. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 21, distinguishes between those unguents *quibis unguimur voluptatis causa* and *valetudinis causa*. Isidor. iv. 12, mentions, *anetinum*, *cerotum*, and other sorts. The *ceroma*, as it was called, was only used at gymnastic exercises. Mart. vii. 32, v. 65. Plin. *H. N.* xxviii. 4, 13.] We hear also of nitre and aphronitum in the baths. To these were added all kinds of odoriferous powders, called *diapasmata*. The cyprium was not only a perfume, but was supposed to put a stop to further perspiration.

and its name has been retained to the present day. [*Unguentarii* and *unguentariæ*, dealers in perfume, are often mentioned. Orell. 2988, 4300. Cic. *de Off.* x. 42, *myropolæ*.]

Persons of lower condition sometimes used, instead of soap, meal of lupins, called *lomentum*, which, with common meal, is still used in the north of England, while the rich carried their own most precious unguents to the thermæ in phials of alabaster, gold, and glass, [*ἀλάβαστροι, onyches, conchæ*, Salmas. *Exercitt.* p. 316,] which were of such common use, both in ordinary life and at funerals, that they have very frequently been found in modern times, when they acquired the name of *lachrymatories*, from a mistaken notion concerning their original destination.

Pliny mentions that in the apodyterium, or tepidarium, was the *elæothesia*, or place for anointing, called also in Latin *unctorium*, where persons, called from their office, were employed. It is to be supposed that in the great thermæ of the capital this *ἀλειπτήριον*, or unctorium, was a separate chamber. A verse of Lucilius, quoted by Green in his work *De Rusticatione Romanorum*, describes the operations which took place in this apartment:

> Scabor, suppilor, desquamor, pumicor, ornor,
> Expilor, pingor.

The third apartment, 12, for the use of those who frequented the hot baths, is entered by a door opening from the *tepidarium*, which closed by its own weight, and it is probable was generally shut, to prevent the admission of cold or less heated air. Vitruvius says that the laconicum and sudatorium ought to join the tepidarium; and that, when these were separate rooms, they were entered by two doors from the apodyterium.

This chamber, though not decorated with all the art displayed in the tepidarium, possibly because the constant ascent of steam would have destroyed the colours of the ceiling or vault, was, nevertheless, delicately ornamented with mouldings of stucco, which have an elegant and beautiful effect. [Comp. Zahn, *Ornamente und Gen.* t. 94. B.] Not only is the pavement suspended in the manner recommended by Vitruvius, but the walls are so constructed, that a column of heated air encloses the apartment on all sides.

This is not effected by flues, but by one universal flue, formed by a lining of bricks or tiles, strongly connected with the outer wall by cramps of iron, yet distant about four inches from it, so as to leave a space by which the hot air might ascend from the furnace, and increase, almost equally, the temperature of the whole room.

Some parts of the casing having fallen, the whole of this

admirable contrivance is now apparent, and the pavement having, in some places, been forced in by the fall of some part of the vault, the method of suspending it was, at the period of the excavation, sufficiently visible. [Proc. *Dig.* viii. 2, 13: *Hiberus balnearia fecit secundum parietem communem. Non licet autem tubulos habere admotos ad parietem communem, sicuti nec parietem quidem super parietem communem. De tubulis eo amplius hoc juris est, quod per eos flamma torretur paries.* Sen. *Ep.* 90. *Quædam nostra demum memoria scimus—ut suspensuras balneorum et impressos parietibus tubos, per quos circumfunderetur calor, qui ima simul et summa foveret æqualiter.*]

It will be observed that scarcely anything was placed in symmetry with the centre; the circular window in the alcove, with its ornamental dolphins in stucco, being to the left, and the two side-windows in the vault being neither equal in size nor situation.

The most striking object in the apartment is the *labrum*, 14, placed in the centre of the alcove, which forms one extremity of the caldarium, as the hot-water bath, *alveus*, does the other. This consists in a vase or tazza of white marble, not less than eight feet in diameter, and internally, not more than eight inches in depth. In the centre is a projection, or *umbo*, rising from the bottom, in the middle of which a brass tube threw up the water, which, judging from the customary process in an oriental bath, was probably cold, or as nearly so as was judged expedient for pouring upon the head of the bather before he quitted this heated atmosphere.

The labrum was presented to the thermæ of Pompeii by a private individual, whose name, together with the value, is inscribed in letters of bronze, yet remaining on the lip of the basin. CN . MELISSÆO . CN . F . APRO . M . STAIO . M . F . RVFO . II . VIR . ITER . ID . LABRUM . EX . D . D . EX . P . I . F . C . CONSTAT . HSP . (sic!) C . C . L . [The author is here quite mistaken. The inscription contains nothing at all about a gift, and it is not even copied correctly. Bechi, who copied it from the rim of the labrum, gives it as follows, (comp. Orelli, *Inscr.*, n. 3277): CN . MELISSÆO . CN . F . APRO . M . STAIO . M . F . RVFO . II . VIR . ITER . ID . LABRVM . EX . D . D . EX . P . P . F . C . CONSTAT . H . S . Iↄ . C . C . L. Still Bechi's explanation—*Cn. Melissæo, Cn. filio, Apro, M. Staio, M. filio, Rufo duumviris iterum jure dicundo labrum ex decurionum decreto ex pecunia publico faciendum curarunt. Constat. H.S. Iↄ CCL.*, though correct in the sense, is not grammatical. B.] The position of this labrum seems in some respects to accord with the instructions given by Vitruvius for the construction

of such a vase: *Scholas autem labrorum ita fieri oportet spatiosas, ut, cum priores occupaverint loca, circumspectantes reliqui recte stare possint.* Vitr. v. 10. He says also: *Labrum sub lumine faciendum videtur ne stantes circum suis umbris obscurent lucem.* Even this, as applied to our labrum, is not very intelligible. [On the contrary, everything agrees with Vitruvius, for above the labrum is a wide opening, through which the light fell in, and this is the *lumen.* B.]

Andreas Baccius, who has written and collected much of what the ancients have left us on the subject of baths, says that some *labra* existed made of glass; and he very sensibly concludes, that all the great tazze of Rome, like that at present on the Quirinal, were originally labra of the public or private baths of the city. Ficoroni mentions labra in Rome of basalt, granite, porphyry, and alabaster, and observes that many of these had a lion's head in the centre. Mention is also made of the labrum in a private bath by Cicero, in a letter to his wife Terentia: *Labrum si non est in balneo, fac ut sit.* [Bechi too mentions many antique labra, and so also Stratico. B.] [*Mus. Borb.* iv. 28, contains a beautiful marble labrum.]

The opening for the lamp, which has been formerly noticed as giving light, on one side to the Doric portico, and on the other to the caldarium, is visible above the labrum, and had, anciently, a convex glass to prevent the entrance of cold air from without. [In the *apodyterium* also there was a similar opening in the wall under the large window, which had probably a like destination. Bechi speaks of it as if the glass were still in existence. B.]

From the pavement of the caldarium, which was of white *tesseræ*, with two small borders of black, bathers ascended by two steps, so as to sit down conveniently upon the third or marble wall, one foot four inches broad, which formed the brink of the vase or vat of hot water. Thence one step dividing the whole depth of the cistern, not exceeding two feet and half an inch, permitted them to immerse themselves by degrees in the heated fluid. The whole length of the cistern is fifteen feet, and the breadth four. About ten persons might have sat upon the marble pavement without inconvenience at the same moment, immersed in the hot water. It is evident from the shallowness of this cistern, that persons must have sat on the pavement in order to have been sufficiently immersed; and, accordingly, the side next the north wall is constructed with marble, sloping like the back of a chair, in an angle well adapted to the support of the body in that position. Hot water entered this bath, 13, at one of the angles, immediately from the caldron, 9, which boiled on the other side of the wall. There appears to have

been a moveable stone in the pavement, near this cistern, possibly for permitting the entrance of a column of hot air on certain occasions (?).

This chamber, from the water which must have fallen on the pavement, and the distillation caused by the vapour from so great a quantity of heated liquid, must have always been wet, and must have had an outlet called *fusorium*, to which the floor inclined. [Not on this account; for the *suspensuræ* were generally so laid. Vitr. v. 10, 2. *Suspensuræ caldariorum ita sunt faciendæ, uti primum sesquipedalibus tegulis solum sternatur inclinatum ad hypocausim, uti piia cum mittatur non possit intro resistere.* It was intended that the fire should have, by this means, a better draught. B.] Perhaps the opening near the hot bath served in part for this purpose. The floor was found much damaged, and broken in by the fall of a part of the arch, on its first discovery.

The seats in this chamber were probably of wood, as the whole must constantly have been in a state of humid heat, which would have corroded furniture of bronze, like those of Vaccula in the tepidarium. In that portion of the vaulted roof still remaining, are no fewer than four openings for the admission of light, and the transmission of hot air and vapour. These must have been glazed or closed with linen windows called vela, for it was probably previous to that common use of glass, which evidently prevailed at Pompeii, that the brazen shields or circular shutters, mentioned by Vitruvius as hanging by chains, for the purpose of opening and shutting the windows of the laconicum or sudatorium, were necessary. It appears from that author, that these shields were lowered to open, or raised to close, the circular apertures in the roof of the laconicum. Over the labrum is seen one of these circular windows. None of these apartments could have had a cheerful light; and when the brazen shields were in use, the darkness must have increased with the increase of temperature. [In consequence of the author's false conception of the laconicum, which he shares with many others, he could not have formed any other judgment. Unquestionably these windows were glazed, and the baths were really dark only in ancient times, when the use of glass was either not at all, or but very little, known, and rimæ were constantly used. B.] It may be supposed that in an establishment so small as this of Pompeii, the inner room, or caldarium, might unite in itself more than one of the numerous appellations in use in the Roman capital.

From the *frigidarium*, 17, a very narrow passage ran to the furnace, 9, upon which were placed caldrons, to the number of three, one above another, and, possibly, as may be gathered from an

inspection of the ruins, placed in three columns, of three caldrons each (?), so that the water in the uppermost or ninth vase, nearest the cisterns 10 and 11, would be very nearly cold.

The caldron immediately above the flames was of course boiling, and on the water being withdrawn for use, it was contrived that an equal portion should replace it from the tepidarium, into which at the same time the frigidarium was discharged. It does not seem improbable, from the appearance of the place, that there were three columns of these caldrons at Pompeii, dependent on a single fire, and if so, the upper caldron of the column nearest the cistern, 10, contained water nearly cold, and hence that was probably derived which rose in the centre of the labrum, and must have had a higher level.

From one of these, or the cisterns adjoining, the circular bath, or natatorium, was also supplied, through tubes yet to be traced in the wall.

This is the most essential part of Gell's description. Next to this bath, though not in any way communicating with it, was a second, almost the same in its arrangements, though on a smaller scale, and generally considered to have been the women's bath (which also agrees with Varro, *L. L.* ix. 41, *Sp.*), so that 3 is the apodyterium, 2 the frigidarium, 4 the tepidarium, 5 the caldarium, 6 the hot-water bath, and 7 the labrum. The rooms lying round the regular bath, which have no exits but towards the streets, and are not marked with figures in the sketch, were probably tabernæ, in no way connected with the building composing the bath.

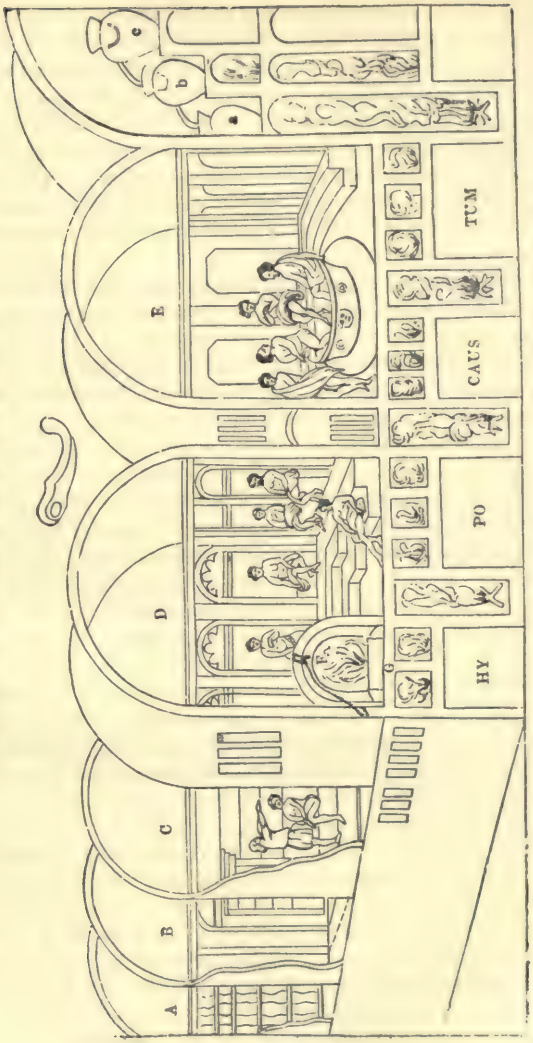
Small as this plan may appear in comparison with the great thermæ of Rome, still the discovery of it is of far more moment than all the other ruins existing, as here we have at least the necessary parts tolerably complete, and agreeing with the accounts given by authors. The ruins of Badenweiler, which Hirt (251) looked on as the main source of our knowledge about the ancient baths, appear very insignificant when compared with these. Next to the baths of Pompeii, the painting from the baths of Titus is perhaps of the most importance, principally because the names being written leave no doubt about the destination of the particular cellæ and other parts.

Let us now compare the remains of ancient baths with each other, and with the accounts of Vitruvius, Pliny, Palladius, and others, and we shall find the most essential parts of a Roman bath to be these.

I. An *apodyterium* connected perhaps with the elæothesium and unctorium.

III.

PAINTING OF A SECTION OF A ROMAN BATH.



II. A *frigidarium*, or *cella frigidaria*, by which we must not understand, with Gell, a mere unwarmed room, but the cold bath itself. Pliny says in his description of the Laurentian villa (ii. 17, 11): *Inde balinei cella frigidaria spatiosa et effusa, cujus in contrariis parietibus duo baptisteria velut ejecta sinuantur, abunde capacia, si innare in proximo cogites;* and of his Tuscan villa (v. 6, 25): *Inde apodyterium balinei laxum et hilare excipit cella frigidaria, in quæ baptisterium amplum et opacum.* While then in Pompeii the cella frigidaria had the basin in the middle, and the proper cool-room, which also served as apodyterium, lay before it, in the former villa at least, the baptisteria were at the alcove-shaped ends of the frigidarium, so that what was there separated, 17 and 18, seems here to have formed one room. But baptisterium may be taken to mean the same as piscina, according to Sidon. *Ep.* ii. 2: *Huic basilicæ appendix piscina forinsecus, seu, si græcari mavis, baptisterium ab oriente connectitur.*

The frigidarium in the baths of Pompeii and those of Stabiæ has just the same form: and probably the rooms which appear similar, in the sketch in the baths of Titus, and which Palladio pronounces to be temples, and Hirt laconica, are also frigidaria. In the baths of Constantine (Palladio, *le terme de Rom.* t. xiv.) there are six such saloons, which are declared to be baths of all three temperatures.

III. The *tepidarium:* of this division we know least, and it may even be doubted whether the usual assumption that the tepid bath was there, be a correct one. In Pompeii, at least, in the room which is rightly taken to be it (n. 15), there is no apparatus for bathing. Pliny says (v. 6, 26): *Frigidariæ cellæ connectitur media, cui sol benignissime præsto est; caldariæ magis; prominet enim. In hac tres descensiones*, etc. The media can only be the tepidaria; but whilst the baptisterium of the frigidarium, and the tres descensiones of the caldarium are mentioned, no labrum, nor piscina of the tepidarium, is named. Such a receptacle, with lukewarm water, was probably in the middle of the frigidarium itself: *Si natare latius aut tepidius velis, in area piscina est; in proximo puteus, ex quo possis rursus adstringi, si pœniteat teporis.* Thus also in the ruins of Badenweiler, a double water-bath only seems to be admissible; and if in the baths of Hippias, one of the rooms, perhaps the ἠρέμα χλιαινόμενος, is to pass for a tepidarium, still there were piscinæ or descensiones only in the cold and warm bath. In the often-mentioned picture, it is true that there is a tepidarium next to the sudatio, but it cannot be seen whether there was a labrum in it or not.

But there are two passages in Celsus, i. 3, which are most calculated to raise doubts about that acceptation. *Communia deinde omnibus sunt post fatigationem cibum sumpturis, ubi paullum ambulaverunt, si balneum non est, calido loco, vel in sole, vel ad ignem ungi atque sudare: si est, ante omnia in tepidario residere; deinde ubi paullum conquieverunt, intrare et descendere in solium.* The second passage from c. 4, which contains the whole economy of the bath, is still plainer: *Si in balneum venit, sub veste primum paullum in tepidario insudare, ibi ungi, tum transire in calidarium: ubi sudarit in solium non descendere*, etc. There the tepidarium is a warm room, where a person sits down as in the sudatio, which has only a higher temperature. Those who wished to bathe must go into another room, the caldarium, *intrare et descendere in solium.* We may therefore assume that there was not, at least in all cases, a tepid bath.

IV. The *caldarium;* which was, at least in later times, the most important part of all. We must here, after Vitruvius and the Pompeian baths, make four distinct divisions; (1) the room itself, sudatio; (2) the laconicum; (3) the labrum; and (4) the basin for the hot water, or the highest degree of the warm bath.

The whole room had suspensuræ, that is, the floor rested on small pillars, so that underneath it the heat and even the flame from the fire-places might be disseminated. See Winckelm. *W.* ii. tab. iv.; Hirt, tab. xxiv. Fig. III., and in the picture from the baths of Titus (p. 384). The walls were hollow, and usually the warmth was conveyed in pipes from the hypocausta between them, as we see in the baths described by Fernow. In Pompeii the whole space between the regular wall and the interior one was hollow, and without pipes, which is represented in the sketch by the white line running round: the same arrangement appears in the caldarium and tepidarium of the women's bath.

At one end of the caldarium was the laconicum, the part most difficult to be explained. Schneider (385) has collected with great diligence the passages relating thereto, but his explanation is not perfectly clear, and must at least remain uncertain, as he has not taken into consideration any ancient monument, not even the painting from the baths of Titus, which is here of special moment, and which had already put Galiani on the right way. What Vitruvius says (c. 11), *proxime autem introrsus e regione frigidarii collocetur concamerata sudatio, longitudine duplex quam latitudine, quæ habeat in versuris ex una parte Laconicum ad eundem modum, uti supra scriptum est, compositum: ex adverso Laconici caldam lavationem*, entirely agrees with the arrangement of the caldarium

at Pompeii, though we judge fit to assume that there was no regular laconicum there, but merely a common sudatio. In the painting, the cella, which is designated as concamerata sudatio, appears as a small cupola-shaped building, into which the flame streams above the floor, through a broad pipe. Underneath is to be found the name laconicum, and under the arch, on which two chains are visible, the name *clipeus*. Comparing with this the passage of Vitruvius about the clipeus (10): *mediumque lumen in hemisphærio relinquatur ex eoque clypeum æneum catenis pendeat, per cujus reductiones et demissiones perficietur sudationis temperatura*, we should imagine a valve, which hung at the orifice in the middle of the arch, in order to allow the excess of warm air to escape; but this idea does not at all agree with the painting. On the contrary, it seems that we must assume from this, that the laconicum was by no means the semicircular-shaped recess where those desirous of perspiring sat, but the cupola-like hypocaustum, which rose in this alcove above the floor, and that it was closed by the clipeus. When this was drawn up by the chains, or let down within, the heat and the flame itself streamed out more vehemently, and heightened the temperature of the alcove; and perhaps we must so understand what Suet. *Aug.* 84, calls *ad flammam sudare*, although Celsus (i. 3) mentions, outside of the bath too, the *ungi et sudare ad ignem*. We are further decided in assuming the laconicum to be something different from the alcove, where the sweaters sat, from the consideration that it seems inconceivable how this alcove could possibly have another temperature than the whole sweating bath, as it was only a part of the same, and was separated from it by no partition wall. But if the laconicum were placed there in the manner above given, then the heat must have been greatest next to it. With this idea of the laconicum, best agrees also what Vitruvius (vii. 10) says about the oven for the preparation of atramentum, which was also to be arranged *uti laconicum*. Galiani, too, has taken this view of the subject; probably Schneider likewise; while Hirt, Gell, and Bechi, are perfectly at fault, and Stratico also as well as Marini misunderstand Vitruvius. The error appears to arise from the word hemisphærium, which suggested to them the alcove, in which at Pompeii the labrum is. But Vitruvius means the cupola above the laconicum, as it is in the picture, and this is a hemisphærium. By this means everything is clear, and we see that the clipeus did not hang on the opening in the arch of the alcove, in order by opening it to moderate the temperature, but, on the contrary, served to let the heat confined in the laconicum stream out, and increase the temperature of the sudatio.

At Pompeii no such arrangement is to be found. In the alcove is the labrum already described, and on the use of which opinions are likewise divided. The explanation of Bechi, that it was designed for those who wished to take only a partial bath, does not seem very probable; for the proper warm-bath, which was in the same apartment, was so arranged with steps, that the bather could sit at any depth he chose. Gell's supposition seems correct, that it contained cold water, into which a person plunged after the sweating-bath, or with which he was sprinkled.

Lastly; at the opposite end of this room was the hot-water bath already described. The name we should like to assign to it, at least in the baths of Pompeii, is *alveus*, and the proportions agree with the plans given by Vitruvius. [Dio. Cass. lv. 7, calls it κολυμβήθραν θερμοῦ ὕδατος.] And then what Vitruvius says becomes explicable: *quanta longitudo fuerit, tertia demta latitudo sit præter scholam labri et alvei;* and in the like manner it reaches, in agreement with the same, as far as the wall. [Others falsely suppose *labrum* and *alveus* to be identical, and others that *alveus* is the name of warming-pipes in the walls; or of the space round the *labrum*. Wüstemann himself understands by *labrum* a detached kettle, while *alveus* he takes to have been a tank or canal on the ground for many bathers. *Labrum* certainly would seem to be something standing high; *alveus*, something low. See Auct. *ad Her.* iv. 10, *in alveum descenderet.*]

The *scholæ* were the free spaces between the receptacles of water and the wall, where those who intended to bathe, or only visited the bath for the sake of amusement, stood or sat.

The water was warmed, according to Vitruvius, by erecting three kettles: *Ænea supra hypocaustum tria sunt componenda, unum caldarium, alterum tepidarium, tertium frigidarium, et ita collocanda, uti ex tepidario in caldarium, quantum aquæ caldæ exierit, influat. De frigidario in tepidarium ad eundem modum.* This might be effected in more ways than one. The simplest was to place the kettles one over the other, and join them by means of pipes, and we thus find them in the bath discovered at the country-house of Diomedes at Pompeii. See *Voyage pitt. de Naples*, livr. 10 et 11, pl. 79; Fernow on Winck. ii. tab. iv. C. n. 2; although there are only two kettles there; but we find it different in the painting from the bath of Titus.

There are two expressions still requiring explanation. Firstly, the *solium* is often mentioned, and by some understood to mean an apparatus in the caldarium, by which single persons might sit and take a shallow bath. Festus, 298: *Alvei quoque lavandi gratia*

instituti, quo singuli descendunt, (solla) *solia dicuntur.* See Martial, ii. 42. Hence also Celsus says, ii. 17, and elsewhere, *in solio desidendum est.* [The magnificence of these solia is shown by Pliny, *H. N.* xxxiii. 12, 54: *feminæ laventur et nisi argentea solia fastidiant.* The *sella balnearis,* in Paull. III. 6, 83, is doubtless the same thing.] See Burmann, *ad Petron.* 73.

Martial's Epig. ix. 76, has also caused offence:

> Non silice duro structilive cæmento,
> Nec latere cocto, quo Semiramis longam
> Babylona cinxit, Tucca balneum fecit;
> Sed strage nemorum pineaque compage,
> Ut navigare Tucca balneo possit.
> Idem beatas lautus exstruit thermas
> De marmore omni, quod Carystos invenit,
> Quod Phrygia Synnas, Afra quod Nomas mittit,
> Et quod virenti fonte lavit Eurotas.
> Sed ligna desunt; subjice balneum thermis.

[In Orell. *Ins.* 4326, *balnea* and *thermæ* are again opposed.]

To the question, how is the *balneum* distinguished from the *thermæ?* people are accustomed to answer, that *balneum* means the cold bath, or the *cella frigidaria,* and *thermæ,* the heated rooms. Still this seems quite inadmissible; for *balneum* is especially used of the warm bath in opposition to the cold. Cels. i. 1: *Prodest etiam interdum balneo, interdum aquis frigidis uti; modo ungi, modo id ipsum negligere.* iii. 24: *Per omne tempus utendum est exercitatione, fricatione, et, si hyems est, balneo; si æstas, frigidis natationibus.* In the painting there is a particular cella by the side of the sudatio, with the inscription *balneum;* unquestionably a warm bath, for the cella frigidaria is given in addition behind the tepidarium. We may therefore suppose that common warm baths are to be understood. Such a bath, into which warm water only was conducted, might very suitably have been of wood; not so thermæ, which presupposed a tepidarium and caldarium, and must have had hypocausta. [*Balneum,* or *lavatrina,* was originally the proper term for bath, which it always continued to be, in a general sense; Charis. i. 12, p. 76: *Balneum veteres dixerunt sive balineum, nihil enim differt publicum à privatis in publicis autem femin. gen. et quidem numero semper plurali frequenter balneas et balineas, nec immerito, nam parsimoniæ causa uno igne duplex balineum calfaciebant.* Varro, *L. L.* ix. 68. Later, when those grand institutions, resembling the Greek gymnasiums, sprung up, they were always provided with baths, and were thence called *thermæ;* whilst the name *balneum* and *balnea* denoted, in a narrower sense, the regular bathing establishments, whether public (*publicæ balneæ,* Varro),

as at Pompeii, or small domestic bath-rooms. Varro, *L. L.* ix. 68; *domi suæ quisque ubi lavatur balneum dixerunt.* There were numbers of public *balnea* in every region of Rome, whilst there were but few *thermæ.* See *Charicles*, translated by Metcalf, p. 123, respecting the latter. In Dio. Cass. liii. 27; lxviii. 15, the *thermæ* are also called *gymnasia;* gymnastic exercises being often practised in them, particularly in winter. Orell. 2591: *pila lusi thermis Trajani, thermis Agrippæ.*]

The remaining arrangements and decorations of the baths are, even in Pompeii, elegant; yet there the ornaments appear exceedingly mean, compared with the splendour lavished on establishments of this sort at Rome, as may be best conceived from the eighty-sixth letter of Seneca, who after describing the simplicity in the bath of the great Scipio, says: *At nunc quis est, qui sic lavari sustineat? pauper sibi videtur ac sordidus, nisi parietes magnis et pretiosis orbibus refulserunt; nisi Alexandrina marmora Numidicis crustis distincta sunt; nisi illis undique operosa et in picturæ modum variata camera; nisi Thasius lapis, quondam rarum in aliquo spectaculum templo, piscinas nostras circumdedit, in quas multa sudatione corpora exinanita demittimus; nisi aquam argentea epistomia fuderunt. Et adhuc plebeias fistulas loquor: quid cum ad balnea libertinorum pervenero? Quantum statuarum! quantum columnarum nihil sustinentium, sed in ornamentum positarum, impensæ causa! quantum aquarum per gradus cum fragore labentium! Eo deliciarum pervenimus, ut nisi gemmas calcare nolimus.* In order that the temperature of the water might always continue the same, warm water constantly flowed in: *recens semper velut ex calido fonte currebat.* Not less magnificent is the *balneum Etrusci* described by Stat. *Silv.* i. 5, of which he says (v. 47):

> Nil ibi plebeium: nusquam Temesea notabis
> Æra, sed argento felix propellitur unda,
> Argentoque cadit, labrisque nitentibus intrat.

What Seneca says of the *camera* is more clearly expressed by Statius; *vario fastigia vitro in species animosque nitent.* It was mosaic in glass; also mentioned by Pliny, xxxvi. 25, 64. Compare the description of the same bath in Mart. vi. 42, and Lucian's bath of Hippias.

In addition to other things, the great public thermæ were well supplied with amusements of all sorts. Even libraries were introduced into them; and there is no great bath, from the time of Agrippa to Constantine, in which a place was not assigned to them in the plan. Nevertheless, corroborations from ancient writers are still wanting; for, with the exception of a passage of Vopiscus, in the life of

Probus (2), *Usus autem sum—præcipue libris ex bibliotheca Ulpia, ætate mea in thermis Diocletianis*, we do not remember any other mention of it. Hirt explains the words of Seneca, *De Tranq. An.* 9: *Jam enim inter balnearia et thermas bibliotheca quoque ut necessarium domus ornamentum expolitur*, thus: 'It was considered as a necessary ornament to have libraries between the bathing saloons and thermæ;' but this is only a new proof of great carelessness; for it evidently means that libraries served no longer for literary wants only, but it was the fashion to have them in the house, and they were considered quite as necessary appendages as the bath.

Little is known of the public baths of Rome in the time of Gallus; it was not till some years afterwards that Agrippa built his thermæ, together with the Pantheon, and these were followed by several grand buildings. Till that time, the baths most likely belonged to private speculators, and the bathers had to pay; hence they who wished to curry favour with the people, would sometimes, in addition to other amusements, offer a free use of the baths. So Dio. Cass. relates of Faustus (xxxvii. 51): *τά τε λοῦτρα καὶ ἔλαιον προῖκα αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν*: of Agrippa, who as ædile granted baths gratis all the year through to men and women (xlix. 43); and of Augustus, who returning from Germany, *τῷ δήμῳ προῖκα τά τε λοῦτρα καὶ τοὺς κουρέας τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην παρέσχεν*. Soon after, Agrippa left his thermæ to the people, *ὥστε προῖκα αὐτοὺς λοῦσθαι*. Dio. Cass. liv. 29. [Speaking of what Agrippa did for the baths at Rome, Pliny says (xxxvi. 15, 24), *adjicit ipse in ædilitatis suæ commemoratione gratuita præbita balineas centum septuaginta, quæ nunc Romæ ad infinitum auxere numerum*. The number of these *balnea publica* (Orell. 643; Cic. *p. Cœl.* 26; Suet. *Oct.* 94) was greatly increased by the emperors. Thus Alex. Severus, according to Lamprid. 38, *balnea omnibus regionibus addidit, nam hodieque multa dicuntur Alexandri.*] But even after the *Neronianæ* and *Titinæ* were added to these, the private establishments for bathing still remained to satisfy the wants in this respect. Martial mentions four of these, *balnea quatuor* (v. 70, 4). They are probably those named (ii. 14, 11):

> Nec Fortunati spernit, nec balnea Fausti,
> Nec Grylli tenebras, Æoliamque Lupi.
> Nam thermis iterumque, iterumque, iterumque lavatur;

consequently four times. See above. Besides these, there is the bath of Etruscus, and the *impudici balnea Tigellini*, iii. 20, 16. But *triplices thermæ* (x. 51, 12) probably mean the three above-mentioned establishments, for although the *thermæ Agrippæ* were burnt down under Titus (Dio. Cass. lxvi. 24); yet it is scarcely credible

that Hadrian was the first to undertake to restore them (Spart. *Hadr.* 29); and Martial expressly mentions them, iii. 20, 15: *Titine thermis an lavatur Agrippæ?* Whether the προῖκα λούεσθαι continued in these public baths, cannot be determined; only it must appear strange, that everywhere the *quadrans* is mentioned, though nowhere the *gratis lavare.* [Yet in Orelli, 3326, we read *lavationem ex sua pecunia gratuitam in perpetuum dedit;* also 3325, a legacy is left for a similar purpose: comp. 3772.] Hor. *Sat.* i. 3, 137; Mart. iii. 30, 4; viii. 42; Juven. vi. 447; ii. 152; Sen. *Epist.* 86, *balneum res quadrantaria.* Are we always to refer this to the *balnea meritoria,* or was it only the lowest price of admission for the commoner class, or was this trifle paid in the public baths also, in order to cover the necessary expenses? It is erroneously concluded from Juvenal (vi. 47), that the women paid nothing; but the above-cited passage from Dio. Cassius sufficiently contradicts this notion. Most probably Roman matrons did not visit such public baths where the *quadrans* was paid, and Juvenal wishes to describe the customs of the men. How general such balnea meritoria were, not only in Rome, but elsewhere in Italy also, is seen from Plin. *Epist.* ii. 17, 26.

As far as regards bathing, it is probable that in more ancient times the use of the cold-water bath was the prevailing one. Hence also Philematium, in Plaut. *Mostel.* i. 3, 1, says:

> Jam pridem, ecastor, frigida non lavi magis lubenter,
> Nec quom me melius, mea Scapha, rear esse defæcatam:

and persons of simple habits of life, such as the elder Pliny, adhered to this (Pliny, *Epist.* iii. 5, 11): *Post solum plerumque frigida lavabatur.* Comp. vi. 16, 5. Nevertheless, they had *caldaria* then also, as Seneca mentions in the case of Scipio himself, but had not yet begun to think about a temperature, concerning which Seneca says: *Similis incendio, adeo quidem, ut convictum in aliquo scelere servum vivum lavari oporteat. Nihil mihi videtur jam interesse, ardeat balneum, an caleat.* This seems to be a little oratorical exaggeration, though Celsus (i. 3) mentions a *fervens balneum,* and Trimalchio says, in Petron. 72, *Conjiciamus nos in balneum. Sic calet, tanquam furnus.* Perspiration and appetite, which earlier generations obtained by corporeal exertion and agricultural labour, were attained by a later race, that lived for the most part in idle inactivity, by means of sudatoria and hot baths. Thus Columella judged of his time; and after mentioning a Cincinnatus, Fabricius, and Curius Dentatus, complains: *Omnes enim patresfamiliæ falce et aratro relictis intra murum correpsimus, et in circis potius ac theatris, quam in segetibus et vinetis manus movemus. Mox deinde, ut apte veniamus ad*

ganeas, quotidianam cruditatem laconicis excoquimus, et exsucto sudore sitim quærimus, noctesque libidinibus et ebrietatibus, dies ludo vel somno consumimus, ac nosmetipsos ducimus fortunatos, quod nec orientem solem vidimus, nec occidentem. Comp. Juven. i. 143; Sen. *Epist.* 51. They who desired to use the bath through all degrees of temperature, sought first to give their body the preparation which was considered necessary, by some sort of lighter gymnastics, ball-play, *halteres*, and the like; and the baths were always provided with rooms suitable for this purpose. On the arrival of the hour for opening the thermæ, a signal was given with a bell, as we see from Mart. xiv. 163, where, under the Lemma *tintinnabulum*, he says:

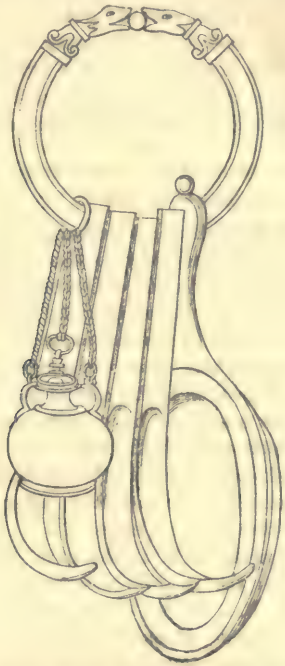
> Redde pilam: sonat æs thermarum: ludere pergis?
> Virgine vis sola lotus abire domum.

Such a person betook himself, most probably, into the tepidarium, in order not to be exposed suddenly to the heat of the caldarium, where they were anointed with oil, as Celsus expressly says; and it is probable that this was the place generally assigned to that operation, although we read also of special *unctoria*. It is strange that in the *Tuscum* of Pliny, where there was a cella media or tepidaria, no unctorium is mentioned, as is the case in the *Laurens*, where, on the other hand, there seems to have been no tepidarium. The anointing with oil took place both before and after the bath, and even after they had already stepped into the bath, they sometimes left it again, to be anointed a second time, after which they again betook themselves to the bath. Celsus, i. 3.

They took the oil with them to the bath (or rather, the slave carried it), as well as the *strigiles* and *lintea* to dry themselves. Hence Varro says (*R. R.* i. 55, 4): (Olea) *dominum in balnea sequitur*. Though the simplicity of earlier times was content with the pure oil only, this at a later period was changed for costly salves, of which we have already spoken. No doubt people anointed themselves at other times besides at the bath, in order to reek of perfume the whole day through. Sen. *Epist.* 86: *Parum est sumere unguentum, ni bis die terque renovetur, ne evanescat in corpore. Quid quod odore, tanquam suo, gloriantur.* See Boettig. *Sab.* i. 146; and concerning the *alabastra*, his *Die Aldobrand Hochz.* 47. [Even the clothes were anointed with aromatic oils, Juv. iii. 263: *Jam lavat et pleno componit lintea gutto.* Mart. viii. 3, 10; Clem. Alex. *Pædag.* ii. 8, p. 207.]

The strigiles, or scrapers, are known to us from the gymnasia. In the baths they were used for scraping away oil and impurities from the skin [*defricare*]. In the *Mus. Borb.* we have a whole

bathing apparatus, consisting of four strigiles, an *unguentarium*, for the form of which the name *ampulla olearia* (*ampullæ cosmianæ*, Mart. iii. 82, 26; xiv. 110) seems to be very suitable, and a *patera*, with handle, or by whatever name this pan-like utensil is to be called, an engraving of which follows. All these utensils hung on a



ring, which could be opened, to let them be taken off, and bring to mind the passage of Appuleius, *Florid.* ii. 9, 34, where we read of Hippias: *Qui magno in cœtu prædicavit fabricatam sibimet ampullam quoque oleariam, quam gestabat, lenticulari forma, tereti ambitu, pressula rotunditate; juxtaque honestam strigileculam, recta fastigatione clausulæ, flexa tubulatione ligulæ, ut et ipsa in manu capulo motaretur et sudor ex ea rivulo laberetur.* Thus also, just after, he connects both: *strigilem et ampullam, cœteraque balnei utensilia nundinis mercari.* [Comp. Suet. *Oct.* 80; Juv. iii. 262.] The description of the strigiles quite agrees with the form of those at Pompeii, and that in the painting from the baths of Titus; for they all have a hollow, in which, when scraped over the body, sweat, oil, or water collected, and ran off as it were by a gutter. Boettiger supposes that the

strigiles of the *athletæ* were different from those used at the bath, which, however, cannot easily be shown to have been the case from the existing monuments.

The third utensil is explained to be a *vas potorium*, because it was customary after the bath *os calida*, or *frigida fovere* (Celsus, i. 3), and frequently. If we compare what the parasite (in Plaut. *Pers.* i. 3, 43) says:

> Cynica esse e gente oportet parasitum probe:
> Ampullam, strigiles, scaphium, soccos, pallium,
> Marsupium habeat;

we might perhaps apply the name *scaphium* thereto, though we gather nothing from thence respecting its use.

To the bath-utensils belong, lastly, the *lintea*, the linen cloths for drying with. That linen ones only were used for this purpose has been shown by Becker (*Nachträge zum Augusteum*, 45), and the use by Trimalchio (in Petron. 28) of woollen cloths for that purpose is an eccentricity. So also in Appul. *Met.* i. 17, 72: *Ac simul ex promtuario oleum unctui et lintea tersui et cætera huic eidem usui profer ociter, et hospitem meum produc ad proximas balneas;* Plaut. *Curc.* iv. 4, 22, *linteumque extersui*. These, and not cloths, are meant by Martial, xiv. 51:

> Pergamus has misit, curvo destringere ferro:
> Non tam sæpe teret lintea fullo tibi.

After this process was over, they passed into the caldarium, and took their place on the seats that ran up towards the wall in the manner of steps, probably by degrees higher and nearer to the laconicum, then again farther off, according to the degree of heat desired. After having succeeded in causing perspiration, they stepped either into the hot-water bath, or got themselves sprinkled with water, generally perhaps cold, or retired immediately into the frigidarium, in order to brace the relaxed skin by the cold bath. Petron. 28: *Itaque intravimus balneum, et sudore calefacti momento temporis ad frigidam eximus*, where Erhard cites Sidon. Carm. 19:

> Intrate algentes post balnea torrida fluctus,
> Ut solidet calidam frigore lympha cutem.

So Martial, vi. 42, 16:

> Ritus si placeant tibi Laconum
> Contentus potes arido vapore
> Cruda Virgine Martiave mergi.

This manner of bathing was of course not always pursued throughout, many contenting themselves with the cold, others with the warm-bath. The women, even the noblest of them, visited the public baths as well as the men. [No doubt they had separate

rooms. Varro, *L. L.* ix. 68; Orell. 3324, *bal. virilia* and *bal. muliebre.* See above.] This we see from the narrative of Atia, the mother of Octavian, who, after the fabulous rencontre in the temple of Apollo, had borne on her person ever after the indelible mark of a serpent: *adeo ut mox publicis balneis perpetuo abstinuerit.* This led afterwards to the gross immorality of men and women bathing together, often alluded to by Juvenal and Martial; but we must not believe that this impropriety was general. On the contrary, they were no doubt *impudicæ mulieres* who did so, the number of whom at Rome was very great. Hence Quinctilian says, *Inst.* v. 9: *Signum est adulteræ, lavari cum viris;* but still he could not have been living at the time when this licentiousness was interdicted; for Hadrian was the first to put an end to the disorder, though only for a brief period. Dio. Cass. lxix. 8. Spartian. *Hadr.* 18: *Lavacra pro sexibus separavit.* The renewal afterwards of these interdicts shows that the evil could not be eradicated. [Capit. *M. Ant. Phil.* 23; Lamprid. *Sev. Alex.* 24. Heliogabalus actually allowed it; Lamprid. *Heliog.* 31.]

The hour for bathing was, as is well known, that preceding dinner-time, but, like that, it varied partly on account of the different length of the hours of the day, partly because persons much engaged in business could not spare time for repose so easily as those who were idle. Pliny says of Spurinna, *Ep.* iii. 1, 8: *Ubi hora balinei nuntiata est—est autem hieme nona, æstate octava—in sole, si caret vento, ambulat nudus.* On the contrary, we have in Mart. iii. 36:

> Lassus ut in thermas decima, vel serius, hora
> Te sequar Agrippæ, cum laver ipse Titi;

and x. 70, 13, *Balnea post decimam lasso petuntur.* We have therefore only to consider which hour was the most usual. This point has been treated of at length by Salmas. *ad Spartian. Hadr.* 22; Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 25; Vopisc. *Florian.* 6; but the result he arrives at on the passage of Lampridius, *Thermæ apud veteres non ante nonam aperiebantur*, cannot possibly be considered correct. It is true that the most usual hour for bathing was the eighth, as is corroborated by many passages, which need not be repeated; but it is also evident that persons bathed earlier too, and this was not only the case with the private baths, but the thermæ also were open. Mart. x. 48:

> Nunciat octavam Phariæ sua turba juvencæ,
> Et pilata redit jamque subitque cohors.
> Temperat hæc thermas; nimios prior hora vapores
> Halat, et immodico sexta Nerone calet.

From which we certainly see that persons might bathe in the public baths at the seventh and even at the sixth hour. Moreover, Juvenal,

xi. 205, cannot be otherwise understood: *Jam nunc in balnea salva Fronte licet vadas, quamquam solida hora supersit Ad sextam;* and just as unequivocal are the words of Vitruvius, v. 10: *maxime tempus lavandi a meridiano ad vesperum est constitutum.* When therefore Spartian says of Hadrian (c. 22): *Ante horam octavam in publico neminem nisi ægrum lavari passus est,* this was nothing but a new arrangement, and shows that the matter was differently arranged before. At a later period the time of bathing was extended to night-time also. Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 24: *Addidit et oleum luminibus thermarum, quum antea non ante auroram paterent, et ante solis occasum clauderentur.* A remarkable passage, if the reading *non ante auroram* were to be relied on; but it appears strange that before the time of Alexander the thermæ in Rome were shut after sunset, whilst the lamps discovered in Pompeii, and the traces of smoke in the hollows made for them, establish the fact that people bathed by lamp-light. Tacitus again restricted the time to the length of the day. Vopisc. *Tac.* 10: *Thermas omnes ante lucernam claudi jussit, ne quid per noctem seditionis oriretur.* But probably this did not continue long in force, and later we find a certain sum allotted to defray the cost of lighting. *Cod. Justin.* viii. 12, 19: *Quia plurimæ domus cum officinis suis in porticibus Zeuxippi esse memorantur, reditus memoratorum locorum pro quantitate quæ placuit ad præbenda luminaria et ædificia ac tecta reparanda regiæ hujus urbis lavacro sine aliqua jubemus excusatione conferri.* In the relief first communicated by Mercurialis, the bathing is evidently represented as going on at night-time, for above the labrum, a *lucerna trimyxos* burns on the wall. [Liban. *Orat.* xxii. t. ii. p. 3.]

The baths became by degrees places of the most foolish debauchery; and although what is related by Suetonius of Caligula, c. 37, *Commentus novum balnearum usum, portentosissima genera ciborum atque cœnarum, ut calidis frigidisque unguentis lavaretur,* etc., and by Lampridius of Heliogabalus, c. 19, *Hic non nisi unguento nobili aut croco piscinis infectis natavit,* may be reckoned among the particular follies of these foolish persons, still this much is certain, that even without these, there was a most inordinate display of luxury at these places. [Orell. *Inscr.* 4816:

Balnea, vina, Venus, corrumpunt corpora nostra.]

Especially was this the case with the ladies, as, for instance, the women of Nero used to bathe in asses' milk. See Boettig. *Sab.* i. 48.

EXCURSUS II. SCENE VII.

THE GAME OF BALL AND OTHER GYMNASTIC EXERCISES.

THE daily bath, and previous to it strong exercise, for the purpose of causing perspiration, were inseparable, in the minds of the Romans, from the idea of a regular and healthy mode of life. They had a multitude of exercises, more or less severe, which were regularly gone through every day before the bath, thus rendering the body strong and active, and exciting a greater appetite for the meal that was to follow. [The *exercitatio* preceded the bath. Mart. xiv. 163; Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 125:

> Ast ubi me fessum sol acrior ire lavatum
> Admonuit, fugio campum lusumque trigonem.

Lamprid. *Sev. Alex.* 30. See below.]

Of course these exercises were confined to the male sex, as gymnastics were considered unbecoming and indecent for women (Mart. vii. 67, 4; Juven. vi. 246, 419), and in Greece the Spartan unfemininess (*libidinosæ Lacedæmonis palæstræ*, Mart. iv. 55, 6) afforded great cause for ridicule. See Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 81 [Plato, *de Leg.* vii. 12, p. 806]; although Propert. iii. 14, and Ovid. *Her.* xvi. 149, for reasons easily understood, dwell with pleasure on this *virginea palæstra.*

These antique gymnastics, or rather those of the Romans, which will alone form the subject of our present inquiry, differed in many respects from those of modern times, in which they are confined to the period of youth. In Rome, on the contrary, there was not the slightest idea of impropriety when the *consul* or *triumphator*, the world-ruling Cæsar himself, sought in the game of ball, or other kinds of gymnastics, an exertion wholesome for both body and mind; and they who omitted such exercises were accused of indolence. Suetonius thus characterizes Augustus' increasing attachment to ease: *Exercitationes campestres equorum et armorum statim post civilia bella omisit, et ad pilam primo folliculumque transiit: mox nihil aliud quam vectabatur et deambulabat. Aug.* 83. [Val. Max. viii. 8, 2, says of the famous Q. Mucius Scævola, Augur: *optime pila lusisse traditur.* Lamprid. *Sev. Alex.* 30.] No other passages need be adduced, for of all the men of consequence at Rome, few only (as Cicero, *pro Arch.* 6) formed exceptions to the general rule.

One of the most favourite exercises for young and old, the advantages of which had been extolled by Galen in a treatise περὶ μικρᾶς σφαίρας, was the game of ball, which, from its frequent mention, and the various ways of playing it, deserves a particular exposition. The passages referring to it will not, however, admit of our arriving at a distinct idea of the method of play, as is the case in most descriptions of such matters, which must have been supposed to have been known to contemporaries. [See Sidon. Apoll. *Ep.* v. 17, ii. 9. Adults in Italy frequently play at ball now.]

Roman authors mention numerous varieties of the game of ball, as *pila* simply, *follis* or *folliculus*, *trigon*, *paganica*, *harpastum*, *sparsiva*, in addition to which we have the expressions, *datatim*, *expulsim*, *raptim ludere; geminare*, *revocare*, *reddere pilam*. [Comp. Poll. ix. 104.] But it seems that we can only admit of three different kinds of ball; pila, in the more confined sense, the small regular ball, which however might be harder, or more elastic, for different kinds of play; follis, the great *ballon*, as the name indicates, merely filled with air (like our foot-ball), and paganica. Concerning the use of the last we have the least information; Martial mentions it only in two passages, vii. 32:

> Non pila, non follis, non te paganica thermis
> Præparat, aut nudi stipitis ictus hebes.

and xiv. 45:

> Hæc quæ difficili turget paganica pluma,
> Folle minus laxa est, et minus arta pila.

As the paganica is opposed in both places to the follis and the pila, and no fourth kind is mentioned in addition to them, we must suppose that one or other of these three balls was used in all varieties of the game. The words *paganica*, *folle minus laxa*, *minus arta pila*, are incorrectly explained by Rader and Mercurialis, as applying to the contents of the ball. The use of both adjectives leaves no doubt that the size of the ball is spoken of, and in this respect it stood between the follis and pila. No doubt it also so far differed from the former, that it was stuffed with feathers, and was consequently somewhat heavier; this is all that we know about it. The poet gives no hint concerning the origin of the name, nor about the game for which it was used. On an intaglio in Beger (*Thes. Brand.* 139) a naked male figure sits holding in each hand a ball, supposed to be the paganica, because apparently too small for the follis, and too large for the pila, for they are not clasped within the hand. But this is evidently a very insecure argument, and, as regards the game, nothing would follow from it.

The follis, the great but light ball or ballon, was struck by the

fist or arm. It is uncertain whether the words of Trachalio, in Plaut. *Rud.* iii. 4, 16, *Extemplo, hercle, ego te follem pugillatorium faciam, et pendentem incursabo pugnis*, refer to this; for a distended skin may also be understood, by which the *pugiles* practised themselves, as the *gladiatores* did with a post. If we may trust the copy given by Mercurialis (*de Arte Gymnast.*) of a coin of Gordian III., the right arm was sometimes equipped with a kind of glove, to assist in striking. The game did not require any very severe exertion, on which account Martial (xiv. 47) says:

> Ite procul juvenes; mitis mihi convenit ætas:
> Folle decet pueros ludere, folle senes.

The diminutive *folliculus* is sometimes used, but there is not sufficient ground for supposing it to have been the paganica; pila and follis, however, denote in general the whole science of sphæristic, and therefore included the paganica, as being intermediate between them.

The other games were all played with the pila, and whenever follis and paganica are not expressly designated, we must always understand the small ball. Hence Martial, in the *Apophoretæ*, has no particular epigram upon it; for it is already meant under the *trigon* and *harpastum*. The special mention of both these appears to be grounded on the difference of the games, of which we shall hereafter speak.

Before we proceed to discuss the regular games, the expressions *datatim* and *expulsim ludere* must be explained. By the first seems to be meant the most simple use of the pila, in which two persons opposite each other, either threw a ball alternately to one another, or perhaps each threw a ball simultaneously, and caught the other thrown to him. [Non. ii. 213, *datatim*, i. e. *invicem dando.*] This took place even in the streets, as we see from Plaut. (*Curcul.* ii. 3, 17), where the parasite says threateningly to all who meet him:

> Tum isti qui ludunt datatim servi scurrarum in via,
> Et datores, et factores, omnes subdam sub solum.

Comp. Nov. *ap. Non.* ii. 268 [*in molis non ludunt raptim pila, datatim morso.* Enn. in Isidor. i. 25]; the commentators Burm. *ad Petr.* 27; and especially Gronovius' note to the passage in Plautus. We find this simple kind of sphæristic, though in conjunction with orchestic, in the case of Homer's Phæacians. *Odyss.* viii. 374:

> τὴν ἕτερος ῥίπτασκε ποτὶ νέφεα σκιόεντα
> ἰδνωθεὶς ὀπίσω· ὁ δ' ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὑψόσ' ἀερθεὶς,
> ῥηϊδίως μεθέλεσκε πάρος ποσὶν οὐδας ἱκέσθαι.

And the words in the fragment of Damoxenos, in Athen. i. 26,

ἢ λαμβάνων τὴν σφαῖραν ἢ διδοὺς, appear to mean the same thing. But Seneca (*de Benef.* ii. 17) certainly alludes to such throwing and catching: (*Pilam*) *cadere non est dubium, aut mittentis vitio, aut accipientis. Tunc cursum suum servat ubi inter manus utriusque apte ab utroque et jactata et excepta versatur.* This will be made still more clear by the passages to be quoted below.

But although this expression can be explained without difficulty, the second, *expulsim ludere*, is obscure, if we are to understand it as a special variety of the game. Varro says, *Non.* ii. 281: *Videbis in foro ante lanienas pueros pila expulsim ludere;* and similarly in Petron. 27, we have *lusu expellente.* From neither of these passages is it clear what kind of game can be meant; it is certain only that the notion of striking or striking back, without catching it, is not necessarily contained in expellere. This is apparent from its being also used of trigon. Mart. xiv. 46:

> Si me mobilibus scis expulsare sinistris,
> Sum tua: si nescis, rustice, redde pilam.

But it is certain that the trigon was meant to be caught. Still more erroneous is the opinion of Wüstemann (*Pal. d. Scaur.* 192), that the ball was struck with a racquet. It rests on a misunderstood passage of Ovid's *Art. Am.* iii. 361:

> Reticuloque pilæ leves fundantur aperto;
> Nec, nisi quam tolles, ulla movenda pila est.

A glance at these words is sufficient to show that they contain no allusion to sphæristic, and that *reticulum* means an open net or purse into which a number of balls were shaken, in order to be taken out again one by one, during which process, no other ball, but that which was to be taken out, might be moved.

Apart from the passage in Varro, from which we are not able to gather the meaning of the word *expellere*, *expulsare* seems (at least in trigon) only to signify generally the throwing of the ball. So also Seneca uses the stronger expression, *repercutere* (see the passage quoted above). *Pila utcunque venerit, manus illam expedita et agilis repercutiet. Si cum tirone negotium est, non tam rigide, nec tam excusse, sed languidius et in ipsam ejus dirigentes manum, remisse occurramus.* Here he speaks of the datatim ludere, as indeed is requisite from the nature of the comparison; for *dare et accipere beneficium* and *mittere et excipere pilam*, are opposed to each other. It is quite clear from the following passage, that *repercutere* does not, as might be supposed, signify to strike back, and that, on the contrary, a game between two only, in which the ball was thrown back and caught, is mentioned (32): *Sicut in lusu est aliquid, pilam*

scite ac diligenter excipere, sed non dicitur bonus lusor, nisi qui apte et expedite remisit, quam exceperat; and immediately after, *nec tamen ideo non bonum lusorem dicam, qui pilam, ut oportebat, excepit si per ipsum mora, quominus remitteret, non fuit.* [The word *expulsim* must mean something more than *remittere;* not to mention that otherwise there would be no difference between the two sorts of playing, *datatim* and *expulsim*. *Remittere*, as Seneca says (c. 32), denotes the throwing back the ball which has been actually caught (*excipere*), and is the characteristic of the *datatim;* on the other hand, *expulsare* and *repercutere* must mean the striking back the ball thrown to one, either towards the thrower, or further on, to a third player; and this is the *expulsim ludere*, whereof Seneca speaks in the first passage. In the trigon, both the datatim and the expulsim may be used (see Martial); since all that is required is three active players, who first agree as to the method of throwing to be used. Thus Herzberg explains Prop. iii. 12, 5:

Cum pila veloci fallit per brachia jactu,

of the ball, which is thrown or struck on rapidly from arm to arm.]

Amongst the more intricate kinds of play, the trigon, *pila trigonalis*, appears to have been by far the most popular and common, although it is not till a later period that we obtain intelligence of its existence. The name itself seems to explain the nature of the game, in which three players were required, who stood in a triangle, ἐν τριγώνῳ. [Isid. xviii. 69.] We know simply that the expert players threw and caught only with the left hand, as Martial says in more than one epigram; for instance, in the above-mentioned *Apophoretum:*

Si me mobilibus scis expulsare sinistris,
Sum tua: si nescis, rustice, redde pilam.

Also (vii. 72, 9):

Sic palmam tibi de trigone nudo
Unctæ det favor arbiter coronæ,
Nec laudet Polybi magis sinistras.

The passage xii. 83, where the parasite Menogenes is laughed at by the poet, because he caught the ball with the right, as well as with the left hand, might almost lead us to the supposition that each person numbered the balls caught, for it runs thus:

Captabit tepidum dextra lævaque trigonem,
Imputet exceptas ut tibi sæpe pilas.

He hoped by this means to obtain a claim on the table of the person playing with him. [Herzberg explains this also of *expulsim ludere*, but *exceptas* would seem rather to refer to the *datatim*.] The word *tepidum*, applied to the trigon here (and iv. 19, 5),

doubtless refers to the heating nature of the game; but we must not suppose that it means the ball warmed in the hand, but by a usual metonymy of the effect produced. No artistic representations of such sphæristic have come down to us. That which Mercurialis copies from coins of Marcus Aurelius, and a perfect resemblance of which is to be found in a painting on a ceiling (see *Descr. d. Bains de Titus*, pl. 17), is another game with several balls.

The *harpastum* was unquestionably a more severe exercise, the chief passage respecting which is to be found in Athenæus (i. 25, 26), with the fragment of Antiphanes. Though there may be some obscurity respecting it, it is certain that a ball was thrown amongst the players, of which each one tried to obtain possession; for he says, περὶ μικρᾶς σφαίρας (c. ii. 902): ὅταν γὰρ συνιστάμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀποκωλύοντες ὑφαρπάσαι τὸν μεταξὺ διαπονῶσι, μέγιστον αὐτὸ καὶ σφοδρότατον καθίσταται, πολλοῖς μὲν τραχηλισμοῖς πολλαῖς δ' ἀντιλήψεσι παλαιστικαῖς ἀναμεμιγμένον. Hence in Martial (iv. 19), *harpasta pulverulenta*. It is worthy of remark that not only there, but also xiv. 48, *Harpasta*,

> Hæc rapit Antæi velox de pulvere draucus,
> Grandia qui vano colla labore facit.

the plural is used, whilst follis, paganica, trigonalis, are in the singular. We may almost believe therefore that sometimes, if not always, the contest was for several balls. It is moreover very probable that the proverb in Plaut. *Truc.* iv. 1, 8, *mea pila est*, may refer to such a game. That this game was boisterous enough, is evident from Athenæus; hence Martial, too, mentions participation in it as one of the improprieties of Philænis, vii. 67: *Harpasto quoque subligata ludit.*

The verses of Saleius Bassus, *Paneg. in Pis.* 173,

> Nec tibi mobilitas minor est, si forte volantem
> Aut geminare pilam juvat, aut revocare cadentem,
> Et non sperato fugientem reddere gestu;

cannot be referred either to the harpastum or the trigon. Here, in point of fact, a striking of the ball backwards and forwards seems to be spoken of, but whether the paganica be alluded to or not, we shall not attempt to determine. In no case is the follis meant; for it was not caught; and yet the words *revocare cadentem* (*in manus*) signify this. But *geminare pilam* and *reddere fugientem* appear to be understood of striking, as *Manil.* v. 165:

> Ille pilam celeri fugientem reddere planta,
> Et pedibus pensare manus, et ludere saltu.

With just as little probability can we venture to explain the *pila sparsiva* in Petron. 27, as even the reading is doubtful. Thus much

only is apparent, that the game was played by many persons, and with many balls. Besides these most usual, and therefore to us better known games, it is very natural to suppose that there were many other varieties.

Another species of gymnastics was the swinging of the *halteres*, weights, which, in practising to leap, were held in the hands. Representations of this exercise are to be found on gems and in paintings. See Tassie, *Catal.* pl. 46, 7978; *Descr. d. Bains de Tit.* pl. 17. Paus. i. 25, 26, ii. 3, adduces statues with *halteres;* and on the base of a restored statue of a boxer, in the Dresden collection (Aug. t. 109), hang the halteres as well as the *cestus.* [Pausan. v. 27, 8.] In the Roman gymnastics, these masses of lead served not only as springing-weights, but were held in the hand and swung in various directions with the arms. This bodily exercise is mentioned by Seneca, *Ep.* 15: *Sunt exercitationes et faciles et breves. Cursus et cum aliquo pondere manus motæ;* and (*Ep.* 56) where he is describing the noise in the *sphæristerium* of the baths of Baiæ: *Cum fortiores exercentur et manus plumbo graves jactant, cum aut laborant, aut laborantem imitantur, gemitus audio.* Mart. xiv. 19, also mentions them:

Quid pereunt stulto fortes haltere lacerti?
Exercet melius vinea fossa viros.

and Philænis says (vii. 67, 6): *gravesque draucis halteras facili rotat lacerto.* Comp. Juven. vi. 420. Mercurialis, in explanation, has given several copies of *halteristæ*, taken from gems, and says: *ut possit certior formæ hujusce exercitationis notitia haberi, adponendas curavimus halteristarum imagines, quas ex gemmis antiquis sculptis acceptas ad nos misit Pyrrhus Ligorius;* which words are expressly quoted that the whole copy may not be considered a mere fancy, as unfortunately is often the case with similar representations. Resting upon this, in Becker's *Nachtr. ad Aug.* 429, the Dresden *sphæristæ*, as they are called, are surmised to have been rather halteristæ.

A third sort of exercise was the sham fight with the *palus*, a post fixed in the ground, and against which they fought with a wicker-work shield and wooden sword, as against a living adversary. This game served originally as practice for the *tirones*, in order that they might acquire a knowledge of the use of their weapons. Veget. i. 11, gives us a full explanation of it: *Antiqui, sicut invenitur in libris, hoc genere exercuere tirones. Scuta de vimine in modum cratium corrotundata texebant, ita ut duplum pondus cratis haberet, quam scutum publicum habere consuevit, iidemque clavas ligneas dupli æque ponderis pro gladiis tironibus dabant, eoque modo non tantum mane, sed etiam post meridiem exercebantur ad palos. Palorum autem usus non solum militibus, sed etiam gladiatoribus plurimum prodest.*

*A singulis tironibus singuli pali defigebantur in terram, ita ut nutare non possent, et sex pedibus emineren*t. *Contra illum palum, tanquam contra adversarium, tiro cum crate illa et clava velut cum gladio se exercebat et scuto, ut nunc quasi caput aut faciem peteret, nunc lateribus minaretur, interdum contenderet poplites et crura succidere, accederet, recederet, assultaret, insiliret, et, quasi præsentem adversarium, sic palum omni impetu, omni bellandi arte tentaret. In qua meditatione servabatur illa cautela, ut ita tiro ad inferendum vulnus insurgeret, ne qua parte ipse pateret ad plagam.* This kind of fight was however practised not only as a study, but also for exercise previous to the bath. This is what Martial means (vii. 32, 7),

> Non pila, non follis, non te paganica thermis
> Præparat, aut nudi stipitis ictus hebes:

where *stipes* means simply the post, and *ictus hebes*, the wooden sword. So also Juven. vi. 247, in reprobation of the vicious habit of women practising such gymnastics:

> Endromidas Tyrias et femineum ceroma
> Quis nescit? vel quis non vidit vulnera pali?
> Quem cavat adsiduis sudibus scutoque lacessit.

Comp. v. 267, where Lipsius, *Mil. Rom.* v. 14; *Saturn.* i. 15, would read *rudibus* instead of *sudibus*.

Besides these, especially in the public baths, the more severe exercises of the *palæstra*, as the *lucta* (whence frequent mention of the *ceroma*, and *flavescere haphe*), the *discus*, &c. were practised.

Running and leaping were very common exercises. Augustus himself, after reducing his gymnastics to *ambulatio* alone, used to do this. Suet. *Aug.* 83, *deambulabat, ita ut in extremis spatiis subsultim decurreret.* Seneca, *Ep.* 15, divides leaping into three kinds, *saltus, vel ille qui corpus in altum levat, vel ille qui in longum mittit, vel ille, ut ita dicam, saliaris, aut ut contumeliosius dicam, fullonius.* The latter was not so much to be called leaping, as a species of dancing after the fashion of the *Salii*. [Plautus, *Bacch.* iii. 3, 24, mentions all the exercises together, though he is referring chiefly to Greek customs:

> Ibi cursu, luctando, hasta, disco, pugilatu, pila,
> Saliendo, sese exercebant.

So Ovid. *Trist.* iii. 12, 19; *Art. Am.* iii. 383.]

Old or indolent people, who wanted either the power or the inclination for more severe exercises, restricted themselves to the ambulatio or gestatio only, partly on horseback, partly in a carriage or on the lectica. Still there are many instances in which men of advanced age did not renounce the game of ball. Pliny

relates of Spurinna, *Ep.* iii. 1: *Ubi hora balinei nuntiata est, in sole, si caret vento, ambulat nudus. Deinde movetur pila vehementer et diu; nam hoc quoque exercitationis genere pugnat cum senectute.*

For the purpose of practising these gymnastics, they had in their own residence a *sphæristerium*, which derived its name from the game of ball, as being the most favourite and general exercise, although it was fitted up for other games also. [Stat. *Silv.* iv. præf. *Sed et sphæromachias spectamus et pilaris lusio admittitur.* Comp. Suet. *Vesp.* 20; Orell. *Inscr.* 57.] So Pliny, *Ep.* v. 6, 27, says: *Apodyterio superpositum est sphæristerium, quod plura genera exercitationis pluresque circulos capit.* There then the sphæristerium was situated on the first floor, for Hirt's conjecture, *apodyterio suppositum est sph.*, which is as much as to say, 'under the windows of the apodyterium lies the sphæristerium,' is neither necessary, nor in conformity with the usages of language, as we may say *subjacet*, but not *supponitur*. Probably a stair led from the apodyterium into the sphæristerium, which might nevertheless be a much larger room than the other. The *circuli* are not divisions of the sphæristerium, for the different games, or parties of players, but the latter themselves. The expression could best be explained from Petronius, where we read (27): *Nos interim vestiti errare cœpimus* (*in balneo*), *imo jocari magis et circulis ludentum accedere.* The word is the more suitable, as most probably, at the public baths, a circle of spectators used to collect round the players. Hence Mart. vii. 72, 10, says:

> Sic palmam tibi de trigone nudo
> Unctæ det favor arbiter coronæ.

Celsus, i. 2, prescribes: *Exercitationis plerumque finis esse debet sudor, aut certe lassitudo, quæ citra fatigationem sit.* And for this reason the place of exercise was erected in sunny spots in the open air, and if inside the house, was so made as to admit of being warmed. So Statius says of the *Balneum Etrusci*, v. 57, seqq.:

> Quid nunc strata solo referam tabulata, crepantes
> Auditura pilas, ubi languidus ignis inerrat
> Ædibus, et tenuem volvunt hypocausta vaporem.

Comp. Gevart. *Lect. Papin.* c. 38. From this passage we might conclude that the sphæristeria were sometimes boarded, *strata solo tabulata*, but after considering the words immediately succeeding, *ubi languidus ignis inerrat*, etc., we can only arrive at the conviction that we must not read *tabulata* but *tubulata*, as has been shown above. Pliny, *Ep.* ii. 17, 9: *Adhæret dormitorium membrum, transitu interjacente, qui suspensus et tubulatus conceptum vaporem, salubri temperamento huc illucque digerit et ministrat.* The matter becomes

still plainer through Seneca, *Ep.* 90: *Quædam nostra demum prodisse memoria scimus—ut suspensuras balneorum et impressos parietibus tubos, per quos circumfunderetur calor, qui ima simul et summa foveret æqualiter.* In Statius, then, we must suppose the floor to have been warmed, which is not extraordinary, for they used to exercise perfectly naked, and the *soleæ* were naturally taken off. Petr. 27, adduces it as something particular that Trimalchio *soleatus pila exercebatur.* Also in Martial, xii. 85, 3, we have,

> Colliget et referet lapsum de pulvere follem,
> Et si jam lotus, jam soleatus erit.

As the *exercitatio* always preceded the bath, it is natural to suppose that the sphæristeria, both at the public balnea, and in private houses, were immediately adjoining the bath. So they are placed by Pliny in both the villas. *Ep.* ii. 17, 12; v. 6, 27.

EXCURSUS I. SCENE VIII.

THE DRESS OF THE MEN.

As the costume of the Roman ladies remained till a late period essentially the same, so the men wore one distinguishing dress which first began to grow obsolete after the downfall of the Republic, when the indifference respecting the cultivation of national habits equalled that about the public affairs of the country. It is true that other articles of dress were worn as well as the simple robe of early days, and even this was folded with greater nicety and amplitude than before; but we must look on those habits as genuine Roman which were in vogue at the most blooming period of the Republic.

Among the writings on this subject, the laborious compilation of Ferrarius (*De re Vestiaria*, ii. vii.) will always stand chief. Differing from him, are Rubeni, *De re Vest. præcipue de lato clavo*, and on the other side, Ferrarii, *Analecta de re Vest.;* Dandré Bardon, *du Costume, etc. des anciens peuples;* Martini, *Das Kostüm der meisten Völker des Alterth.;* Malliot and Martin, *Recherches sur le Costume, etc. des anc. peuples*, t. i.—iii.; Seckendorf, *Die Grundform der Toga;* Thom. Baxter, *Description of the Egyptian, Greek, and Roman Costumes;* Bartholini, *de pœnula.* Compare also Ottfr. Müller, *Etrusker*, i. 260. See Becker's *Charicles*, translated by Metcalfe. The chief sources of information are Quinctil. *Inst.* xi. 3; the grammarians, especially Nonius, *De genere vestim.;* Gellius, vii. 12; Tertull. *De pallio*, v.; and the numerous statues in Roman costume.

In speaking of the dress of every-day life, we shall exclude the costume belonging to particular offices, or to public positions generally, as well as the un-roman habiliments which came into use after the second century; nor shall we describe the *tunica palmata* and *toga picta* of the Triumphatores, or the *paludamentum* of the general, or the *caracalla*, the *bracca*, &c. The regular dress of the Romans, both male and female, consisted of only two or three articles, the *tunica interior* and *exterior*, and the *toga*, to which were added certain others, as the *pœnula*, and later the *fasciæ*, for travelling, or defence against the inclemency of the weather.

THE TOGA.

Whether the word *toga*, *τήβεννος*, be rightly derived by Varro, v. 23, and Nonius i. 2, from *tegere corpus*, is immaterial, though

this derivation is a pretty obvious one. It must be mentioned first, as it is said by Gellius (vii. 12) to have been the oldest, and indeed at one time the only garment. Though this can only apply to appearing in public, for mention is made of the tunica from the very earliest times. The toga was worn in the house; and at work, perhaps only a *subligaculum*. Dionys. x. 17, of Cincinnatus, ἀχίτων, περιζωμάτιον ἔχων. Liv. iii. 26. Even later the toga was worn without the tunica; so of Cato; Plut. *Cat. min.* 6. ἀχίτων ἐς τὸ δημόσιον προῄει. Asc. *ad Cic. p. Scaur.* p. 30. So also the *candidati* were ἄνευ χιτῶνος, according to Plut. *Cor.* 14. *Qu. Rom.* 49. Whether its origin is to be sought for in Lydia, or whether the custom passed from Etruria to Lydia, and thence to Rome (see Müller, *Etr.* i. 262), is a disputed point, and not capable of proof; but there is no doubt that it was used by the Etruscans earlier than by the Romans, and it is among the former nation that we find it worn on the bare body on statues. Besides which, the *toga prætexta* is distinctly mentioned as derived from the Etrurians. Liv. i. 8. Plin. viii. 48, 74: *Prætextæ apud Etruscos originem invenere.* It was peculiarly the *vestis forensis.* Thus Cincinnatus puts it on, before receiving the embassy of the senate. Consequently it was laid aside when one returned to his house, or left Rome. Cic. *p. Mil.* 10. *Milo cum in senatu fuisset —domum venit—calceos et vestimenta mutat.* Hence it is called ἀστικὴ ἐσθής, Dio. Cass. *fr.* 145. lvi. 81; and the dress of peace, in opposition to the *sagum*, xli. 17, τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν εἰρηνικήν.

It was then the distinguishing garment of the Roman, and only worn by those who had the right of civitas; hence exiles, at least under the emperors, were not permitted to wear it. Pliny relates of Valerius Licinianus, who lived in banishment in Sicily, as a teacher of rhetoric (*Epist.* iv. 11): *Idem, cum Græco pallio amictus intrasset* (*carent enim togæ jure, quibus aqua et igni interdictum est*), *postquam se composuit circumspexitque habitum suum: Latine, inquit, declamaturus sum.* Strangers did not presume to wear the toga, as we learn from the laughable decision of Claudius. Suet. *Claud.* 15: *Peregrinitatis reum, orta inter advocatos levi contentione, togatumne an palliatum dicere causam oporteret,—mutare habitum sæpius, et prout accusaretur defendereturve, jussit.* The Roman was not only entitled to wear the toga, but he was even liable to a penalty if he appeared abroad in foreign costume; as *minuens majestatem P. R.* Hence the charge against Rabirius, Cic. *p. Rab.* 9, *palliatum fuisse, aliqua habuisse non Romani hominis insignia.* On the other hand, *Verr.* v. 33, *stetit soleatus prætor P. R. cum pallio purpureo tunicaque talari.* 52. comp. iv. 24, 25; v. 13, 16. But in the civil wars, the *pallium*, or some similar garment which was more conve-

nient, got into use; so that Augustus issued a decree forbidding this innovation; but only in regard to appearing in the forum and circus. Suet. *Aug.* 40, *Visa quondam pro concione palliatorum turba, indignabundus et clamitans: En*, ait,

Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam.

Negotium ædilibus dedit, ne quem posthac paterentur in foro circove nisi positis lacernis togatum consistere. (The *lacerna* having been worn over the toga: see below.) Hence the Romans were denominated simply *togati*, or, as in Virg. *Æn.* i. 282, *gens togata.* [Mart. xiii. 124.] In later times it fell into disuse, and continued to be worn only by the higher orders, at judicial proceedings, or by clients receiving the sportula, at the salutatio, and at the anteambulatio, and, lastly, at the theatre and public games, in deference to the presence of the emperors. Hence what Lamprid. (16) relates of Commodus is an exception: *contra consuetudinem pænulatos jussit spectatores, non togatos ad munus convenire.* At a later period those invited to the imperial table, at least, were compelled to appear in it. Spart. *Sever.* i. *Quum rogatus ad cœnam imperatoriam palliatus venisset, qui togatus venire debuerat, togam præsidiariam ipsius imperatoris accepit.* But it may be doubted whether such a custom prevailed in the time of Augustus, and the author therefore may probably escape censure for allowing Gallus, in the first scene, to wear the synthesis. [But after the above-mentioned interdict of Augustus, the toga only could have been worn at court.]

There are three points to which we must direct our attention; the form of the toga, the manner of wearing it, and the material of which it was composed. There has been much discussion concerning the form, though it is placed beyond all doubt by the clearest testimonies. Dion. Hal., iii. 61, says: *περιβόλαιον ἡμικύκλιον. τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀμφιεσμάτων Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν τόγας, Ἕλληνες δὲ τήβεννον καλοῦσιν*; Quinct. *Inst.* xi. 3: *Ipsam togam rotundam esse et apte cæsam velim;* Isid. *Orig.* xix. 24: *Toga dicta, quod velamento sui corpus tegat atque operiat. Est autem pallium purum forma rotunda effusiore et quasi inundante sinu, et sub dextro veniens supra humerum sinistrum ponitur;* and Athenæus (v. 213), in mentioning the cruelty with which Mithridates treated the Romans, says: *τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ῥωμαίων οἱ μὲν θεῶν ἀγάλμασι προσπεπτώκασιν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ μεταμφιεσάμενοι τετράγωνα ἱμάτια τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς πατρίδας πάλιν ὀνομάζουσιν.* They denied the community with Romans by assuming an unroman square garment; and the same is the meaning of *pallium teres*, Tertull. *de Pall.* i. in contradistinction to the proper square pallium. Many have, however, supposed that it was square; and

Von Seckendorf has endeavoured to prove that the adjustment of the robe, visible in statues, can be effected by means of a square toga. But this seems to require a most distinct contradiction, and will be best confuted by the following explanation of the mode of adjusting the toga, by which tying was out of the question. It is supposed that this ἡμικύκλιον was the segment of a large circle (Müll. *Etr.* 263, and Spalding on *Quinct.* 443); but it appears doubtful whether in that case the width, which the dress evidently possessed, could be attained. Horace (*Epod.* iv. 8) designates a toga of six ells, as a very wide one; and if we take the semicircular segment, with a chord of six ells, the greatest breadth would be three ells, with which the breadth of fold that we find under Augustus never could have been attained; and Quinctilian, in that case, would not have needed to direct that it should be *apte cæsa.* It was, on the contrary, round, but possessing a greater width than would have been possible with the segment of a circle; and in this manner only can we explain the adjustment of the toga in statues; *e. g.* in the *Mus. Borb.* vii. 43, and in the *Augusteum,* iii. 119 and 124.

Concerning the manner of adjusting it, the chief passage is in Quinctil. xi. 3, 137: *Est aliquid in amictu; quod ipsum aliquatenus temporum conditione mutatum est. Nam veteribus nulli sinus; perquam breves post illos fuerunt. Itaque etiam gestu necesse est usos esse in principiis eos alio, quorum brachium, sicut Græcorum, veste continebatur. Sed nos de præsentibus loquimur. Ipsam togam rotundam esse et apte cæsam velim. Aliter enim multis modis fiet enormis. Pars ejus prior mediis cruribus optime terminatur, posterior eadem portione altius, qua cinctura. Sinus decentissimus, si aliquanto supra imam togam fuerit, nunquam certe sit inferior. Ille qui sub humero dextro ad sinistrum oblique ducitur, velut balteus, nec strangulet, nec fluat. Pars togæ, quæ postea imponitur, sit inferior; nam ita et sedet melius et continetur. Subducenda etiam pars aliqua tunicæ ne ad lacertum in actu redeat: tum sinus injiciendus humero, cujus extremam oram rejecisse non dedecet. Operiri autem humerum cum toto jugulo non oportet; alioqui amictus fiet angustus et dignitatem, quæ est in latitudine pectoris, perdet. Sinistrum brachium eo usque allevandum est, ut quasi normalem illum angulum faciat. Super quod ora ex toga duplex æqualiter sedeat.* Spalding's commentary has done away with most of the difficulties of the text, but still it is not clear how the whole was adjusted, and how the *balteus* and the *sinus* arose, and yet these are the two points which require most explanation. The description of the tedious minuteness in the adjustment of the toga, as compared with that of the pallium, is

perhaps not less instructive. Tertull. *de Pallio*, 5: *Prius etiam ad simplicem captatelam ejus nullo tædio constat* (pallium); *adeo nec artificem necesse est, qui pridie rugas ab exordio formet et inde deducat in tilias totumque contracti umbonis figmentum custodibus forcipibus assignet, dehinc diluculo tunica prius cingulo correpta, quam præstabat moderatiorem texuisse, recognito rursus umbone, et, si quid exorbitavit, reformato partem quidem de lævo promittat, ambitum vero ejus, ex quo sinus nascitur jam deficientibus tabulis retrahat a scapulis et exclusa dextera in lævam adhuc congerat cum alio pari tabulato in terga devoto, atque ita hominem sarcina vestiat.*

Figure showing the simple method of arranging the Toga.

We must especially distinguish between two different ways of adjusting the toga; the older and more simple, and the later, when it was broader, and the folds more ample. We see an instance of the first in the above engraving, copied from a statue in the Dresden collection, *Augusteum*, 117. The robing of four other statues in the same collection is precisely the same, and in a sixth, the toga is far more voluminously folded, but the way of putting it on the same. In this figure, the adjustment is very simple; the one end is thrown over the left shoulder to the front, so that the round side falls outwards; the robe is then conducted behind the body, and over the right shoulder, so that the arm rests in it, as in a sling, whilst the whole remaining portion being drawn across the front of the person, is thrown over the left shoulder. The second end hangs down the back, and the left arm is concealed by the robe falling over it. We here see plainly what Quinctilian means by *brachium veste continebatur;* for the hand only is free, and if we take the folds, in which the arm reposes, for a *sinus*, it is at all events a *perquam brevis* one.

A description of the second mode of adjustment is far more difficult. It is, however, here represented after a statue of Lucius Mammius Maximus, found in Herculaneum, and copied in the *Mus. Borb.* vi. 41, and with which the similarly draped statues in the *August.* 119 and 124, and *Mus. Borb.* vii. 43 and 49, may be compared. The parts named by Quinctilian are clearly visible, and it is easy to point out the *velut balteus*, the *sinus*, and the *ora duplex*, although it is very difficult to unravel the robe in one's mind, or to produce a similar adjustment. After manifold experiments with square and round cloths, the author became convinced that it requires a half-round and very long robe, but broader or wider, in proportion to its length, than the segment of a circle would be. This garment was also first thrown across the left shoulder, but the portion with the point depending in front was brought down much lower (in our statue as low as the feet; in those in the *August.* 124, and in the *Mus. Borb.* vii. 49, it even falls on the ground), and this of itself covered the left arm entirely. The toga was then drawn behind the back, and so on to the front of the body, and then doubled together in a fold at about the middle of its breadth, so that the upper part fell down as a sinus, and the lower part covered the body and the legs; thus arose the bundle of folds crossing obliquely from under the right arm, athwart the breast,[1] and which is

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[1] Probably the following remarks by M Le Cte. de Clarac, in connection with the magnificent statue of Tiberius in the Louvre, may serve to illustrate

generally understood by the term *umbo;* the remaining part was

Figure showing the second and more elaborate mode of adjustment of the Toga.

then thrown over the left shoulder and arm, which was thus doubly covered. On the extremities we find tassels, or buttons, which

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this difficult subject: 'D'après des recherches sur les statues vêtues de la toge et les essais qu'en ont faits des peintres, des sculpteurs et des acteurs, il paraît positif que, dans sa longueur, sa forme était une ligne droite qui soustendait une courbe qui n'était pas tout à fait circulaire, mais un peu elliptique.

served either for ornament, or to keep down the garment by their weight; lastly, one part of the robe depending in front was drawn forward, or some of the width of the sinus was drawn over to the left, and this, in connection with the bunch of folds, was probably called *umbo*. In several statues the toga reaches almost to the *media crura*, and the sinus nearly as far; but a little more, and it would fall lower than the undermost border of the robe.

It is hoped that this explanation may prove intelligible. The principal point to be understood is, that the garment which was drawn behind the back towards the right into the front, when it depended in its width, was caught up in the middle, and thus divided into two halves, one of which formed the sinus, whilst the other fell down over the body and legs. This will be made more clear by comparing such statues as the *Concordia* (in Visconti, *Mon. Gab.* 34), where the palla is caught in the same manner, and a similar oblique bunch of folds is caused, and the upper half of the garment, as the sinus in the case of the toga, hung over. We shall find everything in Tertullian in agreement with what we have said.

They who valued this intricate method of adjusting the robe, used, before putting it on, to have it ingeniously folded, and this operation took place every evening. Thin little boards were laid between the folds (*tabulæ* and *tabulata*), to keep them in their places, *qui pridie rugas ab exordio formet et inde deducat in tilias* (not *talias* as Salmas. reads); and the umbo was kept together by a pair of forceps, which merely prevented the folds getting out of their order, but did not produce the umbo; they were only *custodes*. We see from Macrobius (*Sat.* ii. 2) what great care was lavished upon the adjustment of the toga.

The colour of the toga was white, and hence it is called *pura*, *vestimentum purum*, and only boys carried, till the *tirocinium fori*,

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La longueur de la toge était de trois fois la hauteur de l'homme, prise des épaules jusqu'à terre. La largeur, à l'endroit le plus saillant de la courbe, n'avait qu'une hauteur. Pour se vêtir de la toge, on plaçait la partie droite sur l'épaule gauche, de manière qu'il tombât un tiers de la longueur en avant entre les jambes. La ligne droite se tournait vers le cou. La toge passait ensuite obliquement sur le dos par-dessous le bras droit, et le dernier tiers de la longueur, ou un peu moins, se rejettait par-dessus l'épaule gauche et retombait en arrière. Celui qui était sur le devant et intérieurement eût gêné par sa longueur; on le relevait par le haut, et en se rabattant il fasait sur la poitrine des plis dont la masse se nommait *umbo*. Ceux qu'ils recouvraient et qui traversaient obliquement sur la poitrine, formaient des *baltei* (baudriers), et on donnait le nom de *sinus* à ceux qui couvraient le milieu des corps, &c.' Transl.

those bordered with purple, *toga prætexta*. The *prætexta*, used by magistrates, and the *candida*, or *splendens*, the *toga picta*, and the *tunica palmata*, do not enter into our present discussion. Of the sordida, and pulla, more hereafter. In later times, a *toga purpurea* was a distinction of the emperors, and Cæsar was probably the first who wore it. Cic. *Phil.* ii. 34.

THE TUNICA

was worn under the toga, and was a sort of shirt, originally, perhaps, without sleeves, like the Doric chiton, *colobium*. Usually, however, it had short sleeves, covering the upper half of the arm, as is seen in most statues. Later, these sleeves reached to the hand, *tunicæ manicatæ*, χειριδωτοί, but they are seldom met with, not even in the case of women. In the paintings and relievos at Pompeii and Herculaneum, representing comic scenes, all the actors have *tunicas* χείριδωτούς (Gell. *Pompeiana*, new ed. ii. t. 76; *Mus. Borb.* iv. t. 18, 33), but they are not Roman costume. Cicero inveighs against this effeminacy, *Catil.* ii. 10; *in Clod. et Cur.* 5; and Cæsar wore the *tunica laticlavia ad manus fimbriata*. Suet. *Cæs.* 45. Gell. vii. 12: *Tunicis uti virum prolixis ultra brachia et usque in primores manus ac prope digitos Romæ atque omni in Latio indecorum fuit. Eas tunicas Græco vocabulo nostri* χειριδωτοὺς *appellaverunt; feminisque solis vestem longe lateque diffusam decorum existimaverunt, ad ulnas cruraque adversus oculos protegenda.*

Although, according to Gellius, the toga only was worn in former times, and that next the skin, yet they afterwards were not content with one tunica only, but the men, like the women, wore a *tunica interior*. With the women it was called *intusium*, with the men, *subucula*, says Boettiger (*Sab.* ii. 113); but this nevertheless appears erroneous. The fragment of Varro (*De Vita Pop. Rom.*) is well known: *Postquam binas tunicas habere cœperunt, instituerunt vocare subuculam et intusium.* It is this passage that has given rise to the blunder borrowed by Ferrari from Manutius, and by Boettiger from Ferrari. Varro, on the contrary, wishes to say that the under tunica was called subucula, the upper intusium, as is clear from his treatise *De Ling. Lat.* v. 30: *Prius dein indutui, tum amictui quæ sunt, tangam. Capitium ab eo, quod capit pectus, id est, ut antiqui dicebant, comprehendit. Indutui alterum quod subtus, a quo subucula; alterum, quod supra, a quo supparus, nisi id quod item dicunt Osce. Alterius generis item duo: unum quod foris ac*

palam, palla; alterum quod intus, a quo intusium, id quod Plautus dicit:

Intusiatam, patagiatam, caltulam, crocotulam.

The phrases explained by Varro were obsolete. Gell. xvi. 7, censures Laberius for using the expression *capitium*. *Supparus* in such a sense is also inadmissible. We gather, however, from Varro, that he understands *capitium* as a general term for over and under tunic; the over being further called supparus, the under subucula. Of the supparus he then mentions two sorts, the *indusium* and the *palla*. This agrees but ill with Nonius; but Varro evidently wishes to define indusium as a particular kind of the over-coat supparus. Moreover, he speaks, apparently, of the female dress, having already discussed the toga and tunica of the men; and subucula would therefore also denote the under-tunic of the women. Perhaps, later, the word subucula was restricted in its sense to the men's dress only; but Varro says not a word about the indusium being the inner tunic of the women.

Persons susceptible of cold wore several tunics over one another. So Augustus, Suet. 82: *Hieme quaternis cum pingui toga tunicis et subuculæ thorace lanco muniebatur.* From whence it would seem that the subucula fitted tight to the body.

The *clavis latus*, or *angustus*, was a particular distinction for the senatorial or equestrian order; hence *tunica laticlavia*, or *angusticlavia*. There is no longer any doubt that the *latus clavus* was a strip of purple in the middle of the tunic in front, running down from the neck to the lower border, while the *angustus* consisted of two such smaller strips. See Ruben. *De re Vest.*, and Spalding on *Quinctilian*, 441. These strips were woven into the cloth, as we see from Plin. viii. 48: *Nam tunica lati clavi in modum gausapæ texi nunc primum incipit.* The phrase *mutare vestem* was no doubt restricted to the act of laying aside these insignia; [which always happened in public mourning.] The expression *sordidatus* is never used of soiled clothing. Dio. Cass. xxxviii. 14, xl. 46; Cic. *p. Planc.* 41; Liv. *Ep.* cv. [But when the whole people is said *mutare vestem*, as Cic. *in Pis.* 8; Liv. vi. 16: *Conjecto in carcerem Manlio satis constat magnam partem plebis vestem mutasse;* this must signify that they laid aside the toga, as the characteristic dress of the Roman citizen. This is further clear from Sen. *Ep.* 18, where he speaks of the Saturnalia, when, as is well known, the toga was laid aside: *quod fieri nisi in tumultu et tristi tempore civitatis non solebat, voluptatis causa ac festorum dierum vestem mutavimus;* where the last words mean the same as *togam exuere* just before. In

domestic mourning, on the contrary, *vestem mutare* is to put on mourning habiliments. See Excursus, Sc. XII.]

The *tunica* was girded under the breast (*cinctura*); those however who wore the *latus clavus*, girded only the under one; but to this rule Cæsar was an exception. Suet. *Cæs.* 45. The disputed passage, Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 3, contains a mistake, and the emendation *tunica præcingebatur* will not at all accord with *laciniam trahere.* Quinctilian directs with respect to the length of the garment: *Cui lati clavi jus non erit, ita cingatur, ut tunicæ prioribus oris infra genua paullum, posterioribus ad medios poplites usque perveniant. Nam infra mulierum est, supra centurionum. Ut purpuræ recte descendant, levis cura est. Notatur interim negligentia. Latum habentium clavum modus est, ut sit paullum cinctis summissior.* There is no doubt that *cinctis* is in the ablative in the last words, but it is not necessary that it should be referred to the *cinctura* of the *angusticlavia*, as it can also mean, that the *laticlavia* must hang down somewhat lower than the *tunicæ interiores*, which were always girded. We might inquire the purpose of this, as the *toga* which was thrown over it quite concealed the under portion of the *tunica;* but we must not forget that the *toga* was only worn in public, and that on arriving at home it was immediately put off. Men who wore low falling *tunicæ*, *talares*, were always censured. The upper *tunica* had not long sleeves, but the *subucula* had.

The *toga* was the Roman robe of state, and the *tunica* was the household garment; but in bad weather and out of Rome, on a journey for instance, some other article of dress was necessary as a defence against the dust and rain.

This deficiency was supplied by

THE PÆNULA,

a kind of mantle worn by all classes, and even by women. Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 23; Lips. *Elect.* i. 13, 25; Salm. ad Spart. *Hadr.* 3, p. 25; Lamprid. *Comm.* 16, p. 517; Diadum. 2, p. 774; Alex. Sev. 27, p. 926; and Barthol. *De Pœnula.*

This garment has been so much discussed, that it will be sufficient to mention here the chief points about its use and supposed nature. It seems to have been a long simple mantle without sleeves, and having probably only a hole for the neck. It was drawn on over the head, and so covered the whole body, from the neck downwards, including the shoulders and arms. If the statues made known by Bartholini, of one of which the following is a copy, can be referred to this kind of dress, it would appear to have been

sewed together in front down the breast. This seam, however, sometimes goes lower, and at others stops on the breast, and then the mantle falls down beneath it in two halves, which might be thrown back, and so leave the arms free, as in the figure given above. The most striking monument, perhaps, is a *libertus* on a tomb in the Lapidarium of the Vatican. The *pœnula* was made of

Figure of a man supposed to be dressed in the Pœnula.

a thick strong cloth, especially if intended for winter use, and after the introduction of woollen *gausapa*, they were probably used for the purpose. Mart. xiv. 145, *Pœnula gausapina:*

> Is mihi candor inest, villorum gratia tanta,
> Ut me vel media sumere messe velis.

Comp. vi. 59. Such *gausapinæ* came into use only a short time before Pliny, who says (viii. 48): *Gausapa* (*lanea*) *patris mei memoria cœpere. Gausapa* was originally a linen cloth, rendered rough by a particular process. See Becker's *Nachträge zum August.* p. 46. The *pœnulæ* were also made of leather, *scorteæ.* Mart. xiv. 130, *Pœnula scortea:*

> Ingrediare viam cœlo licet usque sereno;
> Ad subitas nunquam scortea desit aquas.

The use of the pænula is at least as old as the most ancient Roman literature known to us; for in Plautus it is frequently alluded to as something quite usual. When Pliny (xxxiv. 5), among the *effigies habitu novitias*, reckons those *quæ nuper prodiere pænulis*, it only applies to the artistic representations, for which the pænula was but little adapted. It existed along with the toga, the place of which it never usurped, although the lacerna doubtless did. It was worn next to the tunica, and chiefly on journeys; Cicero *p. Mil.* 20, *cum hic cum uxore veheretur in rheda pænulatus. Ad Attic.* xiii. 33. Hence it was the dress of the *mulio.* Cic. *p. Sest.* 38, *mulionica pænula.* It was also used in the city in rainy weather. Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 27, *pænulis intra urbem frigoris causa uterentur permisit*, on which Salm. quotes Seneca, *Quæst. Nat.* iv. 6. The toga was then worn underneath it. It was likewise worn at games. Dio. Cass. lxxii. 21.

A similar mantle, likewise worn over the toga, was

THE LACERNA,

or *lacernæ*, and often confounded by later writers with the pænula. It differed from the latter, however, in not being a *vestimentum clausum*, through which the head was inserted, but, like the Greek *pallium*, an open mantle, usually fastened together over the right shoulder by a *fibula.* The lacerna is unquestionably of later origin than the pænula, and Cicero thus complained of Antony (*Phil.* ii. 30): *Nam quod quærebas, quomodo redissem: primum luce, non tenebris; deinde cum calceis et toga, nullis nec Gallicis nec lacerna;* and then: *cum Gallicis et lacerna cucurristi.* As early as the first emperors it was in common use in winter at the public games, as we learn from Suetonius' description of the honours paid to Claudius by the *ordo equester. Claud.* 6, *Quin et spectaculis advenienti assurgere et lacernas deponere solebat* (ordo equester). It was not designed solely for protection against the weather, and was therefore worn of more elegant form than the pænula. White lacernæ only were proper costume for the theatre, when the emperor was expected to be present, as we see from Mart. iv. 2,

> Spectabat modo solus inter omnes
> Nigris munus Horatius lacernis,
> Cum plebs et minor ordo maximusque
> Cum sancto duce candidus sederet.

and xiv. 137, *Lacernæ albæ:*

> Amphitheatrales nos commendamur in usus,
> Cum tegit algentes alba lacerna togas.

The lacernæ of the poorer classes were sufficiently unbecoming, as we may naturally suppose. Juven. ix. 27,

——— Pingues aliquando lacernas
Munimenta togæ, duri crassique coloris,
Et male percussas textoris pectine Galli
Accipimus.

Mart. i. 93. The higher ranks, however, displayed considerable luxury in this article, and as the rest of the dress was obliged to be white, took care not to have any lack of colours in the lacerna. Hence *lacernæ coccineæ*, Mart. xiv. 131, *amethystinæ*, etc. A purple *lacerna* sometimes cost ten thousand sesterces. Mart. viii. 10. Darker colours were also used.

THE SYNTHESIS.

THE toga, on account of the exuberance of its folds, and the manner of adjusting it, was too uncomfortable a garment to wear in common household avocations, or at meals [Spart. *Hadr.* 22; Sen. *Ep.* 18], at which, however, it would have been improper to appear in the bare tunic. Hence there were regular meal-dresses, *vestes cœnatoriæ*, or *cœnatoria*, Mart. x. 87, 12, xiv. 135. [Cap. *Maxim. jun.*; Dio. Cass. lxix. 18; Pompon. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 33, *muliebria cœnatoria.*] Petr. 21, *accubitoria; ib.* 30, also called *syntheses.* It would be difficult to say with certainty what the form of this synthesis was. It is usually assumed to have been a mantle, similar to the pallium. Ferrar. *de re Vest.* [Stuck. *Antiq. Conviv.* ii. 26.] Malliot and Martin, *Recherches sur les Costumes*, say, "They generally came from the bath to the *cœna*, and then put on the synthesis, an exceedingly comfortable, short, and coloured garment." What Dio. Cassius, xiii. 13, says of Nero, appears at variance with this assertion. *Τοὺς δὲ βουλευτὰς χιτώνιόν τι ἐνδεδυκὼς ἄνθινον καὶ σινδόνιον περὶ τὸν αὐχένα ἔχων ἠσπάσατο*, if we compare it with Suet. *Nero* 51: *circa cultum habitumque adeo pudendus, ut plerumque synthesinam indutus ligato circum collum sudario prodierit in publicum sine cinctu et discalceatus;* for there can be no doubt that the *χιτώνιον ἄνθινον* answers to the synthesis, as the *σινδόνιον* does to the *sudarium.* In which case the synthesis would not be any kind of *amictus*, but an *indumentum.* Nothing of certainty can be gathered from the reliefs and pictures representing *Triclinia*, and *Biclinia;* for in these, at one time a bare ungirded tunic is visible; at another, the upper part of the body is quite uncovered; but whatever its form, it was an elegant, and, at least in later times, a coloured garment. Martial ii. 46:

Florida per varios ut pingitur Hybla colores
Cum breve Sicaniæ ver populantur apes:

Sic tua suppositis pellucent præla lacernis,
Si micat innumeris arcula synthesibus.

So x. 29, etc. The colours most frequently named are *coccinus*, *prasinus*, *amethystinus*, *ianthinus*. Pliny, xxi. 8. The name came probably from their being carefully folded up and placed in a press. Martial, and Senec. *de Tranq. An.* c. i. Men who were particular about their appearance changed them in the middle of a meal. Mart. v. 79:

Undecies una surrexti, Zoile, cœna,
Et mutata tibi est synthesis undecies.

The synthesis was never worn in public, except during the *Saturnalia*, when its use was universal, even by the highest classes, Mart. xiv. 1, 141; it was reckoned absurd to put on the toga at that time. Mart. vi. 24:

Nil lascivius est Charisiano;
Saturnalibus ambulat togatus.

Synthesis is also used in a totally different sense, namely, as an entire wardrobe, or complete suit of apparel. Salmasius, *ad Vopisc. Bonos.* 15, p. 772. [Stat. *Silv.* iv. 9, 44; Mart. iv. 46.]

THE LÆNA, ABOLLA, ENDROMIS.

THE names that are mentioned of usual articles of dress, as *læna* and *abolla*, can hardly be determined on with certainty. It seems almost as if they were nearly similar to the *lacerna*. Of the former indeed Martial says (xiv. 136), *Læna*,

Tempore brumali non multum lævia prosunt:
Calfaciunt villi pallia vestra mei;

from which it would appear to have been a particularly warm garment thrown on over the lacerna (pallia). [Varro, *L. L.* v. 133: *Læna quod de lana multa, duarum etiam togarum instar.* Paull. p. 117.] Nonius calls it a *vestimentum militare, quod supra omnia vestimenta sumitur;* and in Cicero, *Brut.* 14, we find it mentioned as a priestly robe, but in Persius, i. 32, it again appears at the dinner-table. It was *hyacinthina* and *coccina* (Juv. iii. 283), not less than the lacerna, and just so is the *abolla Tyria* or *saturata murice*. Mart. viii. 48. [Suet. *Calig.* 35, *purpureæ abollæ.*] Perhaps at that period they all belonged to the cœnatoria. See above.

The *endromis*, which is mentioned in a few passages (Juven. vi. 246; Mart. vi. 19, xiv. 126), was not a garment, but a thick piece of cloth, forming a coverlet, which was thrown round the body after gymnastic exercises, to prevent cold being taken; in the same

manner Trimalchio, in Petron. 28, after the bath, covers himself with a *coccina gausapa*.

THE COVERINGS FOR THE HEAD.

IN the every-day life of cities, men never wore anything on the head. In particular cases they drew the toga over the head. But for protection in bad weather, they had the *cucullus*, also *cucullio*, a kind of cape, which on a journey, or when they wished to be unknown (*obvoluto capite*, Lamprid. *Heliog.* 33. Juv. vi. 118, *nocturnos cucullos*), they used to fasten to the lacerna and pænula. Martial calls them *liburnicos* or *bardaicos*, iv. 4, 5: also *bardocucullos*, xiv. 128. See Salmas. *ad Jul. Cap. Pertin.* 8, p. 551. We see from Mart. xiv. 139, *Cuculli liburnici*,

> Jungere nescisti nobis, o stulte, lacernas:
> Indueras albas, exue callainas,

that they were of dark colour, and that the cucullus had stained the white lacerna. We also learn from Epig. xiv. 132, that it belonged to the lacerna:

> Si possem, totas cuperem misisse lacernas;
> Nunc tantum capiti munera mitto tuo.

It is true he sends not a cucullus, but a pileus; but had he been able to send *totas lacernas* (i. e. with the cucullus), the hat would have been unnecessary. [See Mart. xi. 98, v. 14, x. 76.—The cuculli were often worn by slaves and common people as a protection against the weather; Colum. i. 8. Lamprid. *Hel.* 33, *tectus cucullione mulionico.*]

They wore hats on a journey; [hence given to fishermen and sailors generally, Plaut. *Mil.* iv. 4, 41:

> Facito, ut venias huc ornatus ornatu nauclerico
> Causiam habens ferrugineam.

Mus. Borb. iv. 55], and even in the theatre, as a shelter against the sun. Dio. Cass. lix. 7. [Mart. xiv. 29, *Causia:*

> In Pompeiano tectus spectabo theatro:
> Nam ventus populo vela negare solet.]

Augustus generally wore a *petasus*, Suet. 82: *Solis vero ne hiberni quidem patiens domi quoque non nisi petasatus sub divo spatiabatur.* [The pileus and petasus were made of felt. Yates, *textrinum antiquum.*]

THE COVERINGS OF THE LEGS.

TROWSERS, *braccæ*, were quite unknown to the Romans, until the time of the later emperors. They belonged to the Barbarians, who

wore them mostly in the shape of wide pantaloons, which were tied just above the foot; so we see them on the *Columna Trajana*, and in the figures of the prisoners belonging to it. See the great work of Piranesi, and the pillar itself. Comp. Cas. ad Suet. *Aug.* 82; Salm. ad Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 40, p. 977; Böttiger, *Vaseng.* iii. p. 184. The Barbarians were ridiculed for wearing them, Cic. *in Pis.* 23; *p. Font.* 11; *ad Fam.* ix. 15. [Ovid. *Trist.* v. 10, 33.] It was not till the time of the un-roman emperors, or those who had grown up among the Barbarians, that trowsers came into fashion, *coccineæ braccæ*, instead of which Alexander chose white ones. Men who had served long in war against the Northern nations, assumed their dress, and likewise trowsers. Tac. *Hist.* ii. 20, of Cæcina, *versicolore sagulo, braccas, tegmen barbarum, indutus togatos alloquebatur.* But this was not allowed publicly at Rome, and Honorius forbade their being worn in the metropolis: see Salmasius. [Lyd. *de Mag.* l. 12.]

Instead of these coverings for the legs, the Romans had, however partially, so early as the Republic, strips of cloth, *fascias* (Varro *De Lib. Educ.* in Non. ii. 312; Cic. *in Clod. et Cur.* 5, *Or. de har. resp.* 21; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 255), with which they protected the thighs and shin-bones, and thence called *feminalia* and *cruralia*, and also *tibialia.* Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 25; Suet. *Aug.* 82, *feminalibus et tibialibus muniebatur.* Quinct. xi. 3, 144. Many persons wore, in addition to these, sashes, *villosa ventralia* (Plin. viii. 48), and wrappers round the neck and ears, *focalia.* See Heind. on Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 255. All these were, however, considered marks of effeminacy. [The word *cubital*, Hor. *ib.* (*fasciolas, cubital, focalia*) is explained by some to be a cushion, by others a covering of the lower arm corresponding to *fasciæ* and *focalia.* But then it would hardly be in the singular number.]

THE COVERINGS OF THE FEET.

THESE were very numerous, but may be classed in two sorts, the *calceus* and the *soleæ*, which certainly both occur in very different forms. It is almost doubtful whether the multifarious names which are used to designate these articles of dress can with certainty be applied to the forms which occur on statues; for what Rubens [*de Calce Senatorio*] and Balduin (*Calceus Antiq. et Myst.*) have said upon the subject, does not clear up all the points, [although Balduin was the son of a shoemaker, and understood the matter.] Bittner's *Diss. de Calceis* is still less important. [Bassius *de Gen. Calceorum.* See Fabric. *Bibliog. Antiq.* p. 861, and

Charicles, trans. by Metcalfe, p. 326.] It will therefore be sufficient to enumerate the chief varieties.

a b *Soleæ* of the ordinary form.
c Half-shoes, after a painting found at Portici.
d The common shoe.
e A man's shoe, perhaps the *calceus senatorius*.

The *soleæ*, sandals, were a covering for the foot, which was worn by men only in the house, or more correctly, in domestic life. [In the oldest times they probably wore nothing.] In Gellius xiii. 21, T. Castricius reproaches his former scholars, who were already senators, for appearing *soleati* in public. Still this restriction cannot be so far extended, as to say that no use at all of the solea was made in the streets; for when they supped out and did not bathe in the house of their host, the soleæ were the usual covering for the feet, and were taken off as soon as they reclined for the meal, and not put on again till they went away. Mart. iii. 50. Hence they were sometimes lost in the interim; Mart. xii. 88:

> Bis Cotta soleas perdidisse se questus,
> Dum negligentem ducit ad pedes vernam.

Hence the common expression *deme soleas*, of the person who takes his place at the table, and *poscere soleas*, when he rises to go. Heindorf *ad Hor. Sat.* ii. 8, 77. From Pliny *Ep.* ix. 17, it would appear that calceus is sometimes a general term for any covering of the foot.

The form of the soleæ and the manner of fastening them, are gathered from Gellius, and may also be seen in many antique statues, particularly of females, whose proper foot-covering they were. Generally a thong passes between the great and second toe, and is there fastened to another by means of a *ligula*, which passes longitudinally over the upper surface of the foot, and with the

ankle-thong keeps the whole secure. Sometimes this thong is divided just at the toe into two parts, which run along the instep, and are fastened by ligulæ to the ankle-thong.

As they were used in-doors, and in private life, so in later times, out of doors also, when a person was without the toga, wearing over the tunica the lacerna only, in conjunction with which the soleæ always occur. To the toga belonged the *calceus*, a real shoe, which covered the foot entirely, or in a great measure; it was the only foot-covering in general use in public life, and hence is often mentioned as belonging to the toga. Thus Cicero, *Cum toga et calceis.* Pliny (*Epist.* vii. 3), charging Præsens with his long absence from Rome, says: *Quousque calcei nusquam, toga feriata?* Tertull. (*De pallio*, 5): *Calceos nihil dicimus, proprium togæ tormentum.* But at home the calceus was laid aside with the toga. Cic. *p. Mil.* 20, *domum venit, calceos et vestimenta mutat.* It is true that Suet. says of Augustus (Oct. 78), *post cibum ita ut vestitus calceatusque erat conquiescebat;* but here, *calceatus* is used in a more general sense. He says (73), *forensia autem et calceos nunquam non intra cubiculum habuit ad subitos repentinosque casus parata.* So Plin. *Ep.* ix. 17, *calceos poscunt*, instead of *soleas.* Comp. Cic. *de Rep.* i. 12. The form of this shoe used by the lower classes [called *pero* by Cato, in Fest. p. 142, and Virg. *Æn.* vii. 690] is not known. In a beautiful but mutilated picture from Pompeii (*Mus. Borb.* vii. 20), a female slave is divesting a sitting man of his shoes, which have quite the form of the high shoes usual among us, and tied in front with a string; see the engraving above. But that this was no common shoe, as might be supposed from its shape, is evident from the person wearing it, and from the circumstance that most of the charming female dancers (*Mus. Borb.* 33—40) have the same covering for the feet. These shoes are sometimes white, sometimes green, but mostly yellow (*cerinæ*), tied with red strings or narrow thongs, and must therefore be rather taken as women's shoes. On the other hand, we know that the shoes of the senators differed in more than one respect from those of others; and Cicero alludes to this, *Phil.* xiii. 13. The chief difference was, that the senator's shoe was fastened with four thongs (*corrigiæ*), which reached up to the calf, and were then turned round the leg [*Lora patricia*, Sen. *de Tranq. An.* 11.] See Heind. on Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 27. The second distinction was the *lunula*, a half-moon, which was attached to some part of it. Plutarch (*Quæst. R.* 76) gives the derivation from the original number of the senators, C. Comp. Mart. i. 50, 31; Juven. vii. 192. [Zon. vii. 9.] In Philostr. (*Vit. Herod. Att.* ii. 8) this lunula is called ἐπισφύριον ἐλεφάντινον μηνοειδές, and then he says, σὺ τὴν

εὐγένειαν ἐν τοῖς ἀστραγάλοις ἔχεις. On the other hand, Martial says, ii. 29:

Non hesterna sedet lunata lingula planta.

We are not aware whether this mark occurs in any statue, and yet we might take such foot-coverings as occur in the statue in *Mus. Borb.* vii. 49, for the *calceus senatorius* (see the engraving above). According to Cicero, we must believe that only senators wore it; and according to Cato in Festus, those *qui magistratum curulem cepissent.* On the contrary, Plutarch and Philostratus speak only of the εὐγένεια; and the person designated by Martial was anything but a senator. Comp. Isid. *Orig.* xix. 34, 4. [Probably there were three sorts of these shoes, though they differed but slightly from each other: (1) *Mulleus*, or the curule shoe. Lyd. *de Mag.* i. 32. (2) The senatorial shoe. Cic. and Acron. *ad Hor.* (3) The patrician shoe. Plut. *ib.*; Zon. *ib.*; Orell. 543, *calceis patriciis.* Lyd. i. 17.]

From the words of Horace, *ut nigris medium impediit crus pellibus*, and of Juvenal, *nigræ lunam subtexit alutæ*, it has been inferred that the shoe was black; but Martial expressly adds, *Coccina non læsum cingit aluta pedem;* and if this very shoe be rightly supposed to have been the *mulleus*, which had passed among so many other things from the Etrurians to the Romans, there is no doubt that it was red, and that the above passage can only be understood of the four corrigiæ. See Salm. *ad Vopisc. Aurel.* 49, 588; Müller, *Etrusk.* i. 269. The *mulleus* was red, whatever the etymology of the word may be. See Isid. *Orig.* xix. 34, 10. [Plin. *H. N.* ix. 17: comp. Dio. Cass. xliii. 43. The mulleus differed perhaps in colour from the two other kinds. Lyd. i. 17, 32, says the shoes of the consuls were white, those of the patricians, black.] Otherwise the men wore only black and white shoes, and the latter only in later times, when variously coloured ones were also used. They were borrowed from the women's apparel, and hence Aurelian forbade men from wearing them. Vopisc. 49. [The *crepidæ* were accounted un-roman (Pers. i. 127, *in crepidis Graiorum.* Tertull. *de Pall.* 4; Plin. xxxiii. 3, 14), and are always mentioned along with the *Chlamys* and *Pallium.* Cic. *p. Rab.* 10; Liv. xxix. 19; Suet. *Tib.* 13, *deposito patrio habitu redegit se ad pallium et crepidas.* Gell. (xiii. 21) makes them the same as the soleæ (so Heindorf *ad Hor. Sat.* i. 3, 127), but they certainly differed; so that his assertion is no more to be relied on than that of Servius, *ad Virg. Æn.* viii. 458, who calls the *calceus senatorius* a crepida. Isidor. xix. 34. The caligæ of a later age were chiefly used by the military (Brisson, *Antiq. Sel.* ii. 6), but were also used in common life. *Edict. Dioclet.* p. 24. On *Compagus*, see Salmas. *ad Treb. Poll. Gallien.* 16; Lyd. *de Mag.* i. 17.]

The poorer classes generally were clothed in the same manner, only that there was naturally a difference in the colour and texture of the materials used, and the elegance of the garments of the higher ranks was altogether wanting. So Juvenal describes the *pauperes*, iii. 148:

> si fœda et scissa lacerna,
> Si toga sordidula est et rupta calceus alter
> Pelle patet; vel si consuto vulnere crassum
> Atque recens linum ostendit non una cicatrix.

Many men in good circumstances also did not go better clad, either from negligence, as the Schol. Cruq. on Hor. *Sat.* i. 3, 31, relates of Virgil, or from avarice, as Scævola, who had suddenly become wealthy. Mart. i. 104:

> Sordidior post hoc multo toga, pænula pejor;
> Calceus est sarta terque quaterque cute.

The labouring classes could not, of course, make much use of the toga.

The slaves wore only a *tunica*.

THE BEARD AND HAIR.

IN ancient times the Romans wore beards, Liv. v. 41. Cic. *p. Cœl.* 14. The first *tonsor* is said to have come to Rome from Sicily, A. U. C. 454. Varro, *R. R.* ii. 11. Plin. *H. N.* vii. 59; and from that time they shaved; Gell. iii. 4. Hence most of the male statues, down to the second century, are beardless. The poorer classes did not shave generally. Mart. vii. 95:

> Dependet glacies rigetque barba
> Qualem forficibus metit supinis
> Tonsor Cinyphio Cilix marito.

xii. 59. Young fops only shaved partially [Sen. *Ep.* 114], and sported a neat little beard (*bene barbati*, Cic. *Cat.* ii. 10, *p. Cœl.* 14; or *barbatuli*, *ad Att.* i. 14, 16, *p. Cœl.* 14). The day of shaving the beard for the first time was observed as a festival, Dio. Cass. xlviii. 34; lxi. 19. Salm. *ad Lamprid. Heliog.* 31. From Hadrian's time, beards again came into fashion, as is evident from the imperial portraits. Dio. Cass. lxviii. 15; Spart. *Hadr.* 26.—The hair was worn cut short; in case of mourning only, it, as well as the beard, was allowed to grow. See Excursus, Sc. XII.

In the *tonstrinæ*, the hair was cut, the beard shorn, and the nails cleaned. The shearing of the beard took place either *per pectinem*, over the comb, when it was only shortened, *tondebatur*, or it was shaved clean from the skin, *radebatur*, with the razor, *novacula*, which the tonsor kept in a *theca*. Petr. 94. The passage in

Plaut. *Capt.* ii. 2, 16, is amusing on account of the play upon the word *tondere*.

> Nunc senex est in tonstrina: nunc jam cultros attinet—
> Ne id quidem involucre injicere voluit, vestem ne inquinet.
> Sed utrum, strictimne attonsurum dicam esse, an per pectinem
> Nescio; verum si frugi est, usque admutilabit probe.

Many persons plucked out the stray hairs from the face with fine pincers, *volsellæ*, or destroyed them by means of salves, *psilothrum*, and *dropax*, as well as those on other parts of the body. Mart. iii. 74:

> Psilothro faciem levas et dropace calvam.
> Num quid tonsorem, Gargiliane, times?
> Quid facient ungues? nam certe non potes illos
> Resina, Veneto nec resecare luto.

comp. vi. 90, 9. The ingredients of such salves are given by Plin. xxxii. 10, 47. The volsellæ for plucking out the beard are mentioned by Martial (ix. 28), who jokes at a man who shaved his beard in three ways, viii. 47. Almost all the implements of the tonsor are enumerated by Plaut. *Curcul.* iv. 4, 21:

> At ita me volsellæ, pecten, speculum, calamistrum meum
> Bene me amassint, meaque axicia, linteumque extersui.

Persons of wealth and distinction had their own barber among the slave-family, who, if skilful, was much prized. Hence we read in Martial an epitaphium on such a slave, Pantagathus by name, who is called *domini cura dolorque sui*, vi. 52. Still the majority repaired to the *tonstrinæ*, which became places of resort, visited by idlers for the sake of gossiping, and where they used to stop long after the *tonsor* had fulfilled his duty upon them.

THE RINGS.

WE will now say a few words about the rings. The Romans wore one signet-ring, at least, and to judge by the statues, generally on the fourth finger of the left hand, or the gold-finger, as it is called. Ateius Capito in Macrob. *Sat.* vii. 13, gives another account as regards the more ancient period. It is known that these rings were in the beginning of iron, and that the golden ones were among the distinctions of the higher classes, as we find in Forcell. *Thes.*; and Rup. on Juv. xi. 43. Afterwards, however, vain persons, desirous of displaying their wealth, had their hands literally covered with rings, so that Quinctilian (xi. 3) gives this

special direction for the speaker, *Manus non impleatur annulis præcipue medios articulos non transeuntibus.* Mart. xi. 59:

> Senos Charinus omnibus digitis gerit,
> Nec nocte ponit, annulos,
> Nec cum lavatur. Causa quæ sit quæritis?
> Dactyliothecam non habet.

Some persons had particular cases (*dactyliothecæ*) for their numerous rings, which were stuck there in a row. Comp. xiv. 123. [Ulp. *Dig.* xxxii. 1, 52; Plin. *H. N.* xxxvii. 1. A bronze *dactyliotheca* has been preserved.] Rings of immoderate size were also worn, as the same poet says, with bitter satire, of Zoilus, who, from a slave, had become an *eques* (xi. 37):

> Zoile, quid tota gemmam præcingere libra?
> Te juvat, et miserum perdere sardonycha?
> Annulus iste tuis fuerat modo cruribus aptus;
> Non eadem digitis pondera conveniunt;

and the effeminate Crispinus had lighter rings for the summer than for the winter; one of the absurdities that made Juvenal exclaim:

> Difficile est satiram non scribere.

EXCURSUS II. SCENE VIII.

THE DRESS OF THE WOMEN.

AN antiquarian would be sadly at fault, had he to write a history of the fashions in female dress at Rome, or even to explain the terms which occur in connection with the subject. The meaning of such names generally vanishes with the fashion that gave rise to them, and less than a century afterwards there is no tradition that can give any satisfactory intelligence about the peculiarity of a stuff or a particular form of dress. Commentators must fail, for the most part, in their attempts to explain the various articles of fashion mentioned in Plaut. *Aul.* iii. 5, and *Epid.* ii. 2; and the old grammarians, who are much too ready to explain the nature of such things by the first suitable etymology they can meet with, can be but little trusted, since the fashions of earlier times were probably quite as incomprehensible to them as they are to us.

Whoever therefore intends to treat concerning the dress of the Roman ladies, will do well to confine himself to generalities, and this is the more satisfactory, as the several articles of dress always remained the same in the main, and the modes appear to have extended mostly only to the stuff or quality, or to the other accessories, which are of no importance. If we go through the catalogue in Plaut. *Epid.* v. 39,

> Quid erat induta? an regillam induculam, an mendiculam
> Impluviatam? ut istæ faciunt vestimentis nomina.—
> Quid istæ, quæ vesti quotannis nomina inveniunt nova:
> Tunicam rallam, tunicam spissam, linteolum cæsitium,
> Indusiatam, patagiatam, caltulam, aut crocotulam,
> Supparum, aut subminiam, ricam, basilicum aut exoticum,
> Cumatile, aut plumatile, carinum, aut gerrinum;

we may easily see that, in spite of all the obscurity of the names, they refer almost throughout to a difference in the stuff. But a stronger evidence of the unaltered condition of the national dress down to a very late period, is to be found in the numerous monuments of art, which only differ from each other in the selection by the artist in each case of the most favourable drapery, but always exhibit the same leading articles of dress.

The complete costume of a Roman lady consisted of three chief portions, the *tunica interior*, the *stola*, and the *palla*.

The *tunica interior*, it is erroneously supposed, is also called, in the case of the women, *indusium*, or *intusium*, according as the word is derived from *induere*, or with Varro, *L. L.* v. 30, from *intus*. *Interula* appears to be a word of the latest period, and is used of the *tunica* both of men and women. Appul. *Flor.* ii. 32; *Metam.* viii. 533, and frequently in Vopiscus; it therefore seems to mean nothing more than *tunica intima* in Gell. x. 15. Appuleius also mentions *indusiati pueri*, but only in cases where a deviation from custom takes place. The *tunica interior* was a simple shift, which, at least in earlier times, had not sleeves, any more than originally the Greek χιτών. According to Non. xiv. 18, it sat closely to the body (though this must hardly be taken in a strict sense), and was not girded whenever the second tunica was put on. Supposing it was only worn within-doors, this might have been the case, but the assumption that the *semicinctium* was particularly destined for this purpose, is entirely arbitrary. For in Martial (xiv. 153, *Semicinctium*):

> Det tunicam dives; ego te præcingere possum.
> Essem si locuples, munus utrumque darem.

it is to be taken as the girdle of the *tunica virorum*, and so in Petr. 94.

Stays for compressing the form into an unnatural appearance of slimness were not known to the ancients, and would have been an abomination in their eyes. In Terent. *Eun.* ii. 3, 21:

> Haud similis virgo est virginum nostrarum, quas matres student
> Demissis humeris esse, vincto pectore, ut gracilæ sient.
> Si qua est habitior paullo, pugilem esse aiunt; deducunt cibum.
> Tametsi bona'st natura, reddunt curatura junceas.

a severe censure is conveyed of so unnatural a taste, which is confirmed by all the monuments of art. Still we should be in error if we supposed that a girl in those days, even though *vincto pectore*, was provided with stays. All they had was a bosom-band, *strophium*, *mamillare*, for the purpose of elevating the bosom, and also perhaps to confine somewhat the *nimius tumor*. We must not confound with this what Martial calls the *fascia pectoralis*, xiv. 134:

> Fascia crescentes dominæ compesce papillas,
> Ut sit quod capiat nostra tegatque manus.

Such *fasciæ*, as is evident from his own words, were worn to confine the breast in its growth, and were consequently not a part of the usual dress. This is also meant by Terence; on which see Stallbaum's note, and Scal. *ad Varr. L. L.* iv. 59.

But the strophium was placed over the inner tunica, as we see from the fragment of Turpilius in Non. xiv. 8:

> Me miseram! Quid agam? Inter vias epistola cecidit mihi,
> Infelix inter tuniculam ac strophium quam collocaveram.

It appears to have been usually of leather, at least Martial, xiv. 66, alludes to this, *Mamillare:*

> Taurino poteras pectus constringere tergo;
> Nam pellis mammas non capit ista tuas.

and for this reason is called by Catull. 64, 65, *tereti strophio luctantes vincta papillas.* Böttiger's statement, that *strophium* was not called *mamillare*, except when designed to gird in the too much developed bosom, is perfectly groundless, and contradicted by the same Epigram of Martial, who says that the mamillare of which he speaks is not sufficient for so large a breast.

Over the tunica interior was drawn the stola, also a tunica but with sleeves, which, however, in general, only covered the upper part of the arm. These were not sewn together, but the opening on the outer side was fastened by clasps, as was frequently the case with the tunica without sleeves, the parts of which covering the breast and back were only fastened over the shoulders by means of a *fibula.* [Isidor. xix. 31, *fibulæ sunt quibus pectus feminarum ornatur vel pallium tenetur.* See *Mus. Borb.* vii. 48.] The matter is rendered clearest by monuments, such as the bronze statue in the *Mus. Borb.* ii. t. 4, although the dress be not Roman. The girl there represented is just about to fasten the two parts over the shoulders, and these, as well as a part of the breast, are still uncovered. Although the stola generally had sleeves, it is sometimes found without them, as in the statue of Livia represented in the following engraving from the *Mus. Borb.* iii. t. 37, in which the under tunica had sleeves, but the upper none: it is fastened high up, above the shoulder, by means of a riband-like clasp, so that the front and back part have no other fastening. The statue given by Visconti, *Monum. Gabini*, 34, seems to be clad in the same manner. In the half-bronze figure in the *Mus. Borb.* viii. t. 59, the under tunica only has sleeves, while the upper is provided with arm-holes, without clasps. What distinguished this upper tunica from the lower one, and rendered it a stola, or, at all events, was never absent, was the *instita;* according to Böttiger a broad flounce, sewn on to the lower skirt. This is what in Poll. vii. 54, is called στολιδωτὸς χιτών. But this does not agree with the remarks of the Scholiast of Cruquius on the chief passage concerning this article of dress. Hor. *Sat.* i. 2, 29:

> Sunt qui nolunt tetigisse nisi illas,
> Quarum subsuta talos tegit instita veste.

He says: *quia matronæ stola utuntur ad imos usque pedes demissa, cujus imam partem ambit instita subsuta, id est, conjuncta. Instita autem Græce dicitur* περιπέδιλον, *quod stolæ subsuebatur, qua matronæ utebantur: erat enim tenuissima fasciola, quæ prætextæ adjiciebatur.*

If the Scholiast be right, we must consider it to have been a narrow flounce, sewn on under the strip of purple. Ovid, *Art. Am.* i. 32, does not disagree with this:

Quæque tegis medios instita longa pedes;

for *longa* could in no case be understood of the breadth of the flounce, but only of its reaching far down. This, however, would not exclude the possibility of its having been also worn broader.

While the under tunica did not reach much beyond the knee, the stola was longer than the whole figure, and was consequently girded in such a manner that it made a quantity of broad folds under the breast, and the instita reached down to the feet, which it half covered. Hence *Non.* xiv. 6: *omnem* (vestem) *quæ corpus tegeret;* and Ennius in *Non.* iv. 49: *Et quis illæc est, quæ lugubri*

succincta est stola? In the case of ladies of distinction, the stola also was ornamented on the neck with a coloured stripe, but whether it was of purple, as Böttiger asserts, there seems to be considerable doubt. Ferrarius (*de re Vest.* iii. 20) has shown (from Nonius, xiv. 19, *Patagium aureus clavus, qui pretiosis vestibus immitti solet;* and Tertull. *de Pall.* 3, *pavo est pluma omni patagio inauratior, qua terga fulgent*) that it was a strip of gold, and he defends this opinion also in the *Analecta*, 2. It was then a similar decoration to the *clavus* among the men: see Excursus on the *Male Dress*. See also Varro, *L. L.* viii. 28: *quum dissimillima sit virilis toga tunicæ, muliebris stola pallio;* ix. 48, x. 27. The account of Isidor. xix. 25, *Stola matronale operimentum, quod cooperto capite et scapula a dextro latere in lævum humerum mittitur*, is wrong.

The stola was the characteristic dress of the Roman matrons, as the toga was for the Roman citizens. The *libertinæ* and *meretrices* differed thus much from them, that they wore a shorter tunica without instita, and the latter a dark-coloured toga. Hence in Horace (*Sat.* i. 2, 63), the togata is opposed to the matrona, and the same opposition occurs in Tib. iv. 10, 3,

> Si tibi cura toga est potior, pressumque quasillo
> Scortum, quam Servi filia Sulpicia.

and in this sense, Martial says in defence of his frivolous *Epigrams* (i. 36, 8):

> Quis Floralia vestit, et stolatum
> Permittit meretricibus pudorem?

Indeed the matrona found guilty of incontinence lost the right of wearing the stola, and had to exchange it for the toga. So the scholiast of Cruquius relates on the above passage of Horace: *Matronæ quæ a maritis repudiabantur propter adulterium, togam accipiebant, sublata stola alba propter ignominiam, meretrices autem prostare solebant cum togis pullis, ut discernerentur a matronis adulterii convictis et damnatis, quæ togis albis utebantur.* To this refer the passages adduced by Heindorf, in Martial, ii. 39, and vi. 64, 4.

Next to this came the *palla*, which, however, was only worn out of doors, and was to the women what the toga was to the men. The fashion of wearing it was similar to that of the toga, and will therefore be better explained along with the latter. It is reasonable to suppose, that as the men were extremely particular in the adjustment of the toga, the women would be still more so about the most ornamental and advantageous way of arranging the palla. It fell more or less low, sometimes down to the feet, according to the pleasure of the wearer, but was not allowed to drag along the ground. It has been already shown from Ovid (*Amor.* iii. 13, 24),

that Böttiger goes too far when he adds: 'For at the theatre alone were trains allowed to the Heroes and Citharœdæ of Antiquity.' Ottfr. Müller, *Etrusk.* ii. 46, has also explained the passage in the old and untenable manner, and we therefore proceed to a further justification of the explanation given. He says, in speaking of the worship of Juno at Falerii (this is the *mœnia Camillo victa* of Ovid, for at this period the ruins only of Veii existed, Prop. iv. 10, 27), 'A *pompa* was joined with the annual great sacrifices, the festive path was laid with carpets.' For the latter assertion, Ovid, v. 12 and 24, and Dionys. i. 21, are referred to. But in Dionysius nothing at all is to be found about such a covering for the way, and Ovid's words cannot be so explained. For when he says (v. 13),

> It per velatas annua pompa vias,

the *velatæ viæ* mean streets adorned with foliage and festoons of flowers, as in Virg. *Æn.* ii. 249, and Ovid, *Trist.* iv. 2, 3. But the second passage (v. 23, seq.),

> Qua ventura dea est, juvenes timidæque puellæ
> Præverrunt latas veste jacente vias.

which is the most important one, admits only of the explanation here given. It is the trailing garments (*vestis jacens*) of those preceding, which sweep the way, as it were. So says Statius (*Achill.* i. 262): *Si decet aurata Bacchum vestigia palla Verrere.* That *vestis jacens* may, in the case even of a person walking, signify the garment which touches the ground, is clear from a passage in Ovid (*Amor.* iii. 1, 9):

> Venit et ingenti violenta Tragœdia passu;
> Fronte comæ torva; palla jacebat humi.

There were therefore cases besides at the theatre, in which the palla, contrary to the usual habit, was allowed to trail along the ground.

Though there may be no doubts about the essential nature of these different portions of female attire, still the names *stola* and *palla* have received an entirely different interpretation from others. Rubens, for instance, does this, and the same explanation, in the main, is to be found in Ottfried Müller's *Handbuch d. Archäol.*, 475, where the stola is taken to mean the under tunica, the palla to be a sort of upper tunica, while in place of the palla, as explained above, the *amiculum* is substituted. Probably this explanation is based on the obscure passage of Varro, v. 131, where the palla is mentioned among those articles of dress, *quæ indutui sunt.* But this account of Varro's is at variance with all that is said elsewhere, and with Varro himself, *de Vita Pop. Rom.* in Non. xvi. 13: *ut, dum supra terram essent, ricinis lugerent; funere ipso ut pullis pallis amictæ.* Without laying too much stress on the word *amiciri*, since *amictus*

and *indutus* are often interchanged by the poets, thus much is clear, that the palla took the place of the ricinus, and belonged to the amictus. It is hard to reconcile this contradiction; but it has been shown above, that the palla in the best Roman period, and even later, was a garment thrown round the person. This is further clear from Appul. *Metam.* xi. 758: *palla splendescens atro nitore, quæ circumcirca remeans, et sub dextrum latus ad humerum lævum recurrens umbonis vicem dejecta parte laciniæ multiplici contabulatione dependula ad ultimas oras nodulis fimbriarum decoriter confluctuabat.* It was adjusted, therefore, like the toga. Sometimes the extremity, which hangs in front over the left shoulder, was drawn under the right arm behind, as in the statue of Livia. It need only be further remarked, that it is the upper tunica which in all monuments reaches to the feet, and that consequently there would be nothing visible of the stola (taken as an under-garment) with its instita, which is nevertheless the distinguishing garment of the Roman matron; that the words of Hor. *Sat.* i. 2, 99,

Ad talos stola demissa et circumdata palla,

do not at all allow of the latter being explained as an *indumentum;* that *amiculum* is a general expression, which is equally used of the men and of the women, Petr. 11; that we cannot refer to Plaut. *Cist.* i. 1, 117, and *Pœn.* i. 2, 136, as these passages do not even allude to the Roman dress, and the word there used is merely a translation of the Greek ἱμάτιον; that Ovid, *Met.* xiv. 263, affords just as little proof (comp. *Odyss.* v. 230); and that we cannot draw any inference as to what the palla was from Livy, xxvii. 4, *reginæ pallam pictam cum amiculo purpureo.* It will therefore be necessary to adduce some new and authentic arguments, before we can consent to give up the explanation defended by Ferrarius, and recognised by Böttiger and Heindorf as a correct one.

We cannot assent to the latter, when on *Sat.* i. 8, 23, *Vidi egomet nigra succinctam vadere palla Canidiam,* he supposes that palla is poetically used for tunica. Canidia comes, *palla succincta legendis in sinum ossibus herbisque nocentibus.* [Herzberg supposes that the palla was the upper tunica of the women, but that it denoted likewise, in a special sense, the short over-cloak which the matrons threw over the stola, when they appeared in public. At all events, Becker's explanation does not accord with all the passages of the classics; and the palla must therefore be taken in a wider sense. In the following places palla is most probably a kind of mantle. Hor. *Sat.* i. 2, 99; Varro *in Non.;* Sidon. *Apoll.* xv. 13. See above. Likewise Isidor. xix. 25, *est quadrum pallium muliebris vestis deductum usque ad vestigia.* But elsewhere it only signifies a tunica. So

in the difficult passage of Varro, *L. L.* v. 103. *Auct. ad Her.* iv. 47. *Ut citharœdus palla inaurata indutus, cum chlamyde purpurea* (where palla signifies the tunic, and chlamys the mantle). So in Liv. xxvii. 4, palla and amiculum must be so explained; and Ovid. *Met.* xiv. 262:

> Sublimis solio pallamque induta nitentem
> Insuper aurato, circumvelatur amictu.

and vi. 481:

> Induitur pallam tortoque incingitur angue.

where palla is a tunic, as Tisiphone was girded with a snake, which would have been impossible had it been a mantle. In the next place, the palla is sometimes described as a long, at others as a short garment. Ovid. *Amor.* iii. 13, 26:

> Et tegit auratos palla superba pedes.

But in Mart. i. 93:

> Dimidiasque nates Gallica palla tegit.

From this twofold shape, the palla was thought by some grammarians to be something between the mantle and tunic. So Non. xiv. 7, *tunicæ pallium;* Sen. *ad Virg. Æn.* i. 6; Schol. Cruq. *ad Hor. Sat.* i. 2, 99, *tunicopallium.* And this is most probable. So that the palla would be a broad upper tunic of greater or less length, which, when ungirded, resembled a pallium; but when girded did not in the least differ from the stola. (Sen. *Troad.* i. 91, *cingat palla tunicas solutas.*) In the latter case, a mantle might be also worn over it; in the first it served as a mantle itself. This garment was the dress of *Citharœdæ*, and actors, as is plain from the above passage *ad Her.* and Ovid. *Amor.* ii. 18, 15, iii. 1, 12; Suet. *Cal.* 54. Courtesans and *adulterii damnatæ* were not entitled to wear the palla or the stola.]

The *ricinium* was a kind of veil. Fest. p. 277: *Ricæ et riculæ vocantur parva ricinia ut palliola ad usum capitis.* Varro, *L. L.* v. 132: *ab rejiciendo ricinium dictum, quod dimidiam partem retrorsum jaciebant. Non.* xiv. 33: *Ricinium quod nunc Mavortium dicitur.* [Isidor. xix. 25, calls it *ricinium* and *Mavors*, and even *stola*, which is a mistake.] These expressions [as well as *flammeum*] belonged to an earlier period, and continued to be used only in respect to the *flaminica.* But the fact, that they covered the head with a veil, always remained.

[Females used the same sort of coverings for the feet as men; only that their soleæ and calcei were more ornamented, and in brighter colours.

Lastly, must be mentioned the fans and parasols. The former, *flabella*, were used both to keep off troublesome insects (for which

purpose the *muscarium* was also used, Mart. xiv. 71); and also to cool, as our fans. Ter. *Eun.* iii. 5, 47:

> Cape hoc flabellum et ventulum, huic sic facito dum lavamus.

Ov. *Amor.* iii. 2, 27:

> Vis tamen interea faciles arcessere ventos,
> Quos faciat nostra mota tabella manu.

Al. *faciant—flabella*, comp. *Art. Am.* i. 161. They were generally of peacocks' feathers, and other light materials, as thin plates of wood. Prop. ii. 18, 59:

> Et modo pavonis caudæ flabella superbi.

Claudian. *in Eutrop.* i. 108:

> Patricius roseis pavonum ventilat alis.

Parasols, *umbellæ*, often occur. Mart. xiv. 28, *Umbella:*

> Accipe quæ nimios vincant umbracula soles,
> Sit licet et ventus, te tua vela tegent.

xi. 73; Juv. ix. 50. See Casaub. *ad Suet. Oct.* 80; Burmann, *ad Anthol. Lat.* ii. p. 370; and Paciaudi, *σκιαδοφόρημα s. de umbellæ gestat.*

ORNAMENTS OF THE HAIR.

THE Roman ladies were very proud of fine long hair, and its ornaments. Appul. *Met.* ii. p. 118: *Quamvis auro, veste, gemmis exornata mulier incedat, tamen nisi capillum distinxerit, ornata non possit videri.* Isid. xix. 23. Böttiger has spoken of the way in which they dyed the hair (with soap-like pomade, *spuma Batava* and *caustica;* Cato in *Charis.* 1: *mulieres nostræ cinere capillum ungitabant, ut rutilus esset crinis.* Val. Max. ii. 1, 5; Fest. p. 262; Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* iv. 698); and also on the false hair, and blond wigs, Mart. v. 68, xii. 23: Juv. vi. 120:

> Sed nigrum flavo crinem abscondente galero.

Ov. *Art. Am.* iii. 163:

> Femina canitiem Germanis inficit herbis,
> Et melior vero quæritur arte color;
> Femina procedit densissima crinibus emtis,
> Proque suis alios efficit ære suos.

The various methods of dressing the hair are seen in the ancient statues. Sometimes the marble perukes of these were replaced by others to suit the fashion. See Ov. *Art. Am.* iii. 135; Appul. *Met. ib.;* Tertull. *de Cultu Fem.* 6. The simplest method of wearing their hair was in smooth braids, and a knot (*nodus*) behind, in the modern fashion; *Mus. Borb.* ix. 34; or the ends were brought round again in front of the head. The other extreme was the

tutulus, a storied edifice of hair over the forehead. Fest. p. 355; Varro, *L. L.* vii. 44; *Mus. Borb.* xiii. 25. To keep the hair in shape, bands were used, *tænia*, *fascia*, *fasciola*, called *capital*. Varro, *L. L.* v. 130; but especially pins (*acus discriminalis*; Isid. xix. 31); many of which are preserved, and such as are still used in parts of Italy to wind the hair round.

A similar pin, though it does not seem of particularly good workmanship, has been found in Pompeii, and a copy of it is given in the *Mus. Borb.* ii. tab. xiv. Bechi considers that it was designed to fasten the garments; but Böttiger has, and as it appears rightly, explained the use of these pins as bodkins or crisping-pins. [Other costly head-dresses were used. Isid. xix. 31, *Diadema est ornamentum capitis matronarum ex auro et gemmis contextum.* So also *nimbus*, *ib.*; Ov. *Amor.* iii. 13, 25:

Virginei crines auro gemmaque premuntur.

The hair was dressed by *ciniflones* or *cinerarii*, with their curling-irons (*calamistrum*, Varro, *L. L.* v. 129), combs, and pomades, and by the *ornatrices*. Macrob. ii. 5, p. 347. *Julia mature habere cœperat canos, quos legere secrete solebat. Subitus interventus patris oppressit ornatrices.* Orell. 2878, 2933. These persons were regularly apprenticed to the art; Marcian. *Dig.* xxxii. 1, 65.] Not only by night, but also for convenience by day, and especially when busied in household affairs, the women drew a net over the head, encircling the hair, *reticulum* [Varro, *L. L.* v. 130, *quod capillum contineret.* Non. xiv. 32; Isid. xix. 31], κεκρύφαλος. Juven. ii. 96, reprimands the men for indulging in this effeminate habit. These hair-nets were frequently made of gold-thread, as we see from engravings in the *Mus. Borb.* iv. t. 49, viii. t. 4, 5, vi. t. 18. Hence in Juvenal, *reticulum auratum.* [They also used caps of thicker material, which hung down like a sack at the back of the head, *mitra*, *calantica*, or *calvatica*. Varro, *ib.* Non. xiv. 2; Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 23. Sometimes they were made of bladder, Mart. viii. 33, 19; and in various shapes. They occur in vase-paintings. See Becker's *Charicles*, translated by Metcalfe, p. 336.

ORNAMENTS.

THESE were very rich and manifold, generally of gold, set off with pearls and precious stones. Plin. *H. N.* ix. 15, 58: *Paulinam vidi smaragdis margaritisque opertam, alterno textu fulgentibus, toto capite, crinibus, spira, auribus, collo, monilibus, digitisque, quæ summa quadringenties H. S. colligebat.* Lucian. *de Domo*, 7. The necklaces (*monilia*) and neck-chains (*catellæ*), which often reached to the

breast, were very magnificent. Isidor. xix. 13; Plin. *H. N.* xxxiii. 2, 12; Sen. *Med.* iii. 572, *auro textili monile fulgens.* Paull. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 32, *Ornamentum mamillarum ex cylindris triginta quatuor et tympaniis margaritis triginta quatuor.* The pearls were of immense value; Suet. *Cæs.* 50, *sexagies sestertio margaritam mercatus est.*]

A necklace was found at Pompeii consisting of one band of fine interlaced gold, on which are suspended seventy-one pendants, like small ear-drops: at the ends of the chain there is a kind of clasp, on both parts of which there is a frog: at the terminal points where it was clasped there were rubies in settings, one of which is still in existence, and is copied in the *Mus. Borb.* ii. 14. [See also xii. 44. The arm-bands were called *armillæ* (Paul. Diac. p. 25), *brachialia*, *spinther*. Fest. p. 333; Plaut. *Men.* iii. 3, 4.] Arm-bands in the form of serpents appear to have been very common, and Hesychius says, *ὄφις τὸ χρυσοῦν περιβραχόνιον.* In Pompeii too, several of the kind have been found. See *Mus. Borb.* supra, and vii. tab. xlvi. xii. 44. The latter have actually rubies in the place of eyes. [Ladies wore in their ears a single great pearl, or other ornament. Isidor. xix. 31, *Inaures ab aurium foraminibus nuncupatæ, quibus pretiosa genera lapidum dependuntur.* Sen. *de Ben.* vii. 9, *video uniones non singula singulis auribus comparatos, jam enim exercitatæ aures oneri ferendo sunt, junguntur inter se et insuper alii binis superponuntur. Non satis muliebris insania viros subjecerat, nisi bina ac terna patrimonia auribus singulis pependissent.* Plaut. *Men.* iii. 3, 17; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 239; Paull. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 32. The rings have already been discussed elsewhere. All these ornaments were called *ornamenta muliebria*, Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 5. In contradistinction to which is the *mundus muliebris, quo mulier mundior fit*, viz. *specula* (looking-glasses; see above, and Isid. xix. 31), *matulæ*, *unguenta*, *vasa unguentaria*, and other articles belonging to the toilet, as combs (*pectines*, Varro, *L. L.* v. 129), of box-wood or ivory; instruments for the nails (Böttiger, *Sabina*), and rouge-boxes. (They were rich in cosmetics. Lucian. *Amor.* 39; Plin. xxxiii. 12, 50; Cic. *Orat.* 23, *fucati medicamen candoris et ruboris;* Ov. *Med. Fac.* 73, *Art. Am.* iii. 197; Juv. vi. 477.) Ointments and oils have been discussed above. Some ladies spent great sums in these essences. Mart. iii. 55:

> Quod quacumque venis Cosmum migrare putamus,
> Et fluere excusso cinnama fusa vitro.

In *Mus. Borb.* xi. 16, there is a round ointment-box, with a pointed lid, just like a tobacco-box. The larger chests, with mirrors and other articles, called *cistæ mysticæ*, and which mostly came from

Præneste, are described by Müller, *Archaeologie* V. Many toilet scenes in vase and fresco-painting, and on sarcophagi, have been preserved.

APPENDIX.

THE MATERIAL, COLOUR, METHOD OF MANUFACTURING, AND OF CLEANING THE GARMENTS.

THE garments were manufactured of wool, silk, linen, and cotton. Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 23, *lanea, linea, serica, bombycina.* But the material most used was wool; and the toga could not be made of anything else.

In Italy, the best was obtained in Apulia, round Tarentum. Plin. viii. 48 [Colum. vii. 2, 4]; Mart. xiv. 155:

> Velleribus primis Apulia, Parma secundis
> Nobilis; Altinum tertia laudat ovis.

Of the foreign sorts, the Milesian [Samian] and Laconian, as well as several others mentioned in Pliny, were celebrated. [Yates, *Textrinum Antiquorum; An Account of the Art of Weaving among the Ancients.* A *lanarius negotians*, importer of wool, is mentioned, Orell. *Inscr.* 4063.] The cloth was sometimes thick and heavy; at others, thinner and lighter. On account of the first-mentioned quality, the toga is called *densa, pinguis* (Suet. *Aug.* 82); *hirta* (Quinct. *Inst.* xii. 10). The latter must not be confounded with the *pexa*, which signifies only the new garment, or one that was more woolly, and not so closely shorn; whence sometimes the *trita* (see Obbar. on Hor. *Epist.* i. 1, 95), sometimes the *rasa*, is opposed to it. The lighter sort served for summer-wear. Mart. ii. 85. According to Pliny (viii. 48, 74), it first came into use under Augustus. Silk stuffs were not worn till late, and even then, *serica* signifies generally only half-silk cloth, the warp being linen thread, and the woof of silk. When greater accuracy of expression is used, the distinction is made between *subserica* and *holoserica.* [Isidor. xix. 22, *holoserica tota serica—tramoserica stamine lineo, trama ex serico.*] Lamprid. *Sev. Alex.* 40. But what he says of Heliogabalus (26), *Primus Romanorum holoserica veste usus fertur, quum jam subserica in usu essent*, this can only hold good of the men, for the *holoserica stola mulierum* is mentioned by Varro in Nonius. As such garments cost enormous sums, they were always considered an article of extravagance. We see from Quinct. xii. 10, that silken stuffs (*subserica*) were used for the toga also. [At first, however, silk garments were worn only by women, Dio. Cass. xliii. 24: men being in fact forbidden to use them. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 33, *ne vestis serica viros fœdaret.*

Vop. *Tac.* 10; Dio. Cass. lii. 15. But the law was often transgressed, e.g. by Caligula, Suet. *Cal.* 52; and, later, it became obsolete. Solin. 50.] On account of their high price [Vop. *Aurel.* 45, one pound of silk cost a pound of gold], these stuffs were woven so thin that the famous *Coa* (which were, however, also composed of byssus) were often censured by moralists. See Böttig. *Sab.* ii. 115, and Heindorf on Hor. *Sat.* i. 2, 161. The garment worn by Venus, in a painting from Pompeii (*Mus. Borb.* iii. 36), and that worn by Phryne, as she is called (viii. 5), must be considered robes of this sort. In vii. 20, it is not much thicker; and of them we may say with Horace, *pœne videre est ut nudam.* [Sen. *de Ben.* vii. 9, *video sericas vestes, si vestes vocandæ sunt, in quibus nihil est, quo defendi aut corpus aut denique pudor possit.*] The silk dresses did not come to Europe in the web, but the raw silk had usually to be manufactured here. The chief passages on this point are Aristotle, *H. A.* v. 17. (19.) [Isid. xix. 27.] Plin. vi. 17, 20, *Seres lanicio silvarum nobiles, perfusam aqua depectentes frondium canitiem: unde geminus feminis nostris labor, reordiendi fila rursumque texendi.* The obscurity of the expression has induced many to believe that the robes already manufactured were taken to pieces, and then put together again. In Rome, at least in the time of Martial (xi. 27, 11), the most celebrated weavers appear to have lived in the Vicus Tuscus. [Silk-merchants, *sericarii negotiatores*, occur in inscriptions. Orell. 1368, 4252. The *sericaria* (2955) is a female slave, who probably had charge of the silk dresses of her mistress. On the origin of silk, and its manufacture and different names, see Becker's *Charicles*, Eng. trans. p. 316, and Yates, *Textrin. Antiq.* i. 160—250. Though linen was indispensable in a household (Non. xiv. 5, mentions the linen covers, *plagæ;* xiv. 17, *linteolum cæsicium;* and frequently the *mappæ* and *mantelia*, or napkins. See the Excursus on the *Table Utensils. Gausape* also was originally of linen, though afterwards of wool), yet it was little used for dress. Hence it is seldom mentioned, except in speaking of the women (never in the case of the toga). Plin. *H. N.* xix. 1; whence we may infer that women sometimes wore linen garments. See Fest. and Paul. p. 310, who explain *supparus* as *vestimentum puellare lineum.* Non. xiv. 20; Appul. *Met.* ii. p. 117; Isid. xix. 25, mentions the *amiculum* as *meretricium pallium lineum*, and the *anaboladium* as *amictorium lineum feminarum.*

It is not till later that linen garments for the men are met with (for the *legio linteata* did not derive its name from its dress; Paul. Diac. p. 115; Liv. x. 38; and there was a special cause for the priests of Isis wearing linen robes, *linigera turba.* Ovid. *Art. Am.* i.

77; Suet. *Oct.* 12), when fine linen stuffs became an article of special luxury. Lamprid. *Sev. Alex.* 40. The young slaves in attendance wore robes of this fine linen. Suet. *Cal. lincteo succinctos;* Sen. *de Brev. Vit.* 12; Heind. *ad Hor. Sat.* ii. 8, 10. In later times, linen was valuable from its fine quality, and the ornaments worked into it. The finest came from Egypt and Spain (*Carbasus*, Plin. xix. 2; Non. xiv. 28; Lucan. iii. 239.

Fluxa coloratis adstringunt carbasa gemmis.

Virg. *Æn.* viii. 34.) Often, however, *linum* appears to mean cotton, *byssus*, and *vice versa;* as both stuffs were very similar, e. g. Isid. xix. 22, *Sunt qui genus quoddam lini byssum existiment*, 27, 25; Auson. *Eph. Parecb.* 2; *linteam da sindonem;* though, elsewhere, *sindon* denotes cotton stuffs. See Plin. xix. 1; Poll. vii. 76; Becker's *Charicles*, Eng. trans. p. 316. The weavers of linen stuffs were called *linteones*. Plaut. *Aul.* iii. 5, 38; Forcell. *Thes.;* and the sellers of it *lintearii*. Orell. *Inscr.* 8, 4215; Ulp. *Dig.* xiv. 3, 5; comp. Cic. *Verr.* v. 6. They also manufactured stuffs of wool and linen mixed, *linostema*. Isid. xix. 22.

Here the question arises as to what were the colours of these stuffs. Originally, the customary colour was white, which continued to be the only permitted one for the toga. The poor slaves and freedmen wore dark-coloured clothes, it is true, but this was for economy's sake, as they were less liable to soil. These dark stuffs, *fusci colores*, Mart. i. 97; xiv. 127; *canusinæ fuscæ;* comp. 129; were, partly, dark naturally (the wool of the Bœtic sheep was dark-coloured; Mart. i. 97; xiv. 133, *me mea tinxit ovis;* Non. xvi. 13; Ulp. *Dig.* xxxii. 1, 70, *naturaliter nigrum*); partly dyed so (*color anthracinus*, Non. xvi. 14). From the former, the poor were called *pullata turba*. Quinct. vi. 4, 6, ii. 12, 10; Plin. *Ep.* vii. 17; Suet. *Oct.* 40, 44. But the higher classes also, when in mourning, or under prosecution, wore dark clothes (hence *toga pulla, sordida*). See the Excursus on *The Burial of the Dead*. It was not till after the extinction of the old republican manners that men wore coloured garments, viz. *lacernæ* and *synthesis*.] The factions of the Circus also influenced the choice of colour.

Women, at least in the first century, frequently wore coloured robes; and it seems doubtful whether this should be applied, with Böttiger (*Sab.* ii. 91, 109), only to girls and women of a lighter cast. [Sen. *Nat. Qu.* vii. 31, and Lucian, *de Domo*, 7, prove only that immodest women usually wore glaring colours. See Becker's *Charicles*, translated by Metcalfe, p. 320.] In the paintings from Herculaneum and Pompeii, even of the grandest subjects, we see a far less number of white than of coloured robes, as sky-blue and

violet. See Zahn, *Ornam.* t. 19; *Mus. Borb.* iii. t. 5, 6, and in the noble figures (vii. t. 34), the *tunica* and *palla* are azure, covered with golden stars. These are, it is true, not portraits of particular Roman matrons, but still they exhibit the taste of the period; and in Petron. 67, Fortunata, the wife of Trimalchio, wears a *tunica cerasina.* Comp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 32, and 7: *pallæ purpureæ* are often mentioned in the case of the first matrons. Many matrons may have retained the white garment, and on certain occasions coloured ones would probably not have been becoming, but this cannot be assumed to have been generally the case. [See Ov. *Art. Am.* iii. 169, 185:

> Quot nova terra parit flores, cum vere tepenti,
> Vitis agit gemmas pigraque cedit hyems,
> Lana tot aut plures succos bibit, elige certos.]

These robes were made not only of one distinct colour, as *purpureæ*, *coccineæ*, *amethystinæ*, *ianthinæ*, *prasinæ*, [or after names of flowers, as violet, mallow (*molochinus*) caltha, crocus (also *luteus*, Ov. *Art. Am.* iii. 179; Plin. xxi. 8), and hyacinth. Non. xvi. 12, 2, 11; Isid. xix.; or iron-coloured, *ferrugineus*, Non. xvi. 7; Isid. *ib.*; Plaut. *Mil.* iv. 4, 43; sea-coloured, *cumatilis*, Non. xvi. 1; greenish, *galbinus*, Juv. ii. 97; Mart. iii. 85, i. 97; Forcell. v. *galbanum;*] but there were also, at least in the time of Pliny, coloured prints, so to speak, which appear to have been produced much in the same way as with us, and by means of a corrosive preparation laid on previously, the impressed parts were prevented from assuming the same colour as the rest of the piece. Pliny himself is full of admiration at the process. [The *vestis impluviata*, Plaut. *Epid.* ii. 2, 40, was doubtless a figured robe. Non. xvi. 3: *color quasi fumato stillicidio impletus.* But the *vestis undulata*,—Plin. *H. N.* viii. 48, 74; Varro in Non. ii. 926,—was equivalent to 'watered' with us (Changeant or Moiré). (Becker's *Charicles*, Engl. transl. p. 321.) Ovid. *Art. Am.* iii. 177:

> Hic undas imitatur, habet quoque nomen ab undis;
> Crediderim Nymphas hac quoque veste tegi.]

Although this could not, of course, have been regular printing, yet these garments would seem to have been something like calicos; they were at all events *versicoloria.* [These versicoloria were also made so by weaving and embroidery. Juv. ii. 97: *Cœrulea indutus scutula;* where *scutulæ* are the figures woven into or embroidered on the cloth. Isid. xix. 22; Lucan. x. 141:

> Candida Sidonio perlucent pectora filo,
> Quod Nilotis acus compressum pectine Serum
> Solvit et extenso laxavit stamina velo.

Stripes or borders, woven in or sewn on the garments, were called *paragaudæ*. *Cod.* xi. 8, 2. The whole garment was also so named, Lyd. *De Mag.* ii. 13; Treb. *Claud.* 17; Vop. *Aurel.* 15, *lineæ paragaudæ*, 46; Vop. *Prob.* 4. The gold-embroidered *vestes plumatæ* have been already discussed. Comp. Stat. *Theb.* i. 262, *aurata palla*. Heyne *ad Virg. Æn.* i. 648.

The purple robes, as a chief object of ancient luxury, have been thoroughly discussed by W. Schmidt, *Forschungen auf dem Gebiet des Alterthums*, pp. 96—212. The bright scarlet colour, *coccum*, from an insect resembling the cochineal (not a vegetable production; see Plin. *H. N.* ix. 41, xvi. 8, as Isidorus says, *vermiculus ex silvestribus frondibus*), must not be confounded with purple, from which it was carefully distinguished by the ancients. Suet. *Ner.* 33; Mart. v. 23:

> Non nisi vel cocco madida vel murice tincta
> Veste nites.

Quinct. xi. 1, 31; Ulp. *Dig.* xxxii. 1, 70; Mart. xiv. 131.—Of the purples (*conchilium* in a wider sense, and *ostrum*, Isid. xix. 28), we must take care to distinguish the juice of the regular purple snail (*purpura*, *pelagia*, also *pœnicum*. Varro, *L. L.* v. 113, *quod a Pœnis primum dicitur allata πορφύρα*) from that of the trumpet-snail (*buccinum*, murex, *κήρυξ*); although *purpura* in a wider sense includes the second also, just as *murex* and *buccinum*, in a wider sense, often stands for purple. Plin. ix. 36, 61. These two *conchylia* are carefully distinguished by Paul. v. *trachali*, p. 367, although in a mercantile point of view they are often confounded. Plin. ix. 36, 62; Non. xvi. 9; Mart. xiii. 87. The two ground colours of purple, red, and blackish (Plin. ix. 36, 62), were mixed so ingeniously, that thirteen different tints were obtained. In the proper purple, in its stricter sense, Schmidt distinguishes the pure from the diluted. The former was, in later times, called *blatta* (Salmas. *ad Vopisc. Aurel.* 46; Sidon. Apoll. *Carm.* ii. 48; Lyd. *De Mens.* i. 19), and was divided into two sorts, the Tyrian and amethystine, Plin. ix. 38, 62; Suet. *Ner.* 32; of which the Tyrian, which was the dearest (the pound of wool costing one thousand denarii. Plin. ix. 38, 63), was twice dyed to give it the magnificent dark brilliancy, *δίβαφος* and *bis tinctus*. Pliny. Mart. iv. 4, *quod bis murice vellus inquinatum*. Hor. *Epod.* 12, 21, *iteratæ lanæ*. Comp. 2, 16; Ov. *Art. Am.* iii. 170, *quæ bis Tyrio murice lana rubes*. Stat. *Silv.* iii. 2, 139; Lyd. *De Mag.* ii. 13; also *murex bis coctus, repetitus*. The violet amethystine purple (also called *ianthinum*, *violaceum*, Mart. i. 97) was second in value; the pound of wool costing only

one hundred denarii. Plin. ix. 38, 63. The diluted or pale purple, on the other hand (*jus temperatur aqua*), was called *conchylia;* hence Plin. ix. 39, *Conchyliata vestis.* Suet. *Cæs.* 43: Cic. *Phil.* ii. 27, *conchyliata peristromata.* Pliny (*ib.* and xxi. 8, 22) discusses the manifold mixtures and dilutions. The smell of the purple garments, the δίβαφα for instance, was far from agreeable; Mart. i. 50, 32, *olidæ vestes murice;* iv. 4, ix. 63. Wool and silk were the chief materials; they were always dyed raw, never in the web; cotton was never dyed purple, linen very seldom. Plin. *H. N.* xix. 1, 5. Dyers in purple (the most renowned were those of Egypt and Phœnicia) and dealers in it were called *purpurarii,* Orell. *Inscr.* 4271, 4250. It was spun and woven by common spinners and weavers.

The use of purple in the toga of the magistrates, and tunica of the senators and knights, has been already mentioned. Such borders were also worn by private persons, but, at first, only of a common, spurious purple. Cic. *p. Sest.* 8. (Piso) *vestitur aspere nostra hac purpura plebeia ac pœne fusca;* where *fusca* is wrongly explained as *violacea* by Ferratius; whereas that belonged to the genuine purple *blatta.* This *fusca* and *plebeia* corresponds to the μέλαινα of Cato, in Plut. *Cat. Min.* 6, which is the garb of a common man, and not fit for a consul. Only magistrates might with propriety wear the ornament of Tyrian purple, and *violaceum.* In other persons it was considered improper; and hence Cælius was censured for wearing the genuine purples, Cic. *p. Cœl.* 30. But as luxury increased apace, this distinction was no longer observed, and not only were borders worn of the best purple, but even whole garments of it. The women do not seem ever to have made any difference between the various purples. Val. Max. ii. 1, 5. But Cæsar issued a prohibitive edict, Suet. *Cæs.* 43, against *conchyliatæ vestes, nisi certis personis et ætatibus perque certos dies;* which was repeated by Augustus. Dio. Cass. xlix. 16: τήν τε ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἁλουργῆ μηδένα ἄλλον ἔξω τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐνδύεσθαι. As ἁλουργὶς is the same as *holoverus,* all purple, or genuine purple, Isid. xix. 22, we see that the use of the garments with a purple border was not forbidden. Nero modified this interdict, forbidding only garments of the genuine purple (*blatta*); Suet. *Ner.* 32. Women also were liable to a severe penalty for infringing the rule, and merchants were forbidden to sell the article. But this distinction soon ceased again; Lamprid. *Sev. Alex.* 40; Vop. *Aurel.* 46, *ut blatteas tunicas matronæ haberent,* 29. The purple toga and robe were now alone forbidden; these being the exclusive insignia of the Emperor. Lactant. iv. 7: *indumentum purpuræ insigne regiæ dignitatis.* The later interdicts only applied to the best sorts (*blatta*), named *murex*

sacer, or *adorandus*, which were produced by the imperial manufactories; the commoner sorts continued to be allowed, and were sold in the shops. *Cod.* xi. 8, 3; *Cod. Theod.* x. 21, 3, x. 20, 18.]

As regards the manufacture of these garments, it is generally supposed that they came almost ready from the loom, and therefore were without *sutura*. See Schneid. *Ind. ad Scr. R. R.* s. v. *tela;* Beckmann, *Beitr.* iv. 39; Böttig. *Furienem.* 36, and *Sab.* ii. 106. This assumption, however, seems to require some restrictions. With respect to the toga, it is contradicted by Quinctilian, and it seems even less possible in the case of the *pænula;* and if we look at a tunica, the upper part of which consists of two *panni*, which must have been fastened together, before the breast and back could be covered, we shall not easily be persuaded that it could at once have been woven in that form. The mistake, perhaps, consists in taking what sometimes occurred for a general rule. The pieces might have been woven on purpose for each separate dress, and first become perfect garments under the hands of the *vestiarii*, *vestifici*, *pænularii*, whose names frequently occur in the lists of slaves. [Spinning and weaving were performed by female slaves, who, originally, did this in the atrium, under the eye and with the assistance of their mistress. See above. Later, the mistress seldom assisted, Colum. xii. præf. 9; when she did, it was thought worthy of special commendation. Orell. 4639, *lanifica*, *pia*, *pudica*, 4860. Auson. *Parent.* ii. 3, xvi. 3. In the houses of the great there was a special room, *textrinum*, or *textrina*, where the female slaves worked, under the surveillance of the *lanipendia*, also *lanipens serva* and *lanipendus*. Pompon. *Dig.* xxiv. 1, 31; Alfen. *Dig.* xxxii. 1, 61; *Cai.* xv. 1, 27. See the instructive passage in Sen. *Ep.* 90: *Dum vult describere primum, quemadmodum alia torqueantur fila, alia ex molli solutoque ducantur, deinde quemadmodum tela suspensis ponderibus rectum stamen extendat, quemadmodum subtemen insertum, quod duritiam utrimque comprimentis tramæ remolliat, spatha coire cogantur et jungi, textricum quoque artem a sapientibus dixi inventam, oblitus postea repertum hoc subtilius genus, in quo*

> Tela jugo juncta est, stamen secernit arundo.
> Inseritur medium radiis subtemen acutis,
> Quod lato feriunt insecti pectine dentis.

Juv. ix. 28; Isid. xix. 29; Yates, *Textrin. Antiquorum.*]

The Romans knew nothing about washing their clothes at their own houses, and the ladies were far better off than the king's daughter Nausicaa. The whole dress, when dirty, was handed over to the *fullo*, whose business consisted, besides getting up cloths

fresh from the loom, in attending to the scouring of those which had been worn, *lavare, interpolare;* hence they formed an important *collegium.* Fabretti, *Inscr.* 278. [Orell. 4056, 3291, 4091.] Schoettgen, *Antiquitates Fulloniæ;* Beckmann, *Beitr.* iv. 35. The remains of a *fullonia* excavated at Pompeii, the walls of which are covered with paintings relating to the business of the *fullones*, are more instructive than all the passages in which they are mentioned. They are given in the *Mus. Borb.* iv. t. 49, 50, and partly in Gell's *Pompeiana*, ii. 51.

In the lower part of one of these pictures we see in a line, in four niches, such as are to be found for a like purpose in the building, three boys and an adult standing in tubs, for the purpose of purifying, by treading with their feet, *alternis pedibus*, the clothes placed in them. As the ancients were not acquainted with the use of regular soap, they employed in place of the *lixivium* another alkali, with which the greasy dirt contained in the clothes combined, and by this means became dissolved. Of this kind was the *nitrum*, which was often used, and of which Pliny treats, xxxi. 10. But the cheapest means was urine, which was therefore, as is well known, chiefly used. The clothes were put in this mixed with water, and then stamped upon with the feet; this process was performed by older persons, whilst boys lifted the clothes out of the tubs. Above these, in a second compartment, we see the next part of the process. On a pole, hanging on strings, a white tunica is stretched, and one of the fullones is manipulating it with a card or brush, very like a horse-brush, for the purpose of rubbing it up again, and giving it a nap. To the right, a second is bringing a round frame, with wide bars like a hen-coop, which hangs over him and through which his head is stuck, whilst in his left hand he carries a vessel with handles; and there can be no doubt about the purpose for which this apparatus was designed. The white garments, after being washed, were vapoured with brimstone, and they were stretched on the frame whilst exposed to the fumes of the sulphur beneath. Whether the sulphur was so evolved in the vessel which the workmen carried, or whether it contained water, with which the clothes were sprinkled before being subjected to the brimstone, we shall not attempt to determine. To the left sits an oldish well-dressed woman, who seems to be examining a piece of cloth, which a young workwoman has brought to her. The golden hair-net which she wears, the necklace and the armlets with two green stones, show that she is one of the more important personages in the fullonia. It is remarkable that the young man carrying the

frame wears an olive-garland, and above him on the frame sits an owl. This must relate to Minerva.

On a second wall we see, in the lower part, a young man in a green tunica, giving a dress or piece of cloth to a woman wearing a green under-garment, and over it a yellow one with red serpentine stripes. To her right sits a second female figure in a white tunica, who appears to be cleaning a card, or other similar instrument. Above them several pieces of cloth are suspended on two poles.

Lastly, in the compartment above is a great press with two screws, to give the dresses the finishing touch. In this manner all the dresses were prepared, but the coloured ones had, of course, in many respects to undergo a different treatment (comp. Pliny, xxxv. 17); and thus they were returned to their possessors with a new gloss. A garment when once washed did not, of course, possess the same value. Hence the *dispensator* of Trimalchio, in Petron. 30, says: *Vestimenta mea accubitoria perdidit, quæ mihi natali meo cliens quidem donaverat, Tyria sine dubio sed jam semel lota:* on which Burmann quotes Lamprid. *Heliog.* 26: *Linteamen lotum nunquam attigit, mendicos dicens qui linteis lotis uterentur.* So also Martial, x. 11, *lota terque quaterque toga*, is considered a poor present.

EXCURSUS I. SCENE IX.

THE MEALS.

THE contrast between the simplicity of earlier times, and the very refined luxury of a later period, appeared most strikingly perhaps at the table. The prodigality of its equipments were ultimately made not only with the view of indulging the palate by the choicest dainties, but also from a desire of obtaining the rarest articles, at whatever price. These were heaped up in dishes, without any regard to their being agreeable to the taste, but simply because they imparted an additional splendour to the banquet, on account of the immense sums they had cost. Besides which, the grand object of the Roman gourmands was not merely to eat daintily, but as much as possible; and they sought to increase their capacity for so doing by the most unnatural means. The golden saying, *Il faut manger pour vivre, et non pas vivre pour manger*, was precisely inverted at Rome. As such importance was attached to everything relating to the table, there is naturally no lack of materials for a description of the habits connected with it; and several writers not only take pleasure in reverting frequently to the subject, but have also left us detailed accounts of grand banquets. Stuckii, *Antiquitates Convivales;* Ciacconius and Ursinus, *De Triclinio;* Bulengerus, *De Conviviis;* are the most complete writings thereon; but we shall pay little regard to them, as they are rather confused masses of collected passages, than lucid expositions, and also abound with errors. In addition to these, are Meierotto, *Ueber Sitten und Lebensart der Römer;* Wüstemann, *Pal. des Scaurus;* but the best compilation is that of Professor Bähr, in Creuzer's *Abriss*, 407. We shall here treat chiefly of the meals at different times of the day, and make the arrangement of the triclinium, the discussion of the utensils, and wines, the subjects of particular articles.

It is especially necessary to make a clear distinction between the later and the earlier periods, in which, according to the testimonies of writers, the principal article of food was a gruel, *puls, far, ador.* Varro, *de L. L.* v. 22, *De victu antiquissima puls;* Plin. xviii. 8, 19, *Pulte non pane vixisse longo tempore Romanos manifestum;* comp. Val. Max. ii. 5, 5. Juvenal (xiv. 170) also says:

> sed magnis fratribus horum
> A scrobe vel sulco redeuntibus altera cœna
> Amplior et grandes fumabant pultibus ollæ.

And it appears also to have been in a later period a common dish at the frugal board. Mart. v. 78, 9, *pultem niveam premens botellus*, and the principal sustenance of the lower classes, to which Mart. xiii. 8, alludes.

Imbue plebeias Clusinis pultibus ollas.

But it does not follow from this passage that the puls was the national food of Etruria (Ott. Müller, *Etrusk.* i. 234), and it was only called *clusina*, because the *far clusinum*, which was the best and whitest grain, was especially used for this purpose. It is very probable, however, that this dish was commonly eaten through the greater part of Italy. [See Hauthal *ad Pers.* p. 183.] In addition to puls, green vegetables (*olera*), and legumes (*legumina*), were frequently used, and flesh but sparingly.

But sacrifices themselves, and the public banquets, *cœnæ populares* (Plaut. *Trin.* ii. 4, 69), by degrees led to the introduction of better meals, and the acquaintance with the habits of foreigners no doubt also exercised an influence. This became manifest chiefly after the wars in Asia, A. U. C. 563. In earlier times no private cooks were kept, there being no occupation for them. Plin. xviii. 11, 28: *Nec coquos vero habebant in servitiis eosque ex macello conducebant.* And such we find to be the case almost universally in Plautus. On the contrary, Livy, in the passage already often mentioned (xxxix. 6), concerning the luxury which was introduced from Asia, says: *epulæ quoque ipsæ et cura et sumtu majore apparari cœptæ: tum coquus, vilissimum antiquis mancipium et æstimatione et usu, in pretio esse, et quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi cœpta.* Until the years 580, no private baker also was kept, nor did any follow the trade of bakers. Plin. supra: *Pistores Romæ non fuere ad Persicum usque bellum, annis ab urbe condita super DLXXX. Ipsi panem faciebant Quirites, mulierumque id opus erat, sicut etiam nunc in plurimis gentium.* [In the country, even at a later period, women and slaves had to do the baking. Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiii. 7, 12; comp. Sen. *Ep.* 90.] And a verse in Plautus, *Aul.* ii. 9, 4, where the *artoptes* is mentioned, might have been considered spurious, had not Ateius Capito informed us: *coquos tum panem lautioribus coqui solitos, pistoresque tantum eos, qui far pinsebant nominatos.* Varro, *De Vit. Pop. Rom.* in Non. ii. 643. *Nec pistoris nomen erat, nisi ejus qui ruri far pinsebat.* But in Varro's time, skilful *pistores* fetched immense prices, as we see from the fragment of his satire περὶ ἐδεσμάτων, in Gell. xv. 19.

Notwithstanding all this, the art of cookery, and taste for delicacies, seem to have made considerable advances in Rome, as early as the time of Plautus, as we see from *Aul.* ii. 9; *Capt.* iv. 2; *Mil.*

iii. 1; *Curc.* ii. 3; *Menæchm.* i. 1; *Pœn.* i. 3. These passages were doubtless written in allusion to Roman habits, and the longing of the parasites would otherwise have been devoid of meaning.

In considering a later period we must distinguish between the various meals which were taken at different times of the day, and thence the expressions, *jentaculum*, *prandium*, *merenda*, *cœna*, *vesperna*, will require explanation. [Dio. Cass. lxv. 4, ἀκρατίσασθαι—ἀριστῆσαι—δεῖπνον—μεταδόρπια. Plut. *Symp.* viii. 6; Suet. *Vit.* 13, *jentacula*, *prandia*, *cœnæ*, *comissationes.*]

Jentaculum, also *jantaculum*, was the name of the first meal, eaten early in the morning, [in ancient times *silatum*, *quia jejuni vinum sili conditum ante meridiem absorbebant.*] Isidor. *Orig.* xx. 2, 10: *Jentaculum est primus cibus, quo jejunium solvitur, unde et nuncupatum Nigidius: Nos ipsi jejunia jantaculis levibus solvimus.* The questions, at what hour this meal took place, what it consisted of, and whether it was generally adopted by persons of all ages, are difficult of answer, since the matter is seldom mentioned, and then in a chance manner. Salmas. *ad Vopisc. Tacit.* 11, 615, assumes the usual time to have been the third or fourth hour, but yet it is scarcely probable that any fixed time was general, it probably having been regulated according to each person's wants, and the hour at which he rose. Hence it was not always taken before going out of the house, but when they felt the want of it, and even in going along, as Saumaise has shown, and from him we may gather of what it consisted. Generally it was bread, seasoned with salt, or some other condiment, and eaten with dried grapes, olives, cheese, and so forth. Vopiscus says of Tacitus (c. 11): *Panem nisi siccum nunquam comedit eundemque sale atque aliis rebus conditum*, which is rightly referred by Saumaise to the *jentaculum.* So speaks Seneca too of his frugality (*Epist.* 82): *Panis deinde siccus, et sine mensa prandium, post quod non sunt lavandæ manus;* where *panis* is by no means to be understood of *prandium.* Others took milk and eggs besides, and *mulsum.* Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 30. This passage seems to show that the use of the *jentaculum* was not confined to children and weakly persons, and there is no necessity to draw inferences for the Roman custom from Plutarch, Eustathius, and Didymus. The passages commonly quoted, Mart. xiv. 223, *Jentacula:*

> Surgite; jam vendit pueris jentacula pistor,
> Cristatæque sonant undique lucis aves;

and Plaut. (*Truc.* ii. 7, 46), *hujus pater pueri illic est; usque ad jentaculum jussit ali*, do not justify any such conclusion; for in Martial, it is evident from the Lemma, *jentaculum*, that a particular

kind of pastry which served for the boys' breakfast, is meant. Still less proof lies in the words of Plautus; for *alere ad jentaculum* means, to bring up to that time when the child is no longer fed with *puls*, but can partake with others of the ordinary *jentaculum*. On the other hand, Vitellius (Suet. 7) asks of the soldiers who meet him, *jamne jentassent?* and Martial says to Cæcilianus, who came as early as the fifth hour to the prandium (viii. 67):

> Mane veni potius; nam cur te quinta moretur?
> Ut jentes, sero, Cæciliane, venis.

Comp. also Appul. *Met.* i. 60. We may therefore assume that such a breakfast was generally adopted *solvendo jejunio*, though many might have omitted it in the same way as others abstained from the prandium.

The *prandium* was not so much a breakfast as the proper mid-day meal, though it, too, was only looked upon as a preliminary repast, while the more bounteous *cœna* appeared in the background. [The early meal of soldiers before the battle was so called, Isid. xx. 2; Liv. xxviii. 14.] There can be no doubt about the time at which it took place; it was the sixth hour, whence in Martial (iv. 8), *sexta quies lassis;* consequently about mid-day; but this does not necessarily imply that it did not commence till the beginning of the seventh hour; for we read in Suet. *Claud.* 34: *Bestiariis meridianisque adeo delectabatur, ut etiam prima luce ad spectaculum descenderet, et meridie, dimisso ad prandium populo, persederet.* So that the expression *meridie*, is not to be taken so literally, and mid-day might doubtless arrive during the games. Many persons might, however, begin earlier, as Saturio (in Plaut. *Pers.* i. 3, 33) answers Toxilus: *Nimis pœne mane est.* Cicero says of Antony (*Phil.* ii. 41): *ab hora tertia bibebatur;* and people generally regulated the meal according to circumstances, as Horace on the journey (*Sat.* i. 5, 25), who would scarcely wait for the sixth hour. The saying of Paull. p. 223: *prandium ex Græco* **προένδιον** *est dictum; nam meridianum cibum cœnam vocabant*, agrees very well with his account of the *cœna.* He meant to say here, that the name (*prandium*) was, at a later period, used for it (the mid-day meal), and that formerly the *cibus meridianus* was called *cœna.* [So also Plut. *Sympos.* viii. 6, 5; Suet. *Oct.* 78, *post cibum meridianum;* Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 2, *medio die.*]

The less common term, *merenda*, appears to denote the same thing as prandium. Non. i. 118; Fest. *Exc.* xi. 92; Isid. *Orig* xx. 2, 12. *Merenda est cibus qui declinante die sumitur, quasi post meridiem edenda et proxima cœnæ. Unde et antecœnia a quibusdam vocantur.* What time Isidorus meant is not so easily told, for

between prandium and cœna there is no place for merenda. But the *promulsis* belonged to the cœna itself. [Perhaps he meant an evening meal, which might be taken by way of exception.] In Calpurn. Sic. *Ecl.* v. 60, we certainly have

> Verum ubi declivi jam nona tepescere sole
> Incipiet, seræque videbitur hora merendæ.
> Rursus pasce greges.

But this is of sheep, and merenda denotes meal-time generally. But we gather that the word denotes the prandium, without the explanations of the grammarians, from a letter of Marc. Aur. in Fronto, iv. 6: *Deinde ad merendam itum. Quid me censes prandisse? Panis tantulum. Ab hora sexta domum redimus*, where *merenda* and *prandium* are used as synonymes, and the time is before mid-day. Further, in Plaut. *Most.* iv. 3, 27, Theuropides says to Phaniscus:

> Vide, sis, ne forte ad merendam quopiam devorteris,
> Atque ibi meliuscule, quam satis fuerit, biberis.

Simo had shortly before come from the prandium. As regards the etymology, Isidor. cites a second passage: *Merum hinc et merenda, quod antiquitus id temporis pueris operariis, quibus (?) panis merus dabatur*, etc. How little value is to be attached to such attempts at guessing the derivation of a word, is at once apparent.

We learn from Plautus (*Menæchm.* i. 3, 25) of what the prandium consisted. Phædromus (*Curc.* ii. 344) mentions: *Pernam, abdomen, sumen, suis glandium.* It consisted of warm as well as cold dishes; frequently of the remains of the cœna of the previous day, *reliquiæ. Curc.* supra; Pers. i. 3, 25. *Calefieri jussi reliquias;* and to which the parasite adds: *Pernam quidem jus est apponi frigidam postridie.* In later times they were not satisfied with these dishes, but *olera*, fish, eggs, &c., were added, and mulsum, [Cic. *p. Clu.* joins prandere and mulsum,] wine, and especially the seductive *calda* were drunk with it. Many frugal people took, however, a very simple prandium, as the elder Pliny. Plin. *Epist.* iii. 5, 10. Seneca called this a *prandium sine mensa post quod non sunt lavandæ manus.*

The principal meal was the last in the day, cœna [δεῖπνον, Plut. *ib.*]; but whether this applies to the most ancient times, may seem doubtful, according to Festus, *Exc.* iii. 41: *Cœna apud antiquos dicebatur, quod nunc est prandium; vesperna, quam nunc cœnam appellamus*, xvii. 149, and xix. 157. If the derivation given by Isid. *Orig.* xx. 11, 24, *cœna vocatur a communione vescentium;* κοινὸν *quippe Græci commune dicunt*, be correct (and it is more probable

than from θοίνη), this meal, whether later or earlier, must always be considered a principal one. If the name *scensæ* be correct, it had not a Greek derivation at all.

Apart, however, from this account, which refers to a period reaching far beyond all written memorials, the proper time of the cœna was about half-way between mid-day and sun-set, i. e. the ninth hour; but as this, in winter, began at half-past one, the time for business would have been too much broken in upon thereby, and the cœna was then deferred till an hour later, by which means it was brought to about the same time; for in summer the ninth began at 2 hrs. 31 min., and the tenth, in winter, 2 hrs. 13 min. Pliny (*Epist.* iii. 1, 8) says of Spurinna: *Ubi hora balinei nuntiata est—est autem hieme nona, æstate octava—in sole, si caret vento, ambulat nudus. Lotus accubat.* The ninth is generally named as the hour of the cœna. Cic. *Fam.* ix. 26; Martial in his division of the day, iv. 8, 6:

> Imperat exstructos frangere nona toros.

Of course the time is only reckoned approximately, and no doubt, when busy, they dined later. Mart. vii. 51, 11. Many, on the contrary, began the meal earlier than the ninth hour, *cœnare de die;* Mitsch. *ad Hor. Od.* i. 1, 19; Rupert. *ad Juv.* i. 49; when protracted till late in the night, or till morning, they were said, *cœnare in lucem.* [Mart. i. 29, *in lucem bibit.*] Such convivia were called, in both cases, *tempestiva.* [Cic. *p. Mur.* 6, *tempestivi convivii.*] Even with the more frugal people, the cœna was of pretty long duration. Pliny (*Epist.* iii. 5, 13), admiring his uncle's extraordinary *parsimonia temporis*, says: *Surgebat æstate a cœna luce; hieme intra primam noctis.* This left about three hours for the meal, and yet even such instances were rare. As business was quite over, and all the rest of the day belonged to recreation, there was no necessity for curtailing the meal.

The cœna consisted of three parts: 1. *Gustus* (*gustatio*), or *promulsis;* 2. *fercula*, different courses; 3. *mensæ secundæ.* The gustus, says Petronius (21, 31), contained dishes designed more to excite than to satisfy hunger; all sorts of vegetables to help digestion, as *lactuca*, Mart. xiii. 14:

> Claudere quæ cœnas lactuca solebat avorum,
> Dic mihi, cur nostras inchoat illa dapes?

See Heindorf, on Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 59. Also, shell and other fish, easy of digestion, with piquant sauces, and so forth. The supposition that the meal began with eggs, whence Acron, on Hor. *Sat.* i. 36, explains the proverb, *ab avo ad mala*, agrees very well with

Cic. *Fam.* ix. 20, *Integram famem ad ovum affero;* who means that his hunger lasts from the beginning to the end. In Petron. 33, the *ova pavonina* also belong to the gustatio; and Mart. xii. 19, says:

In thermis sumit lactucas, ova, lacertum.

This was a gustus, which many took immediately after bathing. Appul. *Met.* ix. p. 656. [Plin. *Ep.* i. 15: *Paratæ erant lactucæ singulæ, cochleæ ternæ, ova bina.* Varro, *R. R.* i. 2.]

They also generally took *mulsum* (see the Excursus on *The Drinks*), as wine was thought too heating for the empty stomach. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 24:

Aufidius forti miscebat mella Falerno,
Mendose, quoniam vacuis committere venis
Nil nisi lene decet; leni præcordia mulso
Prolueris melius.

The gustus was called *promulsis;* but not because the viands were taken before the mulsum, but because they, with it, formed the whet. In the same sense Martial says, *προπίνειν*, instead of *gustare.*

The cœna, in a stricter sense, consisted of several removes; *fercula*, [also called *missus*,] named *prima, altera, tertia cœna*, followed. Mart. xi. 31. In earlier times people were satisfied with two removes (Cato, in Serv. on Virg. *Æn.* i. 637); afterwards there were generally three, the chief dish, *caput cœnæ* (Mart. x. 31), being placed in the centre; but they did not stop there; and Juvenal's words (i. 94) are well known: *Quis fercula septem secreto cœnavit avus?* [Suet. *Oct.* 74: *Cœnam ternis ferculis aut quum abundantissime senis præbebat.*] There was never a lack of the dessert, *mensæ secundæ*, which consisted of pastry, *bellaria* (Gell. xiii. 11), fresh and dried fruit, [Lamprid. *Alex. Sev.* 37,] and of dishes made only to be looked at, and called by the Grecian name *epideipnides.* Mart. xi. 31; Petron. 69, [or *impomenta;* Paul. p. 108, *quasi imponimenta, quæ post cœnam mensis imponebant.*]

By the expression *cœna recta*, is meant a full meal of this sort, *ab ovo usque ad mala*, but it is obscure, and opposed to the *sportula.* [See above, and Suet. *Oct.* 74; *Vesp.* 19.] Other expressions, as *dubia, pura*, belong only to particular cases. [Before entering into a brief survey of the chief dishes,] we will give some passages on the subject. Firstly, a simple meal is described, in Mart. x. 48:

Exoneraturas ventrem mihi villica malvas
Attulit et varias, quas habet hortus, opes,
In quibus est lactuca sedens et sectile porrum:
Nec deest ructatrix mentha, nec herba salax.
Secta coronabunt rutatos ova lacertos,
Et madidum thynni de sale sumen erit.

Gustus in his. Una ponetur cœnula mensa,
Hœdus inhumani raptus ab ore lupi,
Et quæ non egeant ferro structoris ofellæ,
Et faba fabrorum, prototomique rudes.
Pullus ad hæc cœnisque tribus jam perna superstes
Addetur; saturis mitia poma dabo.

And one still more simple in v. 78:

Non deerunt tibi, si voles *προπίνειν*,
Viles Cappadocæ gravesque porri.
Divisis cybium latebit ovis.
Ponetur digitis tenendus unctis
Nigra cauliculus virens patella,
Algentem modo qui reliquit hortum,
Et pultem niveam premens botellus,
Et pallens faba cum rubente lardo.
Mensæ munera si voles secundæ,
Marcentes tibi porrigentur uvæ.

The first three lines contain the gustus; *ponere* is said of the fer culum. Comp. xi. 52. [Lucian, *Lexiph.* 6.] An account of a grand *cœna pontificalis*, about the middle of the period of the Republic, will be found in Macrobius, ii. 9: *Cœna hæc fuit: Ante cœnam echinos, ostreas crudas, quantum vellent, peloridas, sphondilos, turdum, asparagos. Subtus gallinam altilem, patinam ostrearum, peloridum, balanos nigros, balanos albos; iterum sphondilos, glycomaridas, utricas, ficedulas, lumbos caprugineos, aprugnos, altilia ex farina involuta, ficedulas, murices et purpuras. In cœna sumina, sinciput aprugnum, patinam piscium, patinam suminis, anates, quercedulas elixas, lepores, altilia assa, amylum, panes Picentes.* The guests amounted to fifteen or sixteen persons in all.

Much about the usual dishes is to be found in Heindorf's notes on Horace, and Wüstemann's *Pal. d. Scaur.* [Nonne, *de re cibaria.*] We shall here follow Horace, Martial, Juvenal, Macrobius, and Pliny, [Plautus likewise mentions several dishes,] without referring to the receipt-book of Apicius, [or to the unnatural gormandizing of a later age (*portenta luxuriæ.* Sen. *Ep.* 110, *luxus mensæ.* Tacit. *Ann.* iii. 55), when innumerable delicacies were procured from distant lands at an enormous cost; a state of debauchery which was but little curtailed by the numerous sumptuary laws. Comp. Sen. *Cons. ad Alb.* 10. *ep.* 78, 95, 114; *Cons. ad Helv.* 9; Suet. *Vit.* 13; Lamprid. *Heliog.* 19, 23; Eutrop. vii. 18; Dio. Cass. lxv. 3; Colum. *præf. de hort. cultu;* Pacati, *Paneg. Theod.* 14.

FISH

were a chief object of Roman epicurism, though several sorts also served as the poor man's staple of subsistence; e. g.] *Lacertus*, a very common and not particularly esteemed sea fish, which on this account is often introduced in mentioning a simple meal, as Juven. xiv. 134; Mart. vii. 78. It was eaten with eggs, chopped small, and rue, which were placed either round or upon it (Mart. x. 48, 11).

> Secta coronabunt rutatos ova lacertos,

as the *cybium*, salted slices of a fish of the *pelamides* species (Mart. v. 78, 5), also a cheap dish, whence they are mentioned together. Mart. xi. 27.

[The *mœna* or *mena*, Cic. *de Fin.* ii. 28, was little valued; as also the *sepiola* and *lepas*. Plaut. *Cas.* ii. 8, 57. At Venice the little *gobius* was a favourite dish. Mart. xii. 88, Col. viii. 17. Of the *mugilis* we know little. Plin. ix. 17, 26. Col. viii. 16; Mart. x. 30. Sergius was called after the *aurata*, or *orata* (Goldbrasse), from his fondness for this fish. Macrob. ii. 11; Col. viii. 16; Varro, *R. R.* iii. 3; Plin. ix. 16, 25. But see Festus, v. *orata*, p. 182. Those from the Lucrine lake were the best. Mart. xiii. 90.] The *mullus* [sea-barbel, hence called *barbatus*, Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 1; *Parad.* v. 2] was one of the most favourite and expensive fishes, and increased in value according to its size, and to an almost incredible amount, one of six pounds having been sold for eight thousand *sesterces*. See Heind. on Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2, 33; [Juv. iv. 15, v. 92; Mart. x. 37, 31; Sen. *Ep.* 95; Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 12.] The smaller ones were not much esteemed. Mart. xiv. 97:

> Grandia ne viola parvo chrysendeta mullo;
> Ut minimum, libras debet habere duas.

[See Plin. ix. 17, 18.] The *rhombus*, turbot, a most favourite fish with the Romans, especially when large, was procured best from Ravenna. Plin. xix. 54, 79; Heindorf on Hor. *Sat.* i. 2, 116, ii. 8, 30; Mart. xiii. 81, iii. 60. The *passer*, flounder, much resembled it. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 29; Plin. ix. 20, 36; Col. viii. 16. The *murœna* was a kind of sea-eel, Heind. on Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 42. The best came from the coast of Sicily, and Tartessus. Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 11; Juv. v. 99; Col. viii. 16; Mart. xiii. 80; Gell. vii. 16; Plin. ix. 54. The *conger* and *anguilla* were of the same species. Plin. ix. 20, 37; Plaut. *Mil.* iii. 1, 165. The *asellus*, supposed to be the haddock, was celebrated (Varro, *L. L.* v. 77; Petron. 24: *Post asellum diaria non sumo*, i. e. "after delicacies I will not eat common food." The best came from Pessinus, Gell. vii. 16), and the *lupus*, sea-wolf.

Plin. ix. 17, 28, Mart. xiii. 89. Those caught between two bridges in the Tiber were esteemed most, Heind. on Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2, 31:

> Unde datum sentis, lupus hic Tiberinus an alto
> Captus hiet? pontesne inter jactatus an amnis
> Ostia sub Tusci: [i. e. the Tiber.]

But generally, the river-lupus was considered bad eating. Colum. viii. 16; Macrob. ii. 12; Mart. xiii. 17, 22. The *scarus*, which is unknown to us, was highly prized; *scaro datus principatus*, Heind. *ad Hor. Sat.* ii. 2, 22; *Epod.* 2, 50; Macrob. ii. 12; Col. viii. 16. Pliny relates that the emperor Claudius brought it from the coast of Asia Minor to the sea between Ostia and Campania. Gell. vii. 16. Its entrails were a chief delicacy, Mart. xiii. 84.

> Visceribus bonus est, cetera vile sapit.

The *acipenser* (or *elops*, perhaps our sturgeon, Col. viii. 16), best from Rhodes, Gell. vii. 16; Varro, *R. R.* ii. 6, was in ancient times thought a great ornament to the banquet (Plin. ix. 17, 27: *Apud antiquos piscium nobilissimus*); but afterwards fell much in repute and value. Heind. *ad Hor. Sat.* ii. 2, 46:

> Haud ita pridem
> Galloni præconis erat acipensere mensa
> Infamis: quid? tum rhombos minus æquora alebant?

See Schol. Cruq. *ib.* on the *præco* Gallonius, who first *suæ mensæ opposuit* this fish. Lucilius censured this luxury, Cic. *de Fin.* ii. 8; *p. Quinct.* 30; *Tusc.* iii. 18; Macrob. ii. 12; Mart. xiii. 91. Paull. says that its name was properly *aquipenser*. Salmasius (*Exercit. Plin.* p. 941) derives it from *acus* and *pesna* or *perna*. Ath. vii. p. 294. The rich Romans had at their villas magnificent *piscinæ* or *vivaria piscium*, stews, filled with fresh or salt-water fish, Plin. *H. N.* ix. 54, 79; Mart. x. 30:

> Piscina rhombum pascit et lupos vernas,
> Natat ad magistrum delicata muræna.
> Nomenculator mugilem citat notum,
> Et adesse jussi prodeunt senes mulli.

Shell-fish were also a delicacy, Cels. ii. 29, *cochleæ, ostrea, pelorides, echini, musculi et omnes fere conchulæ.* Varro, *L. L.* v. 77; Sen. *Ep.* 95; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 30:

> Lubrica nascentes implent conchylia lunæ,
> Sed non omne mare est generosæ fertile testæ.
> Murice Baiano melior Lucrina peloris,
> Ostrea Circeiis, Miseno oriuntur echini;
> Pectinibus patulis jactat se molle Tarentum.

Heind. *ad loc.* The *murex* was an edible purple muscle, Mart. xiii. 87, best from Baiæ. Macrob. supra. *Peloris* (gienmuschel), Ath. iii.

p. 90. *Fatua*, Mart. x. 37, best from the Lucrine lake, Mart. vi. 11. *Echinus*, sea-urchin, Mart. xiii. 86:

> Iste licet digitos testudine pungat acuta,
> Cortice deposito mollis echinus erit.

Plin. ix. 31, 51. *Pecten*, cockle, Ath. iii. 88; Plin. ix. 32, 51, xxxii. 53; Gell. vii. 16. *Sphondilus* and *balanus*, see Macrob. supra. The oysters and snails are of much more importance. The former was an article of great luxury (*palma mensarum divitum*, Plin. xxxii. 6, 21). Those from Circeii were the best. Plin. *his neque dulciora neque teneriora esse ulla compertum est.* The next best were the Lucrine; at least they were thought so by Sergius Orata, no mean connoisseur in these matters; who was the first to form *ostrearum vivaria* at Baiæ. Plin. ix. 54, 79; Hor. *Epod.* ii. 49; Mart. xiii. 82, *Ostrea:*

> Ebria Baiano veni modo concha Lucrino.

As luxury increased, they were obtained from Brundusium, Tarentum, and even from Cyzicum and Britain; and then fattened in beds in the Lucrine lake; Plin. ix. 54, 79; xxxii. 6, 21; Gell. vii. 16; Juv. iv. 140:

> Circeis nata forent an
> Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo
> Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu.

In Macrob. ii. 9, an express distinction is made between *ostreæ crudæ*, which were handed to the guests, *quantum vellent*, and *patina ostrearum*, which was a warm dish prepared from oysters; for *patina* does not signify the dish only in which the meats were served, but a covered bowl, in which they were cooked (Plautus, *ubi omnes patinæ fervent, omnes aperio*), as well as placed upon the table. [A particular sort of bread was eaten to oysters, *panis ostrearius;* Plin. xviii. 11, 27.

Snails, *cochleæ*, Plin. ix. 32, 51, were fed in ponds for the purpose. Plin. ix. 56, 82: *Cochlearum vivaria instituit Fulvius Hirpinus in Tarquiniensi, paulo ante civile bellum, distinctis quidem generibus earum, separatim ut essent albæ, quæ in Reatino agro nascuntur, separatim Illyricæ, quibus magnitudo præcipua, Africanæ, quibus fœcunditas, Solitanæ quibus nobilitas.* Varro, *R. R.* iii. 14, discusses the rearing of them at length.]

The *garum* was a sauce made from the entrails and blood of certain fishes, and probably was to the ancients what caviare is to us. See Heind. *ad Hor. Sat.* ii. 8, 46, [*garo de succis piscis Iberi*, viz. the *scomber*, Plin. xxxi. 7, 43. On the scomber, see ix. 15, 19; Mart. iii. 50; Strab. iii. 4; Mart. xiii. 102, *Garum sociorum:*

> Exspirantis adhuc scombri de sanguine primo
> Accipe fastosum munera cara garum.]

There were good and bad qualities of it, and hence we find it at one time called a delicious expensive food, at another, worthless and common. The Silenus, from whose skin it is here made to drop, is not to be found in the passage of Petronius, although in c. 36, he has something similar: *Circa angulos repositorii notavimus Marsyas quatuor, ex quorum utriculis garum piperatum currebat super pisces, qui in euripo natabant.* The *garum* was used in various ways, both in the kitchen and at the table, and oysters even were smeared with it. Mart. xiii. 82.

Similar to it was *alec* or *alex*, Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 73. Heindorf, after Plin. xxxi. 8, 44, explains it to be a sort of garum not yet refined. Köhler thinks it was a combination of all sorts of delicacies, as oysters, the liver of the *mullus*, and other shell-fish. The *muria* was a sauce of a like nature. Heind. *ad Hor. Sat.* ii. 4, 65:

> Quod pingui miscere mero muriaque decebit
> Non alia quam qua Byzantia putuit orca.

The best muria was made from Byzantine thunnies (*thynni*). Plin. ix. 15, 20; Mart. xiii. 103, *Muria:*

> Antipolitani, fateor, sum filia thynni;
> Essem si scombri, non tibi missa forem.

Pliny, xxvi. 4, 11, mentions muria made from other fish. Muria (*dura cruda, matura*) was also the name for brine. Col. xii. 6, 25, 30; Cato, *R. R.* 105.

POULTRY.

THE peacocks and fowls have been already discussed. See further, Lamprid. *Sev. Alex.* 37; Mart. xiii. 62, *Gallina altilis:*

> Pascitur et dulci facilis gallina farina,
> Pascitur et tenebris, ingeniosa gula est.

Ib. 63, 64. On the *capo*, see Varro, iii. 9, who also mentions the fattening of chickens in the dark. Sen. *Ep.* 122. The *altilia ex farina involuta*, in Macrob. denote a chicken-pie. On the pheasants see above, and Mart. xiii. 72. Pigeons, above, and Mart. xiii. 66, 67. *Turtur*, Plin. x. 34, 52. On the duck, see Macrob. above. Mart. xiii. 52:

> Tota quidem ponatur anas, sed pectore tantum
> Et cervice sapit: cetera redde coco.

Jecur anseris was a very favourite dish, and to make its taste finer, the geese were fed with figs and dates. See Rader on Mart. xiii. 56. [Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 88; Juv. v. 114; Plin. x. 22, 27. White geese were considered best. Varro, *R. R.* iii. 10; Hor. supra.

Partridges and heath-cocks, *perdix* and *attagen*. Mart. xiii. 65. *Perdix:*

> Ponitur Ausoniis avis hæc rarissima mensis—
> Hanc in lautorum mandere sæpe soles.

76 and 68:

> Inter sapores fertur alitum primus
> Ionicarum gustus attagenarum.

Plin. x. 48, 68; Gell. vii. 16.]

The field-fare, *turdus*, was considered a great luxury, and was not only eaten when in season, but also fed all the year round in *ornithones* for the purpose. Even in Varro's time they were sold when fattened for three *denarii* (about sixteen pence) a piece, and one villa yielded in a year 5000 head, consequently a revenue of 60,000 *HS*. (iii. 2, 15). Columella says (viii. 10), *nunc ætatis nostræ luxuries quotidiana fecit hæc pretia.* [A circle of roast *turdi* were placed round the dish. Mart. xiii. 51, *turdorum corona.* 92, *Lepus:*

> Inter aves turdus, si quis me judice certet,
> Inter quadrupedes mattea prima lepus.

Hor. *Sat.* i. 5, 72, ii. 5, 10; Pers. vi. 24. Blackbirds, *merulæ*, were also eaten. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 91. Snipes, *fideculæ*. Mart. xiii. 49; Gell. xv. 8; Macrob. supra: sometimes the crane, *grus*, and stork, *ciconia*. Plin. x. 23, 30: *C. Nepos cum scriberet turdos paulo ante cœptos saginari, addidit, ciconias magis placere quam grues.* Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 87:

> Membra gruis sparsi sale multo non sine farre.

ii. 2, 49; Gell. vii. 16, *grues Melicæ.*]

There is no proof that the Phœnicopterus, which is explained to be the flamingo, and named in the modern system *Phœnicopterus antiquorum*, was in the time of Gallus one of the delicacies at the tables of the great, but it was introduced soon after, for Vitellius and Apicius had dishes made of the tongues of these birds. Suet. *Vitell.* 13; Plin. x. 48, 68. Martial names them among the *turba cortis*, iii. 58, 14:

> Argutus anser, gemmeique pavones,
> Nomenque debet quæ rubentibus pennis.

Comp. xiii. 71. [Juv. xi. 139; Sen. *Ep.* 110.] Elagabalus had dishes prepared of the brains of these birds. Lamprid. c. 20.

[Sometimes, though rarely, they committed the absurdity of eating singing-birds. Plin. x. 51, 72; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 245. Among the

QUADRUPEDS

the greatest favourite was the tame or wild boar.] It was generally the chief dish of a grand *cœna*, and came whole to table; [a

custom introduced by P. Servilius Rullus. Plin. viii. 51, 78; Juv. i. 140:

> Quanta est gula, quæ sibi totos
> Ponit apros, animal propter convivia natum.

v. 115. Tiberius had only half a one. Suet. *Tib.* 34.]

The practised gourmand pretended to distinguish by the taste from what part of Italy it came. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 40, says: *Umber curvet aper lances; nam Laurens malus est;* at other times the Lucanian, and later, the Tuscan, was celebrated. See Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 234; 8, 6; Stat. *Silv.* iv. 6, 10; Mart. vii. 27. [Catull. 39, 11. The Laurentine were frequent. Mart. ix. 49, x. 45; Ovid. *Fast.* ii. 231; Virg. *Æn.* x. 708. The rich Romans kept them in *vivaria.* Plin. viii. 51, 78.] The cooking of the boar also cost a considerable sum. Martial, who had received a present of a *Tuscæ glandis aper*, says,

> Sed coquus ingentem piperis consumet acervum,
> Addet et arcano mista Falerna garo;
> Ad dominum redeas; noster te non capit ignis,
> Conturbator aper. Vilius esurio.

On the carving, see Petr. 40. [The flesh of the tame swine was cooked in manifold ways. Plin. viii. 51, 77. On the manner of dishing it up, see above. The sucking-pig was also thus served. Mart. xiii. 41, *Porcellus lactens.*]

Among the most favourite dishes of the ancients were the womb, *vulva*, and the breast, *sumen*, of a *porca*, before it had been sucked; hence there is no dish so frequently mentioned from Plautus downwards. [Gierig. on Plin. *Ep.* i. 15; Mart. ii. 30, xiii. 44, 56; Plin. xi. 37, 83. They also liked the head, *sinciput verrinum*, the liver, the stomach, *abdomen*, Plin. viii. 51, 77, and the hams, *pernæ*, especially those of Spain and Gaul. Mart. xiii. 54; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 60.] These were often kept and eaten a second day, Plaut. *Mil.* iii. 1, 164. Mart. x. 48, 17, *tribus cœnis jam perna superstes.* [Plaut. *Pseud.* i. 2, 33; *Capt.* iv. 3; *Curcul.* ii. 3, 87; *Menæchm.* i. 3, 27; Varro, *L. L.* v. 109.]

Sausages were a favourite dish and used by all classes of society, and the fortunate rival of Cleon, in the *Knights* of Aristophanes, has lent no small renown to the trade in them. The Roman names for them are *botulus* and *tomaculum*, but these signify different things, as we gather from Petron. 49. They were prepared as among us, with the blood of the animal, as we learn from Aristoph. *Eq.* 208, and the *botuli* were of this description, as Tertull. *Apol.* 9, says: *botulos cruore distentos admovetis. Tomacula*, on the contrary, were brain, liver, and other sausages, and were eaten warm, being

roasted on the gridiron. Petr. 31; Mart. xiv. 221. Hence they were carried about in small tin ovens for sale. Mart. i. 42, 9,

> . . . fumantia qui tomacla raucus
> Circumfert tepidis coquus popinis.

where *tep. pop.* means *focos tepidos*. So the *botularius* also cried out his wares. Sen. *Epist.* 56. In Varro, *R. R.* ii. 4, 10, *tomacinæ* are probably the same as *tomacula*. As we import hams from Westphalia, and brain-sausages from Brunswick, so the Romans obtained both best from Gaul. Comp. Ruperti *ad Juven.* x. 355. [The smoked sausages were called *hillæ*. Schol. Cruq. *ad Hor. Sat.* ii. 4, 60, explains *fartum saltitium*. Varro, *L. L.* v. 111. He mentions several sorts of *farcimina*, e. g. *Lucana* (Mart. xiii. 35), *fundolum*, etc. Non. ii. 410.

Of meats for roasting, the hare, *lepus*, was much esteemed.] Petron., *leporem in medio pennis subornatum, ut Pegasus videretur.* [The epicure's bit was the shoulder-blade. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 44:

> Fecundæ leporis sapiens sectabitur armos.

8, 89. Comp. Mart. xiii. 92; Lamprid. *Sev. Alex.* 37.] On the method of fattening them, see Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 9, and Plin. viii. 55. The little goat, *hædus*, Mart. x. 48, was obtained best from Ambracia. Gell. vii. 16; Juv. xi. 65: they also ate the roe, Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 43; the rabbit, *cuniculus*, Mart. xiii. 60; and even dormice, *glires* (although this was restricted by a Censor's edict, Plin. xxxvi. 1), Mart. xiii. 59.

> Tota mihi dormitur hiems, et pinguior illo
> Tempore sum quo me nil nisi somnus alit.

They were fattened with chestnuts. Plin. viii. 57, 82; Varro, *R. R.* iii. 15.

VEGETABLES.

THE *lactuca* [Varro, *L. L.* v. 104] was one of the most general vegetables, about the use of which at meals, see above. For its varieties, see Billerbeck, *Flora Class.* Here the *capitata*, headed-lettuce, comes especially under our consideration, also called *laconica* (Plin. xix. 8, 38), and *sessilis* (Mart. iii. 47, 8), and also *sedens*, Mart. x. 48, 9. Five sorts of this are mentioned by Colum. x. 181, and xi. 3, 26: two named *cæciliana*, after Cæcilius Metellus, the one green, the other brownish red, the yellowish green, *cappadoca* (Mart. v. 78, 4), the whitish, *bætica*, and the *cypria*, also red outside.

Brassica (*oleracea*), green or brown cabbage, was likewise a very favourite vegetable. Plin. xix. 8, 41. [Varro, *L. L.* v. 104.]

Both the larger stalks, *caules*, *cauliculus*, and the young spring shoots, *cymata*, *cymæ*, were eaten. Col. x. 127, seqq. The stalks were served up whole. Mart. v. 78, 5. In order that in boiling it might retain its green colour, saltpetre was mixed with it. Mart. xiii. 17:

> Ne tibi pallentes moveant fastidia caules,
> Nitrata viridis brassica fiat aqua.

Plin. xxxi. 10, 46. Columella enumerates several sorts; Pliny mentions above others, the Cuman, Arician, and Pompeian. [Common cabbage, *olus*, was the frequent food of the poor. Hor. *Epist.* i. 17, 13; i. 5, 2, and Obbar. *ad loc.*; *Sat.* ii. 1, 74; 7, 30, *securum olus*.—Turnips, likewise, Mart. xiii. 16, *rapa*, 20; *napi* were very common; also asparagus, 21, *asparagi*, Varro, *L. L.* v. 104; Non. xviii. 1. Mushrooms, *fungi*, were a very favourite dish, particularly the *boleti*. Juv. v. 146; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 20; Mart. xii. 48, xiii. 48; Plin. *Epist.* i. 7. The emperor Claudius was very fond of them. Mart. i. 21. Truffles were called *tubera*. Plin. xix. 2, 11; Mart. xiii. 50; *bulbi*, Mart. xii. 34.]

The *eruca*, *brassica eruca*, garden-rocket, served not only as a spice, but was also eaten like lettuce. Spreng. *Hist. R. Herb.* i. p. 97. It was well known as *veneris concitatrix*. Plin. xix. 8, 44, xx. 13, 49; Virg. *Moret.* 85; and is hence often called *herba salax*. Mart. x. 48, 10, iii. 75.

Porrum, porée, a favourite dish of two kinds, *porrum sectile* (Schnittlauch), and *capitatum*; hence *utrumque porrum*. Mart. iii. 47, 8. The *capitatum* (*graves porri*, ibid. v. 78, 4) of very good quality, came to Rome from Aricia, Colum. x. 139; *mater Aricia porri*, Mart. xiii. 19; as the *sectile* from Tarentum, ibid. 18. Horace's condemnation of it (*Epod.* iii.) is well known.

Cicer fervens, or *tepidum*, boiled chick-peas, a very usual and cheap aliment, was hawked about for sale. Mart. i. 42, 5, *otiosæ vendit qui madidum cicer coronæ*. A dish of them could be obtained for an *as* (about three half-pence). Mart. ii. 104. 10. Hence it is especially the food of the poorest class, and always a mark of a very frugal table. Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 115, [ii. 3, 182;] Mart. v. 78, 21. [So also beans, Mart. x. 48; v. 78 (*lupini*), and *lentiles* were a dish of the poor. Heind. *ad Hor. Sat.* ii. 6, 63; Mart. xiii. 7, *Conchis faba*; lastly, barley, groats, *polenta*, Col. vi. 17; Sen. *Ep.* 18, 22; Plin. xviii. 7, 18, *alica*; Plin. xviii. 11, 29; xxii, 25, 61; Mart. xiii. 6.

Of the various fruits notice has been already taken.

Further may be added] Syrian dates, *caryotæ*, [Mart. xiii. 27,] and Egyptian, *Thebaicæ*. Salmasius treats of them at length, *Exerc. ad Sol.* ii. 927; [Plin. xv. 28, 34.] The dates in Petron. are said to be an allusion to the sustenance of the boar, *glandes*.

Olives belonged both to the *gustus* and to the *mensæ secundæ*. Mart. xiii. 36:

Inchoat atque eadem finit oliva dapes.

On the *albæ* and *nigræ* and their *conditura*, see Colum. xii. 48. On other sorts, Billerbeck, *Flor. Class.* p. 6. [Plin. *Ep.* i. 15, *olivæ Bæticæ*.

Lastly come certain articles, used in cookery, *per quæ esse solemus*. Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiii. 9, 3.] e. g. honey.

The best was the Attic (Hymettian), and the Sicilian from the floriferous Hybla. Mart. xiii. 104, 105. Third in rank was that from Calydna, an island on the coast of Caria. Plin. xi. 13. On the other hand, the worst (*asperrimum*, Plin. xxx. 4, 10) came from Corsica. Therefore Ovid says of the letter (*cera*) of his love, who refuses the rendezvous he entreats for, *Amor.* i. 12, 9:

Quam, puto, de longæ collectam flore cicutæ
Melle sub infami Corsica misit apis;

and Martial replies to Cæcilianus, who had requested epigrams of him upon absurd subjects, xi. 42:

Mella jubes Hyblæa tibi, vel Hymettia nasci,
Et thyma Cecropiæ Corsica ponis api?

Comp. ix. 27. [Here also must be mentioned the various condiments, *condimenta*, kitchen-herbs and spices, *piper*, *macis*, *laser*, *ligusticum*, *allium*, *coriandrum*, *careum*, *portulaca*, *lapathium*, *beta*. Paull. *Dig.* xxxiii. 9, 5; Plaut. *Pseud.* iii. 2, 21; Non. xvii.; Mart. xiii. 5, 13; Plin. xix. 4, 7, 8. Also cheese (caseus, a *coacto lacte*), Varro, *L. L.* v. 108; Plin. xxviii. 9, xi. 42; Mart. xiii. 30—33; where the *Lunensis* (a very large sort), *Vestinus*, *Velabrensis*, *Trebulanus*, are mentioned. The best came from Gaul and Bithynia.

PASTRY AND BREAD.

THE loaves were very flat, about two inches thick, of a square shape (hence called *quadra;* Mart. ix. 91; Hor. *Ep.* i. 17, 49; Juv. v. 2), with six or eight notches cut in them; as is seen from paintings, and loaves, that have been discovered. The best bread was of wheat-flour, *siligineus*. Sen. *Ep.* 123, 119; Plin. xviii. 9, 20, *e siligine lautissimus panis*, ii. 27; Vop. *Aurel.* 48. It was called *tener*, *niveus*, *candidus*, *mundus*. The commonest (*panis sordidus*, *durus*, Sen. *Ep.* 18, *plebeius;* Sen. 119, *cibarius*. Cic. *Tusc.* v. 34; Isid. xx. 2) was of barley, pollards (*hordaceus*, *furfurosus*, *furfuribus conspersus*, *acerosus*. Plin. xviii. 11, 26). Between these there was a middling quality, *panis secundus*, or *secundarius*, besides several others. Plin. xix. 9, 20; Suet. *Oct.* 76; Hor. *Ep.* ii. 1, 123.

There was the *panis speusticus*, *furnaceus*, *artopticius*, *subcinericius*, *clibanitius*, *rubidus*, &c., names which refer to the method of making the bread. Isid. *ib.;* Plin. *ib.;* Lampr. *Sev. Alex.* 37; Juv. v. 67. It is doubtful whether *panes Picentes* are biscuits or rolls. Mart. xiii. 47:

> Picentina Ceres niveo sic nectare crescit,
> Ut levis accepta spongia turget aqua.

Small round rolls, or *liba*, were called *pastilli*. Plin. xviii. 11, 26; Fest. p. 250; scent-balls, however, are likewise so called. Hor. *Sat.* i. 2, 27, *Pastillos Rufillus olet.* Mart. i. 88. Cakes and pastry were made in all shapes and sizes.] First come the *porcelli*, Petron. 40, which were distributed amongst the guests to be taken away by them (*apophoreta*); they were made of *copta*, or *copto-placenta*, a kind of pastry, not unlike the rye-bread of Westphalia; it was very hard, and was often sent away to a distance. Hence Martial's joke, xiv. 68, *copta Rhodia:*

> Peccantis famuli pugno ne percute dentes;
> Clara Rhodos coptam quam tibi misit, edat.

See Petron. 60: *Priapus a pistore factus gremio satis amplo omnis generis poma et uvas sustinebat more vulgato.* Such plastic displays of pastry were not perhaps confined to Trimalchio's house. Mart. xiv. 69. Athenæus, xiv. details the numerous names of such pastry. Hase merely gives a few general remarks on the subject. The pastry was filled within with all sorts of ingredients. Petr. 69: *Epidipnis adlata turdis siligineis uvis passis nucibusque farsis.* [On *laganum* and *artolaganus*, see Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 115, and Cic. *ad Fam.* ix. 20.] The making of these *opera pistoria* was the business both of the *dulciarius* and the *lactarius*.

[THE ATTENDANTS

who waited at the table of the rich Romans, and cooked the meals, were very numerous. Of the *coquus* mention has already been made, Juv. ix. 109, *archimagirus.*]

Pistor was the name both of the slave who baked the bread for the usual household supply, and of him who made *dulcia*, cakes and pastry of all kinds: the latter was also called *dulciarius*, because the two functions were not always discharged by the same person. Hence Appul. *Met.* x. says *pistor dulciarius, qui panes et mellita concinnabat edulia*, where *panes* is not to be taken for common bread. Mart. xiv. 222:

> Mille tibi dulces operum manus ista figuras
> Exstruit; huic uni parca laborat apis.

The *lactarius* purveyed the regular pastry, in which meal and milk were the chief ingredients. Lamprid. *Heliog.* 27. The *lactarius* copied figures as well as the *dulciarius*, and the *Priapi siliginei* were of his making, ibid. 32. In most cases the same person discharged both offices, and the name *pistor* was the general term.

[The white bread baker was called *pistor siliginarius*, or *candidarius*. Orell. 4263, 1810. The technical process of baking is seen on the bas-reliefs on the tomb of the baker M. Vergilius Eurysaces. The *obsonator* was the person who catered for the kitchen. Sen. *Ep.* 47; Mart. xiv. 212.]

It does not seem warrantable to assume the presence of a special *fartor* in a family for the purpose of making pasties, sausages, and so forth: the fartor appears to have been no more than the σιτευτής, who fattened the poultry. In Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 229, there is no ground for supposing a *botularius* to be meant, as the *fartores* were not confined to the villas in the country, but many followed the occupation in Rome. When Donat. on Ter. *Eun.* ii. 2, 25,

> . . . cupediarii omnes,
> Cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores, piscatores.

explains the word, *qui farcimina faciunt*, it might bear that signification, but the poulterer would be much more befitting in the company mentioned; and even in Plaut. *Truc.* i. 2, 11, it is not necessary to suppose it to mean ἀλλαντοπώλης.

[The person in charge of the *triclinium* was the *tricliniarcha*, Orell. 794, 2952, or *architriclinus*, Sen. *Ep.* 47; Petr. 22, with his assistants, the *servi tricliniares*, also named *lectisterniator*. Plaut. *Pseud.* i. 2, 29. As regards the table itself, the *structores* were important functionaries.]

The word *structor* has several significations, as he had several duties. The word denotes, in the first place, that he was the person who arranged the food, set the different dishes of separate fercula in order upon the repositoria, and took care that the dishes were served in a pleasing and ingenious manner. See Petron. 35. In the next place, by structor is understood the *scissor*, also *carptor*, [and *diribitor*, Appul. *Met.* p. 123,] he who carved the food. His art consisted not only in carving in a skilful manner, but also in dancing, and keeping regular time in his movements. See Rupert. on Juv. v. 120.

He was also the person who constructed artificial figures, of fruit and flesh, for the dessert, as, for instance, the *cydonia mala spinis confixa, ut echinos efficerent*, and again, the *omnium genera avium, pisces, anser altilis* (Petron. 69), which were all made *de uno*

corpore, de porco. See Mart. xi. 31, who says of Cæcilius, the *Atreus cucurbitarum*, or melon and gourd-chopper:

> Hinc pistor fatuas facit placentas,
> Hinc et multiplices struit tabellas,
> Et notas caryotidas theatris.

And this seems to be his office in the passage of Lamprid. (*Heliog.* 27) mentioned above. In most cases the latter was the duty of the cook, and the former of the scissor.

It is uncertain whether the taking off the sandals, and handing the water for washing, were done by the guests' own slaves, or by the domestic slaves of the host. In Petron. 31, the slaves of Trimalchio certainly performed similar services for his guests. The custom of each guest having his own slave, whom he had brought with him, standing behind him, is corroborated by examples. Petron. 58 and 68; by which it appears that Habinnas brought several slaves with him. Mart. ii. 37; *Anthol. Pal.* xi. 207. [On the use of the *nomenclator*, see above. For the purpose of serving the wine there were *pocillatores*, and *a cyatho*, later, *prægustatores*. Suet. *Claud.* 44; Orell. 2993. On the attendance in general, see the descriptions in Juv. xi. 145, and v. 66:

> Maxima quæque domus servis est plena superbis,

and Sen. *Ep.* 47 and 95: *Transeo pistorum turbam, transeo ministratorum, per quos signo dato ad inferendam cœnam discurritur. Dii boni, quantum hominum unus venter exercet.* Appul. *Met.* ii. p. 123.] The recitations, ἀκροάματα, usual during the cœna and comissatio, and the applauding cry of σοφῶς (Mart. iii. 44, 50), raised in compliment to the reciter; [Mart. v. 78; Juv. xi. 177; Plin. *Ep.* vi. 31; Sidon. Apoll. i. 2; Plut. *Luc.* 40;] the music of the *Symphoniaci*, [Macrob. ii. 4; Petr. 31;] the displays of the dancers, [Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 10; comp. Cic. *p. Mur.* 6;] mimes, rope-dancers, and jugglers; the *scurræ* and *moriones* with their jokes, [Hor. *Sat.* i. 5, 52,] must have sadly interfered with the conversation of the guests. Hence Martial says, ix. 78:

> Quod optimum sit quæritis convivium?
> In quod choraules non venit.

Pliny, however (*Ep.* ix. 17), numbers the *lector*, *lyristes*, and *comœdus* among the becoming pleasures of the table, and worthy of a refined taste; but the many took no interest in such things, and preferred low ribaldry, Corn. *Att.* 14. [Suet. *Oct.* 74: *triviales ex circo ludios interponebat ac frequentius aretalogos*, i. e. *scurras*. Liv. xxxix. 6: *Tunc psaltriæ sambucistriæque et convivalia ludionum oblectamenta addita epulis.* See August. *de Civ. Dei*, iii. 21; Stuck, *Antiq. Conviv.* iii. 20; Ciaccon. *de Tricl.* p. 75.]

EXCURSUS II. SCENE IX.

THE TRICLINIUM.

THERE do not seem to have been any special eating-rooms, or *triclinia*, in the old Roman house, but large apartments for general use answered the purpose; in the city, the *atrium*, and in the country, the *cors*. Varro, in Serv. *ad Virgil Æn.* i. 637, *in atrio epulabantur antiqui*. Varro (*De Vit. Pop. Rom.*) is not so clear; but at the period with the manners of which we are better acquainted, the houses had more than one *triclinium*, and also large halls (*œci*) for the same purpose; for an account of which, see the Excursus on *The Roman House*.

The word *triclinium* did not originally signify the room itself, but the couch on which they took their seats at the table. (*Biclinium*, Plaut. *Bacch.* iv. 4, 69, 102, refers to the particular case when two *paria amantum* were together, and for two or three persons of course only one lectus was required.) These couches were not known in the earlier ages, in which they used to eat sitting, a custom to which the women [and children] adhered after the men had adopted that of lying. Isid. *Orig.* xx. 11, 9. We find this exemplified in many monuments. *August.* 151; *Pitt. d'Ercol.* i. 14; Zahn, *Ornament.* 90. [The children sat *ad fulcra lectorum*. Tacitus (*Ann.* xiii. 16) mentions a special table for them. *Mos habebatur principium liberos cum ceteris idem ætatis nobilibus sedentes vesci in aspectu propinquorum propria et parciore mensa.*]

The word signifies not the single *lectus tricliniaris*, but a conjunction of three such, with three persons on each, so that the triclinium comprehended nine persons. On the fourth side, an access to the table was left for the placing of the dishes. Wüstemann understands by it a single lectus, and supposes the whole company sat upon three lecti; but this is untenable, as Macrob. (*Sat.* ii. 9, *Triclinia lectis eburneis strata fuerunt: duobus tricliniis pontifices cubuerunt,—in tertio triclinio Popilia*) can only be understood as referring to different triclinia, consisting of several lecti; it was in order that more than one table with its couches might stand in the same room, that the regular eating apartments were twice as long as they were broad, and they had *œcos quadratos tam ampla magnitudine, uti faciliter in eis tricliniis quatuor stratis, ministrationum ludorumque operis locus possit esse spatiosus.* Vitr. vi. 10. It may be difficult to say how the nine men distributed themselves among

two triclinia, but for fifteen persons, and among them four vestal virgins, to have sat at one triclinium, would have been an unheard-of circumstance. The number, too, was not complete; for in the list, Lentulus, in honour of whom the banquet was given, and Metellus, were absent; so that there would have been at least eleven or twelve persons.

The three lecti, forming the triclinium, differed much in point of rank, as did also the particular places on each. They were called *summus*, *medius*, and *imus*, but the medius alone explains itself. Salmas. *ad Solin.* p. 886. The manner of arrangement can be explained in two ways; first, from Seneca (*Nat. Quæst.* v. 16), where in giving the points of the wind he says, *A septentrionali latere summus est Aquilo, medius septentrio, imus Thracias;* but in the wind-dial of Varro, which Seneca followed, the *Aquilo* takes the place to the left, and the *Thracias* that to the right of the *septentrio;* and it is therefore clear that the *lectus summus* stood to the left of the medius, and the imus to the right of it. On the second proof more hereafter. Of these couches, the most honourable was the medius, then the summus, and the imus the last in rank.

The lectus had a railing along at one end, where lay a cushion; the rest of the places were separated by pillows. On this railing the person rested with his left arm, so that the imus would have had the railing next to the medius, whilst that of the summus would have been at the extreme end opposite. The most honourable place was that next to the railing, then the centre, and lastly the lowest one; hence *superius* and *inferius accumbere.* But to this rule the medius was an exception; for on that, the lowest place was first in rank, and also the seat of honour of the whole triclinium, and always left for the most important person; hence called *consularis.* The chief passage on the subject is in Plutarch (*Sympos.* i. 3), but it seems to contain a contradiction which has escaped the notice of commentators. After quoting the customs of other nations with regard to the rank of the seats, he says, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ὁ τῆς μέσης κλίνης τελευταῖος, ὃν ὑπατικὸν προσαγορεύουσιν, and adduces three reasons why this should have been the place of honour. Firstly, he thinks that the kings formerly took the middle place on the middle lectus, and that, on the transition into a republic, the consuls ceded this place, with a view of obtaining popularity. According to his second reason, the lowest place on the middle lectus was the most honourable (Heindorf erroneously says the summus), and next to the lectus imus, on which the host took the uppermost seat, in order to be as near as possible to the most distinguished guest. The third ground given was, that the consul or general

could in that place best settle any matters of business, if, for instance, intelligence or papers requiring his signature happened to be brought to him. Plutarch's meaning is apparent. The three

lecti were so placed, that their inner lines formed three sides of a square, but where the summus and imus joined the medius, an angle occurred outside, which could however be rounded, if the lecti were made sloping. If the consul lay on the lowermost seat of the lectus medius, the messenger waiting for orders could put himself in this corner. There was, it is true, at the end another such corner, but the person lying there must have looked backwards in order to converse with any one occupying it. The difficulty consists only in Plutarch designating the place *ἐν ᾧ τῆς δευτέρας κλίνης τῇ πρώτῃ συναπτούσης, ἡ γωνία διάλειμμα ποιοῦσα.* By *δεύτερα* is to be understood medius, but this abuts at the point where the locus consularis is, not on the summus, but on the imus, where the host lies next to the consularis. The words therefore contain an impossibility, and contradict what Plutarch himself had previously said; so that we must make the necessary alteration of *τῆς δεύτερας κλίνης τῇ τρίτῃ συναπτούσης.*

Were a proof still wanting that the lectus imus was at the right of the medius, it would be deducible from the position of the places of the host and consul, which adjoined each other; the former being *summus in imo*, the latter *imus in medio.* This arrangement is made clear by the fragment of Sallust, *Hist.* i. 3, in Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* 698: *Igitur discubuere. Sertorius inferior in medio; super eum L. Fabius* ***; *in summo Antonius, et infra scriba Sertorii, et alter scriba, Mœcenas, in imo inter Tarquitium et dominum Perper-*

nam; where mention is made of the banquet at which Sertorius was killed by the treachery of Perperna. Only two persons lay on the lectus medius and the summus; as, when the number of the company was not complete, the smaller number was always allotted to those couches, they being the appropriate seats for guests. Sertorius naturally took the most distinguished seat; he lay *inferior in medio*, not imus, because there was only one other person on the same lectus. Next to him on the right lay Perperna, as host, on the imus. The outermost place on the summus was occupied by Antonius. It is quite as easy to assign each guest his place at the *cœna Nasidieni*. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8. The only deviation here was, that the host had resigned his place to Nomentanus, who in some degree did the honours for him; and, for the same reason, he himself lay *medius in imo*. At other times, the mistress of the house and the children occupied the imus, or places were left on it for uninvited visitors (*umbræ*), introduced by invited guests.

When the use of round tables became common, the proper triclinia no longer answered, and were changed for semicircular sofas, called *sigma* from their form. The round-tables (the costly *orbes citrei*) were of no very great size, and hence the *sigmata*, or *stibadia*, were arranged for less than nine persons. Such was the *hexaclinon* in Mart. ii. 60, 9, and the *heptaclinon*, x. 48:

> Stella, Nepos, Cani, Cerealis, Flacce, venitis?
> Septem sigma capit; sex sumus: adde Lupum.

also one for eight persons, xiv. 87, *Stibadia:*

> Accipe lunata scriptum testudine sigma.
> Octo capit, veniat, quisquis amicus erit.

[Heliogabalus placed this number on a sofa. Lamprid. *Hel.* 29.] On such a sigma, the order of places ran straight on, beginning where, in the triclinium, the locus summus in summo was. [In the frescos in a tavern at Pompeii there are such semicircular lecti with round tables. In a vault there is a picture of a long narrow sickle-shaped table with lectus, and eleven persons assembled at a funeral meal.]

The *lecti tricliniares* were low; all the tables that have been discovered are considerably lower than ours. This may be accounted for by the fact that a tall tray was frequently placed upon them. See Bechi, *Mus. Borb.* iii. xxx. They were probably of the same kind as the *cubiculares:* i. e. they had girths and mattresses, over which the gorgeous coverlet, generally purple, was spread; but in them was more opportunity of display, and hence not only *ærati*,

but *argentei*, *aurati*, etc., are also mentioned. Respecting the *stragula* and *toralia*, see the following Excursus.

In the middle of the triclinium, or sigma, stood the table on which the meats were served [*ponere* opposed to *tollere*]; but it is interesting to learn from Martial, that even then the custom of slaves handing the dishes round had been introduced. vii. 48:

> Cum mensas habeat fere ducentas,
> Pro mensis habet Annius ministros.
> Transcurrunt gabatæ volantque lances.
> Has vobis epulas habete, lauti:
> Nos offendimur ambulante cœna.

The bread was always handed round. Petron. 35: *Circumferebat Ægyptius puer clibano argenteo panem.* The *clibanus* was probably one of the absurdities of the house.

The usual expressions to denote taking the place at the table, are, when alluding to the whole company, *discumbere;* when of one in particular, *decumbere*, or more generally, *accumbere;* where *mensæ*, or something else, must be supplied: *accubare* ought properly to apply to a person already reclining, but it is also interchanged with accumbere, as Plin. *Ep.* i. 3, 8: *Lotus accubat. Recubare, cubare, jacere,* are, if used, to be taken as more general expressions, having no particular reference to the table.

EXCURSUS III. SCENE IX.

THE TABLE UTENSILS.

AS the triclinium, with the company reclining, presented a very different appearance from our tables, surrounded by chairs, so the equipment of the table very little resembled ours. Table-cloths do not appear to have been introduced till very late, the best proof of which is, that the language had no word to express them. *Mantele, mantelibus sternere, mantelia mittere*, which were used for this purpose, had originally a totally different signification. Lamprid. *Heliog.* 27; Ib. *Alex. Sev.* 37; Isid. *Orig.* xix. 26, 6. Originally *mantele*, or *mantelium*, was equivalent to χειρόμακτρον. [Fest. p. 133, *frequens enim antiquis ad manus tergendas usus fuit mantelorum.*] Varro, *L. L.* vi. 8, *Mantelium, ubi manus tergentur.* At the period, then, treated of by the *Scriptores historiæ Augustæ*, the habit prevailed; and as early as the time of Hadrian, too, if what Lamprid. says be correct: *Quum hæc Heliogabalus jam recepisset, et ante, ut quidam prædicant, Adrianus habuisset.* Even Mart. (xiv. 138), *Gausapa villosa sive mantele:*

> Nobilius villosa tegant tibi lintea citrum:
> Orbibus in nostris circulus esse potest.

may be referred to this, although it must not necessarily be understood of the *cœna;* the same applies to xii. 29. But this custom did not prevail at the time of Augustus, as we learn from Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 10,

> His ubi sublatis puer alte cinctus acernam
> Gausape purpureo mensam pertersit, etc.

Had the table been covered, it would neither have been perceived that it was of maple, nor could it have been rubbed with *gausape*, which operation appears to have been generally performed between the divisions of the meal. See Petron. (34), and to this Plautus (*Menæchm.* i. 1),

> Juventus nomen fecit Peniculo mihi,
> Ideo, quia mensam, quando edo, detergeo.

also alludes. At that period, then, the mantele at table was merely a napkin, the same as *mappa*, a linen cloth usually fastened over the breast. At least this may be inferred from Petron. (32), and Pliny, vii. 2. [Varro, *L. L.* ix. 47.]

We are not acquainted with any passage that states whether

these *mappæ* were handed to each guest by the master of the house, except perhaps the rather indistinct one of Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 81:

> Vilibus in scopis, in mappis, in scobe quantus
> Consistit sumtus? neglectis flagitium ingens.

But by comparing it with the verses following, it almost seems as if mappa had some further signification; and that as *scopæ* and *lutulenta palma* mean the same thing, so also do *mappæ* and *toralia*. [Horace certainly made the same difference here between *mappa* and *toral*, as in *Ep.* i. 5, 21:

> Hæc ego procurare et idoneus imperor et non
> Invitus, ne turpe toral, ne sordida mappa
> Corruget nares, ne non et cantharus et lanx, etc.

The host therefore provided the mappæ.] On the other hand, it is clear beyond doubt that each guest brought his own mappa with him. Martial's epigram in ridicule of Hermogenes, who on every opportunity stole the mappa, is well known (xii. 29):

> Attulerat mappam nemo, dum furta timentur;
> Mantele e mensa surpuit Hermogenes.

Just so of Cæcilianus, who stowed away all the meats (ii. 37, 7), and in a similar case (vii. 19, 13), *Mappa jam mille rumpitur furtis.* But it could only be his own mappa, in which he packed up all this store. They who were entitled to the *latus clavus* would, if vain men, have their mappæ and mantelia ornamented in like manner. We discover this, apart from the passages in the *Scriptores historiæ Augustæ*, which treat of the imperial tables, from Petronius and Martial, iv. 46, 17: *Lato variata mappo clavo.*

They appear to have made use of very few instruments to convey the food to the mouth; and, however strange it may seem, we cannot refute what Baruffaldus, *De Armis Convivalibus*, says, that the bare finger was in a great measure used. See Ovid. *Art. Am.* iii. 736:

> Carpe cibos digitis; est quiddam gestus edendi;
> Ora nec immunda tota perunge manu.

Mart. v. 78, 6:

> Ponetur digitis tenendus unctis
> Nigra cauliculus virens patella.

and iii. 17.

The only implements mentioned (for the knife belongs to the *structor* only, and forks are never spoken of,) are *cochlear* and *ligula*. The first evidently takes its name from *cochlea*, but it is ridiculous to refer this to its shape, thus confounding cochlea and *concha*. Martial (xiv. 121) says that a double use was made of it:

> Sum cochleis habilis, nec sum minus utilis ovis:
> Numquid scis, potius cur cochleare vocer?

but the very part used to eat the cochlea has least resemblance to it. It was probably a spoon with a point at one end, for the purpose of extracting the interior of the muscle. Hence Pliny (xxviii. 2, 4) says, *Perforare ovorum calyces cochlearibus*, i. e. from superstition, to perforate the already emptied shells; and therefore Martial (viii. 71) names an *acu levius cochlear*. This point was also used for the purpose of opening eggs, and probably the spoon at the other end for emptying them. Petron. 33. [Three ancient silver spoons, about the size of a dessert-spoon, are copied in *Mus. Borb.* x. 46. Two of them are oval, with no points, one round and terminating in a point. The first two are probably ligulæ, regular spoons without pointed ends; the last, a cochlear with point.]

The meaning of *ligula* is not so clear. Baruffaldus erroneously considers it to mean the same as *cochlear*. That such was not the case, is sufficiently demonstrated by Martial (viii. 71),

> Octavus [annus] ligulam misit sextante minorem;
> Nonus acu levius vix cochleare tulit.

where he relates how the gifts of Postumianus became year by year more insignificant, and (viii. 33) when he had received a very light *phiala*. We see by all these passages, that the ligula was larger than the cochlear (although it, too, is called *gracilis*, Mart. v. 18, 2); but that something similar is to be understood, we learn partly from the etymology, in conformity with which the grammarians demanded (Mart. xiv. 120) that it should be written *lingula*, and partly from the glossaries, which translate it by μύστριον, a spoon.

The food was not served in single dishes, but each course was brought in by the slaves, standing on a frame, and thus placed on the table. These table-trays were called *repositoria*; in the *cœna Trimalchionis*, this was the case not only with the *gustus*, but with the different *fercula* and the *mensæ secundæ*. Petron. 33, 40, &c. The apparatus used for serving up the *promulsis*, was called *promulsidare* and *gustatorium*. Petron. 31. It is not easy to conceive how promulsidare can have been taken for promulsis itself. From Ulpian (*Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 20) we find that the *promulsidaria* were distinguished from the *repositoria*, and the expression *scutellæ* adds another particular kind, [i. e. saucers, flat dishes.] But how the reading, in Pliny, xxxii. 11, 49, *jam vero et mensas repositoriis imponimus*, can be defended, is not clear, as several stories set one upon another would, in that case, be meant. These trays were at first simply of wood, but at a later period were more in unison with the splendour in other things, and quite covered the table, or even reached over

the sides of it, as must naturally have been the case when a boar was served up entire. Plin. i. 1, 52.

The utensils on which the food was served appear to have been as numerous as with us. *Patinæ* [Varro, *L. L.* v. 120.—The *patina* was more deep than flat, Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 43; Plin. xxxv. 12, 46; Isid. xx. 4; Non. xv. 6]; *catini* [or *catilli*, Varro, v. 120, *a capiendo.* Hor. *Sat.* i. 3, 90; 6, 115, ii. 2, 39; 4, 77; Juv. vi. 343; Non. xv. 26]; *lances* [quite flat, and differing much in shape, Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 40; Juv. v. 80; Plin. xxxiii. 11, 52; Paull. *Dig.* vi. 1, 6; *quadrata, rotunda, pura, cœlata.* Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 19]; *scutulæ* [Mart. viii. 71]; *gabatæ* [Mart. above]; *paropsides*, [square, Isid. xx. 4; Charis. i. 82; Mart. xi. 27; Juv. iii. 142; also called *parapsis*, Suet. *Galb.* 12; Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 19,] are named, all probably varying in form; some flat, others hollow, round, angular, and oval, with and without covers [or handles]. Nonius mentions sixteen, and the *catinus* only without explanation. As regards material, see above. [Some more names occur. *Magida* and *langula*, Varro, *L. L.* v. 120; *mazonomum*, a large dish, Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 86; Pollux, vi. 87; *boletar*, a small dish for *boleti;* but also for other viands, Mart. xiv. 101, *Boletaria:*

> Cum mihi boleti dederint tam nobile nomen,
> Prototomis, pudet, heu, servio coliculis.

the indispensable salt-cellar, *salinum*, Isid. xx. 4; Liv. xxvi. 36; Plaut. *Pers.* ii. 3, 15; Hor. *Sat.* i. 3, 14; *concha salis*, *Od.* ii. 16, 14; Pers. iii. 25; Becker's *Charicles*, Eng. trans. p. 252; and the vinegar cruet, *acetabulum*, Isid. xx. 4; Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 20. See *Mus. Borb.* vii. 56, ix. 44, v. 15.]

It would be vain to attempt an accurate explanation of all the different drinking-vessels mentioned in Nonius, Isidorus, Pollux, and elsewhere, and still less a commentary on Athenæus. Besides, to some of them, as the *pocula*, *scyphus*, there is no fixed shape; but many names do refer to a certain form, and will therefore admit of explanation.

The customary larger-sized measure, according to which they usually reckoned, was the *amphora*, which is identical with the *quadrantal.* Fest. *Exc.* 133. The smaller measures into which the amphora was divided were the *congius* and *sextarius.* Festus, s. v. *publica pondera*, 246, quotes from the *Plebiscitum Silianum*, according to which eight *congii* were equal to an amphora, and six *sextarii* to a congius. In addition to these we have the *urna*, which contained four congii, and the *cyathus*, or twelfth part of the sextarius. The *cadus* was not only a Roman, but a Grecian, measure, the *amphora Attica.* Rhemn. Fann. *De pond. et mens.* 84.

It held three *urnæ*, or twelve congii. By means of the Roman standard measuring vessels, that are still extant, we are able to determine with certainty the relation of their measures to those in use at the present day. The Farnese congius, preserved in the Dresden Gallery, is of particular importance. It is of bronze, gauged in 828 A. U. C., and bears the inscription, *Imp. Cæsare Vesp. VI. T. Cæs. Aug. F. III. Cos. mensuræ exactæ in capitolio P. X.* This vessel was measured by Beigel with great exactness, and the result, with a history of it by Hase, were communicated in the *Palæologus*, or *Kleine Aufsätze.* Leips. 1837.

In the same collection is a sextarius, concerning which the treatise also gives information.

By the division of the sextarius into twelve *cyathi*, eleven different measures arose, having the same names as the parts of the *as*, only that the single part, instead of *uncia*, was called cyathus. They are, I. *cyathus;* II. *sextans;* III. *quadrans;* IV. *triens;* V. *quincunx;* VI. *semis;* VII. *septunx;* VIII. *bes;* IX. *dodrans;* X. *dextans;* XI. *deunx;* XII. *sextarius.* Of these, however, only the cyathus and triens can be considered real vessels. The trientes, which are often named, were regular drinking-vessels, goblets. Mart. (x. 49) says, *potare amethystinos trientes;* but mention is nowhere made of *quincunces aurei*, or *amethystini*, although we have *quincuncem bibere.* The trientes were classed, it seems, among the goblets of middling size; for they held four cyathi. The cyathus, however, was not a goblet, but only a measure or ladle, to allot to each person the fixed number. See Heind. on Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 117. They had regular *pueros a cyatho* (Mitsch. on Hor. *Od.* i. 29, 8), and hence we do not find *cyatho bibere*, although we have *sex, septem cyathis bibere.* [Mart. i. 72.] In the *Mus. Borb.* (IV. t. 12) are four small ladle glasses, with longer or shorter handles, which are declared to be *simpula*, or *simpuvia.* They would at once appear to be cyathi, were they not of different sizes, and were any account given of their measure; nevertheless, we may refer them to the cyathus, as it is probable that in the ladles the measure of the cyathus was not always adhered to. The engraving opposite represents two of them. [The proper Roman names for these small ladles were *guttus* and *simpuvium*, instead of which the Greek terms *epichysis* and *cyathus* got into vogue. Varro, *L. L.* v. 124. Paul, p. 337. The *urceoli* were different; *frigida* or *calda* was brought in them to the guests, hence called *ministratorii*, Mart. xiv. 105: *Frigida non desit, non deerit calda petenti.* Pomp. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 21. The *armillum* was similar. Varro in Non. xv. 33.]

As regards the shape of the goblets generally, we must especially distinguish, I. between flat saucers [*paterœ phialæ*, Varro, *L. L.* v. 122; Mart. viii. 33, iii. 41; Poll. vi. 4, 6; Isid. xx. 5.]

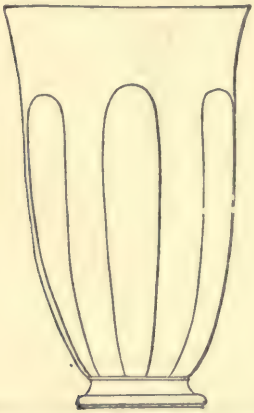
II. Cups with handles (Virg. *Ecl.* vi. 17:

Et gravis attrita pendebat cantharus ansa.

Cic. *Verr.* iv. 27, [*Cantharus* was a great goblet used by Bacchus and his train; Macr. *Sat.* v. 21; Plin. xxxiii. 11, 53; from pictures it would seem to have had two handles. Often in Plautus. Poll. vi. 96; Ath. xi. p. 473. The *trulla* was smaller, originally a scoop). Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 143; where Acron explains it *calix rusticanus*. Cato, *R. R.* 10, 11, 13. But it was sometimes of costly materials. Juv. iii. 108; Orell. 3838; Plin. xxxvii. 2, 7; Mart. ix. 97; Scæv. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 36. The *capis* and *capula* had handles, Varro, v. 121: *a capiendo, quod ansatæ ut prehendi possent.* Non. xv. 33. Also *scyphus;* for Paull. says, *Dig.* vi. 1, 23: *si quis scypho ansam vel fundum* (adjecerit); in Ath. xi. p. 500, several are mentioned. Its size is known from the fact that it was sacred to Hercules, Petr. 52, *urnales scyphi;* Macrob. v. 21; Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* viii. 278. Beautifully worked *scyphi* are mentioned by Suet. *Ner.* 47; Plin. xxxvii. 2, 7, xxxiii. 12. *Thericleum* was a cup originally earthen, with two handles; it took its name from the Corinthian potter Therikles, Luc. *Lexiph.* 7; Ath. xi. 470; Cic. *Verr.* iv. 11; Plin.

xvi. 14, 76; Salmas. *Exerc. Plin.* p. 734. *Bentleii Op. Philol.* pp. 11, 216.]

III. Those in the form of chalices (*calices*), which must not be fancied as having stood on a high foot: the glass vessels represented in the following engravings taken from the *Mus. Borb.*



(t. 13) are of this kind; [also the silver cup *Mus. Borb.* xi. 45. Of the *calix* Varro says, *L. L.* v. 127: *caldum eo bibebant*, and that it was named from the *calda;* the better derivation is κύλιξ. Macrob. v. 21; Ath. xi. p. 480;] they were sometimes of earthen ware, Mart. xiv. 102, *Calices Surrentini:*

> Accipe non vili calices de pulvere natos,
> Sed Surrentinæ leve toreuma rotæ.

ib. 108, *Calices Saguntini:*

> Sume Saguntino pocula ficta luto.

[of glass, ib. 115, 94: of precious stones, 109. There were several sorts, e. g. *calices Vatiniani*, Mart. xiv. 96, x. 3; Juv. v. 46: *calicem nasorum quatuor;* the *calices pteroti, i. e.* with handles, Plin. xxxvi. 26, 66. It is wrong to suppose that all calices had handles; this was the case only with a few of very peculiar shape. Plin. xxxiii. 23; Juv. viii. 168; Mart. xii. 70. *Thermarum calices;* see Forcellinus.

The following are quite unknown to us: *obba*, generally of wood or wicker, Non. xv. 14, ii. 597; *poculi genus*, Pers. v. 148, called *sessilis; modiolus*, Scæv. *Dig.* xxxiv. 2, 36; *cyrnea*, Non. xv. 29; or *hirnea* (?), Plaut. *Amph.* i. 1, 273, 276; Cato, *R. R.* 81; *culigna, vas potorium*, Paull. p. 51; Cato, *R. R.* 132.]

Of the rest, there were, of course, many varieties, some also in fantastic shapes, as shoes, legs, [boats, hence called *cymbrium*, Paul. p. 51; Non. xv. 21; Isid. xx. 5; Mart. viii. 6; Plin. xxxvii. 34, 113; Macrob. v. 21; Poll. vi. 16; Ath. xi. p. 481,] heads of beasts, &c.; these latter were used as drinking-horns, from the lower end of which the wine escaped through an orifice, and was caught in the mouth. Such a horn, in the shape of a stag's head, is to be found in the *Mus. Borb.* (viii. 14), also three others, a horse's, a dog's, and a swine's head (v. 20). Such drinking-horns were termed *ῥυτά*. Athen. xi. 496. Perhaps *rhytium* (Mart. ii. 35) means the same thing. They occur most frequently on vases, [also in frescoes]. See Boettig. *Kunstymth.* ii. 352. The act of drinking is seen in a painting in Zahn, *Ornam.* etc. t. 29; *Pitt. d'Ercol.* v. t. 46. [See Becker's *Charicles*, Engl. transl. p. 259.] Obscene shapes were selected, and indecent things engraved upon the goblets. Juv. ii. 95; Plin. xxxiii. Præf. and xiv. 22.

We have already spoken of the extraordinary luxury which prevailed in respect to these utensils. But besides those there described, there were others of a more simple kind, and of common glass (*vitrea*), in opposition to the *crystallina;* of wood, *fagus*, *buxus*, *terebinthus*, *hedera* (Tib. i. 10; Ovid. *Fast.* v. 522); also of ware; see above. [Among the table utensils we may reckon, in a wider sense, those larger vessels which were set on the table, and either contained neat wine or served for mixing it in; hence called *mistarius* or *mistarium*, Lucil. in Non. xv. 30, *longa geminus mistarius ansa.* Out of these the drink was then poured into the cups of the guests, after the Greek custom. The *crater* or *cratera*, was high, broad, goblet-shaped, with two handles. Isid. xx. 5; Ovid. *Fast.* v. 523:

Terra rubens crater, pocula fagus erant.

Juv. xii. 44, *urnæ cratera capacem.* *Mus. Borb.* ii. 32; vi. 63. See Becker's *Charicles*, Engl. transl. p. 257.

The *sinus*, *lepesta*, *galeola*, were more paunchy, and like our tureens or bowls. Varro, *L. L.* v. 123; Varro in Prisc. vi. p. 714; Serv. *ad Virg. Eclog.* vi. 33; Non. xv. 34, 35. Among the Greeks, the *λεπαστή* was also used as a drinking-cup. Ath. xi. p. 484; Poll. x. 75. See *Mus. Borb.* x. 14, ix. 44, xii. 45, vii. 29; the last of terra cotta with the inscription: *Bibe amice de meo.*

There were also cups and jugs, inscribed, some with small mottos (as *reple*, *sitio*, *bibe*, *valeamus*, *lude*, etc.); some with the name of the owner; *urna literata.* Lucian. *Lexiph.* 7, *ποτήρια γραμματικά.* Ath. xi. p. 466. Whole lines were rarely inscribed on them. Ath. *ib.* Becker refers to this the *scyphi Homerici* of Nero.

Lastly come the stands and platters on which the amphoræ and other vessels were set at a meal. Paul. p. 107, *Incitega machinula, in qua constituebatur in convivio vini amphora, de qua subinde deferrentur vina.* Ath. v. p. 209, ἐγγυθήκη. Javol. *Dig.* xxxii. 1. 100, βάσεις—*vasorum collocandorum.* In *Mus. Borb.* v. 15, there is a stand for two vessels with a handle in the middle.]

The *echinus* (at least by Voss and Heindorf on Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 117, *adstat echinus vilis*) is explained to be a bowl for washing the goblets in. On vessels for warm drinks, see the next Excursus. [The observations made above upon lamps and vessels generally apply also here; viz. that all the vessels that have been discovered betray much fine taste and sense of the beautiful. They will always be a standing testimony that the whole life of the ancients was thoroughly penetrated with grace and art.]

EXCURSUS IV. SCENE IX.

THE DRINKS.

ALTHOUGH Roman authors name several drinks, prepared both from grain, as *zythum;* from wheat and barley, *camum* and *cerevisia* (*ceria*, *celia*); from fruits, as the quince, *cydoneum;* and from honey and water, as *hydromeli*, consequently a sort of mead; yet the Romans knew (besides the *ἄριστον ὕδωρ*) wine only as a drink; and those potations resembling beer, cider, and mead, belonged only to different provinces, governed by Roman laws, and are therefore taken cognizance of among other things, under the head *de vino legato.* Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiii. 6, 9; Pliny, xxii. 25; *Ex iisdem* (frugibus) *fiunt et potus, zythum in Ægypto, celia et ceria in Hispania, cerevisia et plura genera in Gallia aliisque provinciis.*

Wine was, however, no doubt mixed with other things, to produce certain drinks, the way of preparing and taking which was, in general, quite different from ours.

The following are the most important of the numerous works on this subject, Pliny, xiv. 8, seqq.; Colum. xii., with Schneider's remarks, ii.; Virg. *Georg.* ii., with Voss' notes; Athen. i.; Poll. vi. 4; Galen, *De Antidotis*, i. 9; *Dig.* xxx. 6: and of modern authors, Bacci, *de vinis cerevis. ac conviv.;* Beckmann, *Beitr.*, &c., i. 183; Boettiger, *Ueber die Pflege d. Weins. b. d. alt. Röm.*

Pliny's remark, *Ac si quis diligenter cogitet, in nulla parte operosior vita est, ceu non saluberrimum potum aquæ liquorem natura dederit*, can be applied to our own times, but the process among the ancients was much more tedious. The grapes hung upon the trees till they became ripe (*vinum pendens*, Plaut. *Trin.* ii. 4, 125; Cato, *R. R.* 147), and were collected in baskets, *corbulæ*, *fiscellæ*, and also in skins: *legere* and *cogere* are the terms for this operation. Cat. *R. R.* 65, 66; Col. i. 2, 70.

The bas-relief of a marble basin in the *Mus. Borb.* ii. t. 11, representing a vintage of the satyrs, is very amusing: some of them are carrying the grapes in skins of animals sewn together, others press them with a piece of rock: in all the figures there is an expression of life and merriment suitable to a vintage. [In another relief, two figures carry the grapes in baskets, three others tread on them, and two fill the vessels with new wine. Passer. *Luc. Fict.* 48. Comp. Varro, *L. L.* vi. 16, *vinalia.*]

The collected grapes were next trodden upon with the naked feet, *calcare*. *Geopon.* vi. 11; Virg. *Georg.* ii. 7:

> Huc, pater o Lenæe, veni nudataque musto
> Tingue novo mecum dereptis crura cothurnis.

After treading them out twice, the husks were placed under the press, and hence the distinction between the *vinum* or *mustum calcatum*, and *pressum*. According to Pliny ix., the first sort (*protropum*) was the spontaneous exudation of the grape. The second sort was the first flowing off during the process of treading, *antequam nimium calcetur uva*, and it was used above all others for making *mulsum* (Col. xii. 41); and, lastly, the later draining off, which partook more of the roughness of the husk. [The wine obtained by pressing the husks a second time, with the addition of water, was called *lora;* which they sweetened and improved by various compounds. It would only keep a year at furthest, and was drunk by the slaves, and poor, also by the women. Varro, *R. R.* i. 54; Col. xii. 41; Cat. 57; Plin. xiv. 10, 12.]

In order to allow the watery particles to escape, the grapes were also spread on trellis-work, and left there for seven days. This was called *vinum diachytum*. Pliny, *ita fieri optimi odoris saporisque*. If sweeter and stronger wine were desired, the grapes were allowed to wither entirely, *uva passa*, *vinum passum*. Finally, it was boiled. [In a fresco, Cupids are seen pressing grapes and boiling the must; a small oven being near the wine-press for this purpose.] Pliny, *ibid. Nam siræum, quod alii hepsema, nostri sapam appellant, ingenii, non naturæ opus est, musto usque ad tertiam partem mensuræ decocto; quod ubi factum ad dimidium est, defrutum vocamus.* Commoner wines were doctored with this boiled wine; and even in those days the art of improving cheaper wines, by mixing them with the dregs of those of finer quality, had been discovered. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 55; Colum. xii. 30.

The must was immediately drawn off from the *lacus torcularius*, into large earthen vessels, *dolia* (Non. xv. 6), for the purpose of undergoing fermentation, *condere*. Varro, i. 65. Wooden wine-vessels were not in use in Pliny's time, either in Greece or Rome, as he expressly states, c. 21. When Pallad. x. 11, says, *dolium ducentorum congiorum xii libris picetur*, it appears scarcely possible that earthen vessels, capable of containing twenty-five amphoræ, could have been made; but we may suppose that these *dolia* were of considerable dimensions from the comparison in Plaut. *Pseud.* ii. 2, 64, *anus doliaris*. There is also a striking passage in Petron. 64: *Ecce autem deductus lacunaribus subito circulus ingens, de cupa videlicet grandi excussus, demittitur.* When Boettiger said, 'it was

always considered preferable not to use *dolia* of any very great size, to keep the better wines in,' he misunderstood Pliny, v. 21, according to whom, not large, but too round, vessels were rejected, and longer ones of less diameter, recommended instead. [The pictures of dolia show that they were, on the contrary, round and broad. See Pass. *Luc. Fict.* ii. 40. But the vessels into which the wine was put for present use were of a long narrow form; whence these have, necessarily, handles, which is not always the case with the former.] The *seriæ*, in Col. xii. 18, distinguished from the *dolia*, answered the same purpose.

The dolia were smeared with pitch before being used: new ones were so treated at once, after coming from the oven. *Geop.* vi. 4. Boettiger's remark, 'that the young wine was immediately poured into these earthen vessels, which had been previously smeared with wax, *imbuere*,' seems hasty; for what Columella says of *ceratura* (xii. 52, 16) applies only to the *dolia olearia*, with which Cato (69) agrees, only that he recommends the second process with the *amurca*. After this operation, for which the best pitch, tempered with a little wax (one twelfth, Pallad.), as well as with aromatics, was used, the subsequent process is described by Pliny, c. 21: *Picari oportere protinus à canis ortu, postea perfundi marina aqua aut salsa, dein cinere sarmenti aspergi vel argilla, abstersa myrrha suffiri ipsasque sæpius cellas.* *Geopon.* vi. 9. [Whence *vinum picatum*. Mart. xiii. 107; Plut. *Sympos.* v. 3.]

They were then filled, but never to the brim. Pliny; comp. *Geop.* vi. 12. The vessels remained unclosed as long as the fermentation was going on, [Sen. *Ep.* 83,] and even then were not fastened either by a cork, pitch, or gypsum. The *cella vinaria*, in which the *dolia* were kept, was a cool chamber [towards the north], entirely, or at least so far above the ground, that it could have windows. But the dolia were at times either partially or altogether let into the ground. Pliny. These are *dola demersa* (Colum. xii. 17, 5), or *depressa* (*Dig.* xxxiii. 6, 3), also *defossa* (ib. 7, 8).

Much wine was drunk direct from the dolium, or cupa; *vinum doliare*, or *de cupa*. Boettiger is quite wrong in explaining the words of Cicero, *vinum a propola et de cupa*, as follows: 'to take the wine from the landlady.' Even if the form *cupa* for *copa* be allowed (see Bentley on Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2, 123, and Ilgen, *de Copa Virg.*), yet the different prepositions prove that *cupa* signifies a larger wine vessel, for the same use as the *dolium* [but more easy of transport, and not so *immobilis* as the *dolia*. Ulp. *Dig. ib.*]

It was, however, the common wine only which would not bear keeping (*ætatem ferre*); the better kind, when perfectly settled, was

distributed into amphoræ, or lagenæ (*diffundebatur*). Pliny could not tell whether this took place in more ancient times. c. 14. [*Orcæ* and *cadi* were, like the *amphoræ* and *lagenæ*, long and thin with a narrow neck, and often ending in a point below; whence they had either to be stuck in the ground, or in a stand, *incitega*. The difference between these and the dolia is clear from Proc. *Dig.* xxxiii. 6, 15: *Vinum in amphoras et cados hac mente diffundimus, ut in his sit, donec usus causa probetur et scilicet id vendimus cum his amphoris et cadis; in dolia autem alia mente conjicimus, scilicet ut ex his postea vel in amphoras et cados diffundamus, vel sine ipsis doliis veneat.* Persius says of the *orca* (iii. 50), *angustæ collo non fallier orcæ.* Varro in Non. xv. 24; Isid. xx. 6; Nonius, xiv. 9, explains *cadi* to be *vasa quibus vina conduntur.* Pomp. *Dig.* xxxiii. 6, 14. They are often mentioned by Horace and Pliny. *Tinæ* or *tinia* were antique wine-vessels, the form of which is unknown. Paul. p. 365; Non. xv. 7. The same is the case with the *diota.* Hor. *Od.* i. 9, 8, and the *œnophorus* or *œnophorum.* Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 109; Pers. v. 140; Lucil. in Non. ii. 800. The amphoræ differed much in form, as is plain from the grave-lamp. Passer. *Luc.* iii. 51. The skins, *utres*, Petron. 34, cannot be discussed here. Other articles besides wine were stored in these amphoræ, cadi, lagenæ, *e. g.* honey, *muria*, and other *salsamenta*, oil, olives, dried figs, etc. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 66; Plin. xv. 21; Martial, xiv. 116, i. 44. On the sealing of the vessels, see above.] The size of the amphora and cadus has been already discussed. These vessels resembling the amphora were generally made of clay, [hence *rubens ruber*, Mart. i. 56; iv. 66; *fragilis*, Ovid. *Met.* xii. 243; seldom of stone, Plin. xxxvi. 12, 43,] and fastened up by a bung (*cortex*, *suber*), and then covered with gypsum, or pitch, to prevent any effects from the air. [Col. xii. 23; Plin. xiv. 27, xxiii. 24.] Petron. 34. On the amphora of earthenware the name of the wine and consul was written on the vessel itself, to mark the date; but labels (*notæ*, *tituli*, *tesseræ*, *pittacia*), with the name, were hung on those of glass. Comp. Beckman, *Beitr.* ii. 482; [Juv. v. 33:

> Cras bibet Albanis aliquid de montibus, aut de
> Setinis, cujus patriam titulumque senectus
> Delevit multa veteris fuligine testæ.

See Hor. *Sat.* i. 10, 24, *nota Falerni;* Colum. xii. 19; Plaut. *Pœn.* iv. 2, 14, *literatas fictiles epistolas.* Several such labels have been found, one with the inscription, RVBR. VET. V̄. P. CII., *i. e. rubrum vetus vinum picatum*, No. 102.] It is interesting to learn by pictures from Pompeii (*Mus. Borb.* iv.; *Relaz. de Scav.* t. A. and V. t. 48), [Gell. *Pomp.* 81,] the manner of conveying wine which had

been purchased. Both the pictures are alike; they represent two carriages, consisting of a light rack-shaped body, and the whole interior of which is filled by a single large skin. This skin has in front a wide opening, which is tied up, and through which the wine was evidently poured, whilst behind, it is produced into a narrow bag, from which the wine was suffered to run out. Two men are busily letting off the contents into long two-handed vessels, amphoræ. It was therefore not must, but wine.

The amphora was next placed in the *apotheca*, which was quite different from the *cella vinaria*, and in the upper story: the best position for it was above the bath, so that the smoke might be conducted thither, and so forward the wine. Colum. i. 6, 20; comp. Heind. on Hor. *Sat.* ii. 5, 7; and Hor. *Od.* iii. 8, 9; from which we may learn the whole process:

> Hic dies anno redeunte festus
> Corticem adstrictum pice demovebit
> Amphoræ, fumum bibere institutæ
> Consule Tullo.

Hence such expressions as *Descende testa* (iii. 21, 7), and *Parcis deripere horreo amphoram* (28, 7), may be explained.

After this process the wine still retained a good deal of lees, and, if wanted for use, had to be cleared. This was effected in various ways. The gourmand, who (Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 51):

> Massica si cœlo supponas vina sereno,
> Nocturna, si quid crassi est, tenuabitur aura,
> Et decedet odor nervis inimicus; at illa
> Integrum perdunt lino vitiata saporem.

communicates the result of his experience about the kitchen and cellar, states the best means. The method of purifying wine by eggs was known. Ibid. 55:

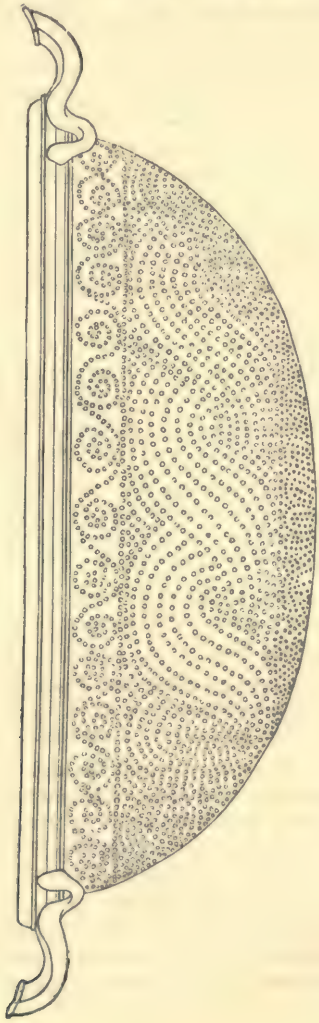
> Surrentina vafer qui miscet fæce Falerna
> Vina, columbino limum bene colligit ovo;
> Quatenus ima petit volvens aliena vitellus.

It was in general, however, strained through the *saccus vinarius* and the *colum*, a kind of metal sieve, with small holes in it. Numbers of such *cola* have been discovered at Pompeii. In the *Mus. Borb.* iii. t. 31, are five smaller ones, all of which had handles, and were consequently held in the hand during the straining. In ii. t. 60, is a larger one with two handles, by which it was probably hung over a vessel, into which wine was running. A copy of it is given here. A silver bowl with beautiful *cælatura*, and also a silver colum, may have served a like purpose. *Ibid.* viii. t. 14.

[Plin. xxiii. 24.] The *saccus*, on the contrary, was a filter-bag of linen, and the worst means, as by being strained through it the wine became wretched (*vappa*). Hence in Horace:

Integrum perdunt lino vitiata saporem.

The relative position to each other of colum and saccus is



Colum Vinarium of bronze.

shown by comparing two epigrams of Martial, xiv. 103, *Colum nivarium:*

> Setinos moneo nostra nive frange trientes;
> Pauperiore mero tingere lina potes.

and xix. 104, *Saccus nivarius:*

> Attenuare nives norunt et lintea nostra,
> Frigidior colo non salit unda tuo.

But the saccus was used also for good wine. Mart. viii. 43. It was customary to fill the colum and saccus with snow, upon which the wine was poured for the purpose of being cooled. With this view, the snow was carefully preserved till summer-time, just as is now the case in Naples, *æstivæ nives.* Mart. v. 64, ix. 23, 8, 91, 5; Pliny, xix. 4, 19. This, however, was not enough, for by a still greater refinement a difference was discovered between snow and water boiled, but afterwards reduced to freezing point by being mixed with snow. Plin. xxxi. 3, 23; *Neronis principis inventum est, decoquere aquam vitroque demissam in nives refrigerare.* Mart. xiv. 107, and 106, *Lagena nivaria:*

> Spoletina bibis, vel Marsis condita cellis:
> Quo tibi decoctæ nobile frigus aquæ.

In this way the water sometimes cost more than the wine, as Martial says, *Ep.* 108. They had, besides, another object in this straining—to moderate the intoxicating power of the old heavy wine. Pliny, xiv. 22; comp. xxiii. 1, 24. This was termed *castrare vinum* (Pliny, xix. 4, 19), but the general expressions were, *defæcare, liquare, colare, saccare.*

The *colour* of most wines was probably dark, as is now the case with all the southern wines. There were, however, also wines of a lighter tint; and as we distinguish between white and red, so did they between *album* and *atrum.* Plaut. *Menæch.* v. 5, 17. Pliny names four colours (xiv. 9), *albus, fulvus, sanguineus, niger. Nigrum* and *atrum* denote the darkest red, and *album* the bright yellow, which we also call white. The celebrated Falernian was evidently of this colour, from the finest amber having been named after it. Plin. xxxvii. 3, 12.

From what we know concerning the treatment of wines, it is clear that old wines were considered preferable, and even a common wine, if of some age, was more grateful than young Falernian. Mart. xiii. 120:

> De Spoletinis quæ sunt cariosa lagenis,
> Malueris, quam si musta Falerna bibas.

[Plaut. *Cas. Prol.* 5; Cic. *Cœl.* 19; Ath. i. p. 26.] Perhaps as

much deception was practised then as in the present times about the age of wines. Mart. iii. 62:

Sub rege Numa condita vina bibis.

and xiii. 111.

The amphoræ on the table of Trimalchio bore the label, *Falernum Opimianum annorum centum*, in which there is a double absurdity: first, in assigning a fixed age to wine, which every year became older, and then in calling the *Opimianum* a century old, as that period, the most illustrious in the annals of Italy, belonged to A.U.C. 633, and the wine must therefore at that time have been at least 160 or 170 years old, and we may easily conceive that at a still later period it was supposed to be drunk, long after it had, in fact, ceased to exist.

The different growths are detailed by Pliny, xiv. 6. Comp. Schneid. *Ind. Script.* 411; Mart. xiii. 106—122. [Vitruv. viii. 3, 12; Ath. i. p. 26.] According to Pliny, the *Cæcubum*, Hor. *Od.* i. 20; Strab. v. p. 161, had from ancient times held the first rank among western wines. Like all the best wines, it grew in Campania, in the Sinus Caietanus, near Amyclæ. In the time of Pliny, the vineyards had been ruined principally by the canal of Nero, but at an earlier period Augustus had assigned the palm to the Setinian, which also maintained its superiority after the Cæcubum was lost. The Falernian was second in rank, and the best description of it, the *Faustianum*, grew between Sinuessa and Cedia, and is supposed to have received its name from Sylla (Faustus). [Hor. *Epist.* i. 5, 5, at Sinuessa. A capital wine grew on Vesuvius. Flor. i. 16, *amicti vitibus montes, Gaurus, Falernus, Massicus, Vesuvius.*] The third place was contended for by the *Albanum*, *Surrentinum*, and *Massicum*, as well as by the *Calenum* and *Fundanum*. After the time of Julius Cæsar, the fourth place was held by the *Mamertinum* from the neighbourhood of Messana, and *Taurominitanum* was frequently sold for it. The middling kinds were the *Trifolinum*, from the hill Trifolium, in Campania (in Mart. xiii. 14, *septima vitis*); *Signinum*, *Sabinum*, [Hor. *Od.* i. 20,] *Nomentanum*, and others. The commonest were *Vaticanum* (frequently mentioned by Mart. *e. g.* vi. 92, *Vaticana bibis? bibis venenum.* x. 45). To render it more drinkable, good old wine was sometimes intermixed; Mart. i. 19:

Quid te, Tucca, juvat vetulo miscere Falerno
In Vaticanis condita vina cadis.

Veientanum, from the vicinity of Veii, which gained the epithet *rubellum*, from its colour having a reddish tint. Mart. i. 104. Besides these, there were the *Pelignum*, Mart. i. 27, xiii. 121; (*Cæretanum*, xiii. 124;) the *Laletanum* (from Spain), i. 27, vii. 53; and

the *Massilitanum*, x. 36, xiii. 123. Much adulteration was practised, not only in mixing different wines [Hor. *Sat.* i. 10, 24], and adding *sapa* and *defrutum*, and foreign wines, especially from Tmolus, but also deleterious substances. See Beckmann, *Beitr.* i. 181.

Next to these western wines came the *transmarina*, or Greek, which Pliny esteemed. The best were the *Thasium*, *Chium*, *Lesbium*, *Sicyonium*, *Cyprium*, and, in the time of Pliny, the *Clazomenium* especially. [Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 15. *Chium maris expers.*] Not only the vessels were sprinkled with sea-water, but it was put into several wines. [See Becker's *Charicles*, Engl. transl. p. 256. Plin. xiv. 9, 23, 24, xxiii. 24; Ath. i. p. 32. *Vappa* was any sort of wine spoilt. Plin. xiv. 20, 25; Acron *ad Hor. Sat.* i. 1, 104, ii. 3, 144.]

Still they were not content with this variety, but the wines from a very early period (Plin. 13, 15) were doctored with all kinds of aromatics and bitters, as *myrrha*, aloes, and the like. Pallad. xi. 14. Even costly essential oils were mixed with the wines, which also were drunk out of vessels that had held them. Plin. xiii. 1, 5. Martial calls this *foliata sitis*, because the *nardinum* was also called simply *foliatum*. Comp. Juv. vi. 303.

Next to wine, the *mulsum* was a very favourite drink; different accounts are given of the manner of preparing it. According to Colum. (xiii. 41), the best must was taken direct from the *lacus*, ten pounds of honey were then mixed with an *urna* of it, and it was at once poured into *lagenæ*, and covered up with gypsum. After thirty-two days these vessels were to be opened; and the drink poured into others. This way of making it, however, was not general, as is proved by Hor. *Sat.* ii. 4, 24:

> Aufidius forti miscebat mella Falerno,
> Mendose, etc.

by Macrob. *Sat.* vii. 12, [Plin. xxii. 24, 53. *Mulsum ex vetere vino utilissimum,*] and other passages. In *Geopon.* (viii. 25, 26), the two plans of making, viz. from four-fifths of wine and one of honey, and also from ten-elevenths of must and one of honey, are taught. Pallad. xi. 17. The Greek name for it was οἰνόμελι; which word, however, has another meaning also, among the Romans, as we see from Ulp. *Dig.* xxxiii. 6, 9. The different kinds of honey are mentioned in note 30, p. 61. The mulsum was principally drunk at the prandium and the gustus. Sack sometimes supplied its place. Mart. xiii. 106.

The *calda*, the only warm drink among the ancients, consisted of warm water and wine, perhaps with the addition of spice. Calda was drunk most in winter, but likewise at other seasons,

Mart. viii. 67. See Rup. on Juv. v. 63. Boettiger says (*Sab.* ii. 35), 'It is quite credible that the ancients had something to match our tea and coffee services;' and in corroboration of this we call the attention of the reader to an ancient vessel, which evidently

served for preparing, or keeping warm the calda. It is of very elegant form, resembling a tureen, and is made of bronze. The engraving of it, given here, is copied from the *Mus. Borb.* iii. 63.

In the centre is a cylinder reaching to the bottom, which held the coals for warming the liquids around it, and underneath this cylinder is an orifice for the ashes to fall through. The conical cover cannot be taken off, but there is underneath a second flat cover, which is movable, and only covers the parts containing the fluids, leaving the remainder open. On the upper rim is a sort of cup, united by a pipe with the interior of the vessel, so that it might be filled without the lid being removed. On the opposite side a tap is fixed, for the purpose of letting the liquid run out.

The use of this vessel is undoubted, but a Roman name can hardly be assigned to it, and from among those named by Poll. x. 66, [θερμαντήρ, not] ἰπνολέβης, after Lucian (*Lexiph.* 828), seems the

only probable one. The most natural name would certainly be *caldarium*, but for that we have no authority. We must not suppose that such a vessel was always used for the calda, as in general the water was brought in jugs or cans, named by Martial, xiv. 105, *urceoli ministratorii*. [A much more simple vessel for calda is now in the possession of the king of Denmark. It is like an amphora, with two handles and a double bottom. The outer partition most likely held the warm water, which kept the calda warm, in the middle.]

EXCURSUS I. SCENE X.

THE CHAPLETS.

IT is not our intention to discuss in its fullest extent and several relations the use made by the ancients of chaplets,—a subject entering deeply into civil and religious life, as the simple ornament of leaves became a symbol of martial renown and civil virtue. There is no lack of works upon the subject. Paschalius, in his *Coronæ*, gives a tolerable collection of badly elaborated materials; the work of Lanzoni, *de Coronis et Unguentis in ant. Conv.*, confines itself to the banquets; and still less important is that of Schmeizel, *De Coronis*. The notices, however, given directly by ancient authors are of more consequence. As the work upon chaplets by Ælius Asclepiades, and the writings of the physicians Mnesitheus and Callimachus, are lost, our information is mainly derived from Athenæus (xv.), Pliny xxi. 1, 4, and other scattered passages. See Salmas. *Exercitt. ad Solin.*

It would be difficult to assign any year or period when the use of chaplets at meals, or rather at the carousal, was first introduced at Rome; but we learn from Pliny, that as early as the second Punic war chaplets of roses were worn. The walls of the triclinium only were, however, privy to this decoration, which, although so harmless in itself, was considered incompatible with sobriety of character, and he who appeared in public so adorned was liable to punishment. Two examples of such punishment are related by Pliny (56, *L. Fulvius argentarius bello Punico secundo cum corona rosacea interdiu e pergula sua in forum prospexisse dictus, ex auctoritate senatus in carcerem abductus, non ante finem belli emissus est. P. Munatius, cum demtam Marsyæ coronam e floribus capiti suo imposuisset atque ob id duci eum in vincula triumviri jussissent, appellavit tribunos plebis. Nec intercessere illi*); but it was perhaps only the flowers that drew down this condemnation, because at that period of misfortune such an open display of luxury seemed to have a dangerous tendency. On the other hand, it would appear that fillets were worn round the head even before this time, to counteract the effects of the wine. Hence arose by degrees the chaplets of leaves and flowers, to which however the name *coronæ* was not given till later, as in earlier times it was reserved for religious usages and warlike distinctions. Pliny agrees with Athenæus (xv. 674), who follows the old writers concerning the early Grecian customs. The chaplets which superseded the simple fillets were not, however, considered as mere ornaments, but it was believed, or

at least pretended, that certain leaves and flowers exercised a beneficial influence against the intoxicating power of wine. Thus, in Plutarch (*Symp.* iii. 1), the physician Tryphon defends the use of chaplets at wine against the imputations of Ammonius. He praises the ἐπιμέλεια and πολυπειρία of former times, which had discovered in the chaplets an antidote to the influence of wine; and Athenæus (675) mentions the same thing.

A simple branch of green served for a chaplet at the games, and probably for the *corona convivalis* also in the first instance, flowers being a later intrusion. When, however, Pliny says that Pausias and Glycera were the first to weave chaplets of flowers, it is only an instance of persons celebrated in a manufacture being set up as the inventors of it, as we can cite statues with chaplets of flowers of a date far earlier than Pausias. The Greeks wove numerous kinds of flowers into chaplets; but with the Romans it was different. Besides the green leaves of the ivy, myrtle, and *apium*, they used but few garden-flowers for chaplets, and of these chiefly the violet and rose. Plin. s. 10. But they did not stop with these natural materials, especially as chaplets were required in winter also, when roses could be obtained only at a very great expense; hence imitations were made of various materials. What Pliny says (s. 3) of the gold and silver garlands, applies only to the public games, but the words *coronis—quæ vocantur Ægyptiæ ac deinde hibernæ*, refer to the *coronæ convivales*. No further intelligence is given about the Egyptian ones (see Boettig. *Sab.* i. 231); but as they are distinguished from the *hibernæ*, they would seem not to have been artificial. The hibernæ were made of thin leaves of horn dyed; and such might be understood in Martial (vi. 80). did not the *Nova dona*, and the antithesis, *rus Pæstanum*, and *horti Memphitici*, point to natural flowers.

Pliny (s. 8) relates that the luxury in them went still further. Chaplets were made of single rose-leaves by fastening them to a strip of bast, but we must not think that *coronæ sutiles* are always to be taken in this sense, as the chaplets of *nardus* are also called sutiles, and the *sericæ versicolores* likewise, although they were probably only imitations of flowers. See Lucan, *Phars.* x. 164:

> Accipiunt sertas nardo florente coronas
> Et nunquam fugiente rosa.

where the *rosa numquam fugiens* refers probably to the *sericæ*. Mart. xiii. 51, *Texta rosis vel divite nardo corona*. The chaplets in those passages denominated *sertæ* and *textæ* are simply *sutiles*, just as in Horace (*Od.* i. 38, 2), the *nexæ philyra coronæ*, but there is no reason to suppose chaplets *e mero folio rosæ*. Chaplets were

frequently found on monuments, with leaf lying over leaf, and rose on rose; and it is possible that, in such cases, the roses were fastened on a strip of bast, *philyra;* they would then be rightly termed sutiles. These are meant in Ovid. *Fast.* v. 335:

> Tempora sutilibus cinguntur tota coronis
> Et latet injecta splendida mensa rosa.
> Ebrius incinctis philyra conviva capillis
> Saltat.

and Martial x. 94, *Sutilis aptetur decies rosa crinibus*, which seems to mean a chaplet of ten roses. The sutiles are again mentioned in Mart. v. 65, ix. 91; and *ῥαπτοὶ στέφανοι*, in Hesychius and Salm. on *Jul. Cap. Anton.* 4. Salm. *Exerc. ad Sol.* 703, appears rightly to explain the *coronæ tonsæ*, or *tonsiles*, to be chaplets made of single leaves.

Respecting the nature of the chaplets called *pactiles* by Pliny, we can presume nothing certain, not even whether they are to be distinguished from the *coronæ plectiles* of Plautus (*Bacchid.* i. 1. 37); and what he says (s. i.) is also obscure. We may in general assume three main distinctions; they were either woven of longer twigs, as of ivy, or of shorter sprigs, as of the apium, or were fastened to a band.

At the *cœna* itself chaplets were not generally used; they belonged, like the *unguenta*, to the regular *comissatio*, or to the *compotatio*, succeeding the main course. They were distributed when the *mensa secunda* was served, or perhaps later. See Plut. *Symp.* iii. 1; Athen. xv. 685 and 669; Mart. x. 19, 18; Petron. 60, *coronæ aureæ cum alabastris unguenti*. It appears to have been usual for the host to give chaplets, and sometimes to have them handed round repeatedly; and we cannot infer from Ovid (*Fasti*, i. 403):

> Vina dabat Liber, tulerat sibi quisque coronam.

that the ancient custom, according to which each guest took his own garland, was adhered to.

They also hung festoons of flowers over their neck and breast, called by the Greeks *ὑποθυμίδες*. Plut. *Symp.* iii. 1, 3; Athen. 678 and 688. This does not seem to have been usual amongst the Romans, but the custom is mentioned in Cic. *Verr.* v. iii. *Ipse autem coronam habebat unam in capite, alteram in collo.* Catull. vii. 51:

> Et capite et collo mollia serta gerat.

and Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 739. In Petronius there are further instances of various ways of garlanding (65 and 70). Comp. Boettig. *Sab.* i. 240. At Rome the dietetic signification of the chaplet was lost sight of, and it was only regarded as a cheerful ornament and symbol of festivity, giving occasion to many a joke and game, such as the *bibere coronas*. Plin. 9.

EXCURSUS II. SCENE X.

THE SOCIAL GAMES.

WE must not omit to mention those games which were pursued, not only as a recreation, but also with the hope of gain. The game of hazard had become a most pernicious mania at Rome; and severe legal prohibitions could not prevent the ruin of the happiness and fortunes of many by private gambling with dice. They had also other and more innocent games, success in which depended wholly on the skill of the players, like the game of chess at the present day, and other table-games. We shall mention all these games, but the matter is so intricate, and the inquiry so intimately connected with that into the Grecian games, that we cannot treat upon it fully; but for a more detailed account the reader is referred to Becker's *Antiquitates Plautinæ*.

The older writings upon the subject by Bulenger, Meursius Souter, Senftleben, Calcagnino, are to be found in Gronovii, *Thes. Antt. Græc.* viii. Next come Salmas. on *Vopisc. Procul.* 13,736; and *Exercitt. ad Sol.* p. 795; Rader on *Mart. passim;* Wernsdorf on *Saleius Bass.;* Wüstem. *Pal des Scaur.*

In the game of dice, *alea*, two kinds of dice were used, *tali* or ἀστράγαλοι, and *tesseræ* or κύβοι. Herodotus (i. 94) ascribes the invention of the game to the Lydians; but Athenæus (i. 19) cites anterier instances of it. Nitzsch, *Anm. zu Hom. Odyss.* i. p. 27. The tali (the chief passages about which are Eustath. on *Odyss.* i. p. 397; Poll. ix. 99) were originally made of the knuckles of animals; afterwards of different materials: they had only four flat surfaces; on the other two sides they were uneven or rounded, so that the die could not easily rest upon either of them. One and six were marked on two opposite sides, and three and four on the other. The numbers two and five were wanting. Eustath. p. 1397; Poll. as above. The manner of playing is described in Cic. *De Divin.* i. 13: *Quatuor tali jacti casu Venereum efficiunt. Num etiam centum Venereos, si quadringentos talos jeceris, casu futuros putas?*

The four dice were thrown out of a cup of horn, box-wood, or ivory, which had graduated intervals inside, that the dice might be better mixed. This cup was narrower at the top than below, and from its shape was called *pyrgus* or *turricula*, also *phimus*, and most commonly *fritillus*. Sidon. *Epist.* viii. 12; Mart. xiv. 16. *Phimus*

is used, Hor. *Sat.* ii. 7, 17. Etym. Magn. Φιμοί· κυβευτικὰ ὄργανα. Poll. vii. 203; x. 150. *Orca*, Pers. iii.; and in a fragment of Pomponius, it is also so explained. [Salmasius, Böttiger, and Orelli rightly assume a difference of form between the *fritillus* (as cup) and *phimus* (as tower); the latter had graduated intervals inside. So Cedren., i. p. 125, names τὸ ψηφόβολον (*fritillus*), and distinguishes from it τὸν πύργον. See Vales. *ad Harpocr.* v. φιμοί.]

The dice were thrown on a table made for the purpose, *alveus*, *alveolus*, *abacus*, with a slightly elevated rim to prevent them from falling. The best throw was called *Venus* or *Venereus* (βόλος, *jactus*), the worst *canis*. Prop. iv. 8, 45:

> Me quoque per talos Venerem quærente secundos,
> Semper damnosi subsiluere canes.

These names, and a passage in Pollux, have led to the idea that the dice were not numbered, but had figures which stood for certain numbers. But it is doubtful whether Pollux, by the expression σχῆμα τοῦ πτώματος, meant a mark on the dice, or the casual combination produced by the throw, as when three, four, four, six, or one, three, six, six, were turned up. Eustathius names the four sides μονάδα καὶ ἑξάδα, τριάδα καὶ τέτραδα, and indeed there were separate names for each turn up. Some throws appear to have counted more than were actually turned up. So says Eust. on *Iliad.* xxiii. 87, and also Pollux. Four dice only could have been played with, because with five the Venus would never have been thrown, and these four, even though *seniones*, could only count twenty-four.

The most fortunate throw was when all four dice presented different numbers; as is clear from Lucian, *Amor.* 884; Mart. xiv. 14, *Tali eborei:*

> Cum steterit nullus vultu tibi talus eodem
> Munera me dices magna dedisse tibi;

it was called the Venus or Venereus. Whether Κῷος had the same signification, or meant seniones, is doubtful.

The worst throw is supposed to have been when all four dice presented the same number, but this is not quite correct. It was not the same thing whether four μονάδες, or four τετράδες, and so on, were turned up; and there was no canis except all four presented an ace. [Isid. xviii. 16, *unum enim significat* sc. canis.] This is shown by Suet. *Aug.* 71, where the word *canis* is applied to the ace, as *senio* to the six (here the rule of the game was, that any one who turned up a single ace or a single six out of the four dice thrown, had to put an additional denarius into the pool, in *singulos talos singulos denarios conferebat*); and so says Pollux, καὶ τὸ μὲν

μονάδα δηλοῦν κύων καλεῖται. In Plaut. *Curc.* ii. 3, 75, it is improbable that *volturii quatuor* denote canis, or that the *basilicus* is equivalent to Venereus. The game was not always played so that the winning or losing depended on the Venereus or canis, but on the number of pips or *μονάδες.* The Greeks called this *πλειστοβολίνδα παίζειν.* Poll. ix. 95. Perhaps this was played more frequently with the regular six-sided dice, *tesseræ* or *κύβοι,* but the *tali* were also used for it. Poll. ix. 117. Comp. Athen. x. 444. The tesseræ were just like our dice, the sides were numbered 1 to 6, and the two opposite sides always counted together, seven. [Isid. xviii. 63, 64, 65.] Though four dice were required in the game of *ἀστράγαλοι,* only three, and later two, tesseræ were used. Hesych.: *ἢ τρὶς ἓξ ἢ τρεῖς κύβοι, παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιτυγχανόντων.* [But Hesych. has misunderstood the proverb, for *κύβοι* here denotes the pips and not dice, as he goes on to say. It means, therefore, either three sixes or three aces, i. e. all or nothing.] Mart. xiv. 15, *Tessera:*

> Non sim talorum numero par tessera, dum sit
> Major, quam talis, alea sæpe mihi.

We do not learn whether this game always depended upon turning up the most pips, or whether doublets counted extra, but the simple *πλειστοβολίνδα παίζειν* was at any rate most common. The game with the tesseræ was always played for money or something representing it, whilst the tali were used in other ways also. The manner of playing it is related in Suet. *Aug.* 71, and Poll. ix. 95. That enormous sums were lost at play is seen from Juvenal, i. 89:

> Neque enim loculis comitantibus itur
> Ad casum tabulæ; posita sed luditur arca.
> Prælia quanta illuc dispensatore videbis
> Armigero! simplexne furor, sestertia centum
> Perdere et horrenti tunicam non reddere servo?

And hence all play for money was from an early period interdicted, with the single exception, *ubi pro virtute certamen fit.* Plaut. *Mil.* ii. 2, 9, mentions this law. No attention was paid to the complaints of persons who allowed gaming in their houses, not even in cases of robbery and actual violence. Paul. *Dig.* xi. 5, 2. See an instance of *condemnati de alea* in Cic. *Phil.* ii. 23. This law, as may be easily imagined, was not only transgressed in private more than any other, but became null and void under some of the emperors, who were passionately devoted to play, as Claudius, who wrote a book upon gaming. By others, again, it was vigorously enforced; this seems to have been the case with Domitian; and to this circumstance Martial often alludes. The game was only allowed as a pastime during meals, as we see from Paul. *Dig.* xi. 5, 4; [Sidon.

Ap. *Ep.* i. 2.] and during the *Saturnalia* alone were all restrictions removed. Mart. xi. 6:

> Unctis falciferi senis diebus
> Regnator quibus imperat fritillus.

v. 84. In the concealment of the *popina* it was doubtless frequently indulged in. Mart. iv. 14:

> Dum blanda vagus alea December
> Incertis sonat hinc et hinc fritillis,
> Et ludit popa nequiore talo.

Where perhaps by *nequior talus* loaded dice are meant: in Aristot. *Problem.* xvi. 12, we have *μεμολυβδωμένους ἀστραγάλους*. How much these games became the fashion at a later period is shown by Justinian's interdict, by which he allowed lost money to be demanded back. *Cod.* iii. 43. [De Pauw *de alea veterum.*] Similar decrees were in force against betting, which, however, we must not suppose to have been such a mania as is described by Bulwer, in his *Last Days of Pompeii.* No bets were allowed upon games which were entirely of chance. Marcian. *Dig.* xi. 5, 3.

Other games in which success did not depend on luck, but in a great measure on skill, were not illegal. Foremost among these stand the board-games, two of which are known to have been in vogue at Rome, *ludus latrunculorum*, and *duodecim scriptorum.* Martial seems to have alluded to them (xiv. 17, *Tabula lusoria*):

> Hic mihi bis seno numeratur tessera puncto;
> Calculus hic gemino discolor hoste perit.

The first line alludes to the *duodecim scripta*, the second to the *latrunculi.* The *tabula lusoria* appears to have been a table on either side of which one of these games could be played.

The chief passage describing the first of these games is in Sal. Bassus, *Paneg. in Pis.* 180:

> Callidiore modo tabula variatur aperta
> Calculus et vitreo peraguntur milite bella,
> Et niveus nigros, nunc et niger alliget albos.
> Sed tibi quis non terga dedit? quis te duce cessit
> Calculus? aut quis non periturus perdidit hostem?
> Mille modis acies tua dimicat: ille petentem
> Dum fugit, ipse rapit; longo venit ille recessu
> Qui stetit in speculis: hic se committere rixæ
> Audet et in prædam venientem decipit hostem.
> Ancipites subit ille moras similisque ligato
> Obligat ipse duos: hic ad majora movetur,
> Ut citus et fracta prorumpat in agmina mandra.
> Clausaque dejecto populetur mœnia vallo.
> Interea sectis quamvis acerrima surgant

Prœlia militibus, plena tamen ipse phalange,
Aut etiam pauco spoliata milite vincis,
Et tibi captiva resonat manus utraque turba.

See also Ovid. *Art. Am.* iii. 35, and *Trist.* ii. 477:

Discolor ut recto grassetur limite miles,
Cum medius gemino calculus hoste perit.

Comp. *Art. Am.* ii. 207. Pol. ix. 7; Eustath. p. 1397.

We learn from the above-named authors that the game was like our chess, or perhaps more of a besieging game; for the *mandræ*, mentioned by Bassus, and of which Martial speaks (vii. 72), can only be stones which served as a kind of intrenchment. The *calculi* were probably of different values, *longo venit ille recessu, qui stetit in speculis;* and perhaps a piece of this kind may be compared to a bishop in chess. Such is the opinion of Isidor. *Orig.* xviii. 67, *calculi partim ordine moventur, partim vage. Ideo alios ordinarios, alios vagos appellant. At vero, qui moveri omnino non possunt, incitos dicunt.* But we have no proof that they were of different shape. The *mandræ* perhaps differed from the *latrones*, as the *calculi* were also called *latrunculi, milites, bellatores.* They were generally made of glass, *vitreo peraguntur milite bella*, and *vitreo latrone clausus.* Also, Mart. xiv. 20. They were also made of more costly materials.

The art of the player consisted either in taking his adversary's pieces, or rendering them unable to move. The first took place when he brought some of his adversary's pieces between two of his own, *medius gemino calculus hoste perit;* they also sacrificed a piece occasionally for the purpose of gaining some greater advantage. The second was called *ligare, alligare, obligare*, and such pieces were said to be *inciti, ciere* being the proper expression for 'to move.' Plaut. *Pœn.* iv. 286. *Ad incitas redactus* meant one who could make no other move. The fewer number of pieces lost the greater was the victory; and we see from Senec. *De Tranq.* 14, what importance was attached to this. *Ludebat* (*Canius*) *latrunculis, cum centurio agmen periturorum trahens et illum quoque citari jubet. Vocatus numeravit calculos et sodali suo, Vide, inquit, ne post mortem meam mentiaris te vicisse. Tum annuens centurioni; Testis, inquit, eris, uno me antecedere.*

The *ludus duodecim scriptorum* appears to have somewhat resembled our backgammon; see Salmas. and Boulenger, cap. 61; at least so far as the dice decide the move. Petron. 33. The board was marked with twelve lines on which the pieces moved. Ovid. *Art. Am.* iii. 363. Moving the pieces was called *dare.* Cic. in Non. ii. p. 170: *Itaque tibi concedo, quod in duodecim scriptis olim, ut*

calculum reducas, si te alicujus dati pœnitet. Ovid. *Art. Am.* ii. 203. Comp. *Trist.* ii. 475. Quinct. *Inst.* xi. 2. [Cic. *de Or.* ii. 50. Ter. *Ad.* iv. 7, 21.] This game does not appear to have borne any affinity to the πεττεία ἐπὶ πέντε γραμμῶν of the Greeks, which perhaps was more like that mentioned by Ovid, *Trist.* ii. 481.

The ἀρτιασμὸς, ἀρτιάζειν, ἄρτια ἢ περιττὰ παίζειν or εἰπεῖν, *ludere par impar*, seems not to have been uncommon at Rome. Poll. ix. 7, 101. Aristotle frequently mentions it, as *Rhet.* iii. 5, 4; *De Divin. per somn.*; compare Meurs. p. 948, and Schneid. on Xenoph. *de Off. mag.* 5, 10. Among Roman authors, it is mentioned by Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 248; *Nux. Eleg.* 79:

> Est etiam, par sit numerus, qui dicat, an impar,
> Ut divinatas auferat augur opes.

Suet. *Aug.* 71. The game consisted in one person guessing whether the pieces of money, or whatever it was that his adversary held in his hand, were odd or even; it is represented in works of art, as, for instance, where a boy is pressing the hand containing his gains to his breast. See Boettig. *Amalth.* i. 175. The *astragalizontes* of Polycletus may, however, have been real dice-players. *August.* t. 106. The game mentioned by Ovid (*Art. Am.* iii. 361, *pilæ reticulo fusæ*) has been already noticed.

Some speak of the Romans having adopted the Κότταβος, of which the Greeks were so passionately fond, and which is fully described by Athenæus, xv. See Jacob's *Att. Mus.* iii. 473. Notwithstanding the numerous modifications of this game, we can only assume two sorts of it. The first, when a person had to pour wine into a vessel without spilling any of it. The second was this: a balance was suspended, and under one of the scales a basin with water, and the enigmatical Manes, were placed in it: the wine was to be poured into the scale, so that it sank down into the basin, and touched the Manes. Still there is an entire absence of proof that this game got into vogue among the Romans. The passage in Plautus, *Trin.* iv. 3, 4, is unquestionably a joke borrowed from Philemon. See Becker's *Charicles*, Eng. trans. p. 265.

EXCURSUS. SCENE XII.

THE INTERMENT OF THE DEAD.

AMONG the most ceremonious observances of the Romans were the solemnities in honour of the dead. Instead of simply consigning the corpse to the earth, such pomp and ceremonial had gradually got into vogue, that, though full of deep import in its promptings, yet in outward appearance, at least, it looked mere vain show; nay more, nonsensical and ridiculous.

The custom has been already illustrated very satisfactorily by Alex. ab Alex. *Gen. dd.* iii. 7; [by Meursius, Guther, Laurentius, Quensted in *Græv. Thes.* and Gronov. *Thes.*;] more largely by Kirchmann, *De funeribus Romanorum;* also by Nieupoort, *Ant. Rom. de ritu funerum.* See also Baehr's chapter on the subject, in Kreuzer's *Abriss.*, which is more useful still.

The topic has been so often discussed, that the chief points only will be mentioned here.

The following passages from ancient authors are important. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 212, sqq. Tib. iii. 2. Prop. i. 17; ii. 3; iv. 7. Ovid. *Trist.* iii. 3. Petr. 71. Appul. *Flor.* iv. 19. Also particularly, Cic. *de Legg.* ii. 21. Polyb. vi. 53, 54; and Herodian, iv. 2.

The scrupulous conscientiousness observed in discharging the funeral rites was intimately connected with the religious notion concerning the future state; but it is very probable that this belief was originated and fostered by prudential motives, to counteract, in less civilized times, the evil effects which would have resulted from the neglect of sepulture. At a very early period the belief was rooted in people's minds, that the shades of the unburied wandered restlessly about, without gaining admittance into *Hades;* so that non-burial came to be considered the most deplorable calamity that could befall one, and the discharge of this last service a most holy duty. This obligation was not restricted to relatives merely, and near connections; it was performed towards strangers also; and if one happened to meet with an unburied corpse, he at any rate observed the form of throwing earth thrice upon it. Hor. *Od.* i. 28, 22.

> At tu, nauta, vagæ ne parce malignus arenæ
> Ossibus et capiti inhumato
> Particulam dare:

and then,

> licebit
> Injecto ter pulvere curras.

[Varro, *L. L.* v. 23;] Petr. 114. And this was considered sufficient, as we see from Propert. iii. 7, 25:

> Reddite corpus humo, positaque in gurgite vita,
> Pætum sponte tua vilis arena tegas.

Comp. Claud. *in Rufin.* i. 371.

The usage was rendered still more binding by a regulation that the heir, or family generally, a member of which had remained unburied, should yearly offer the propitiatory sacrifice of a *porca præcidanea*, and not till then was the *familia pura*. Varro in Non. ii. p. 163; and for the explanation of the word, Paul. p. 223. The annual repetition is expressly mentioned by Marius Victor, p. 2470, Putsch. Comp. Cic. *Leg.* ii. 22. And hence, in cases where the corpse was not obtainable, they held the *exequiæ* notwithstanding, and built an empty monument (*cenotaphium*), which was also done by the Greeks, as we know from Plato's *Menexenus*.

As a duty binding upon everybody, the burial with its usages was called by the Romans, *justa*, *justa facere*, or *ferre*, also *debita* (Hor. *Od.* ii. 6, 23), as among the Greeks *τὰ δίκαια*, *νόμιμα*, *νομιζόμενα*, and in Plato's *Menexenus*, *τά προσήκοντα*.

If not an universal, still it was not an uncommon habit, apparently, to give the dying a last kiss, in order to catch the parting breath. The passages from which this is inferred are Cic. *Verr.* v. 45, *Matres . . . ab extremo complexu liberum exclusæ: quæ nihil aliud orabant, nisi ut filiorum extremum spiritum ore excipere sibi liceret;* Virg. *Æn.* iv. 684, *extremus si quis super halitus errat, ore legam.*

The same person, perhaps, closed the eyes of the departed, *condere oculos* (Ovid. *Trist.* iii. 3, 44), or *premere*, Ovid. *Am.* iii. 9, 49. The assertion that the signet-ring was also immediately pulled off the finger, and put on it again at the funeral pile, seems totally groundless. The passage quoted in support of this notion (Plin. xxxi. 1, 6) alludes to the dishonesty of the slaves, who stole the rings from the finger. A second passage (Suet. *Tib.* 93) is also misunderstood. Spart. *Hadr.* 26, proves nothing; neither can we deduce from Propert. iv. 7, 9,

> Et solitam digito beryllon adederat ignis,

anything more than that the ring was burnt with the corpse, not that it was then first replaced on the finger.

After this, those present called on the deceased by name, or set up a loud clamour and bewailing, for the purpose of recalling the person to life, if he should be only in a trance, *conclamabatur*. The chief passages thereon are Quinct. *Decl.* viii. 10; and Amm. Marc. xxx. 10: *Post conclamata imperatoris suprema corpusque curatum*

ad sepulturam. From which we learn that this took place previous to the *curatura;* and hence also Ovid. *Trist.* iii. 3, 43:

> Nec mandata dabo, nec cum clamore supremo
> Labentes oculos condet amica manus.

They then said *conclamatum est*, a formula also applied to other occurrences in life, when no more hope remained. See Terent. *Eun.* iii. 56. The corpse was thereupon taken down from the bed, *deponebatur.* See Ovid, supra, v. 40:

> Depositum nec me qui fleat ullus erit,

and washed with hot water, perhaps to try to restore it to life. The funeral was next ordered of the *libitinarius.* These people, who were named from *Venus Libitina*, in whose temple their warehouses were situated, undertook to provide everything requisite for the interment. Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 23, *Διὰ τί τὰ πρὸς τὰς ταφὰς πιπράσκουσιν ἐν τῷ Λιβιτίνης, νομίζοντες Ἀφροδίτην εἶναι τὴν Λιβιτίνην.* The law required that they should have due notice of a death, and receive a certain impost, just as when births were reported in the temple of *Juno Lucina.* Dion. Halic. iv. 15. Suet. *Ner.* 39. Hence in Liv. xl. 19, *Pestilentia . . . . . in urbe tanta erat, ut Libitina tunc vix sufficeret.* The *libitinarii* furnished the *pollinctores, vespillones, præficæ*, and so forth—indeed, all that was necessary for either the humblest or grandest interment, at a certain rate of payment.

The *pollinctor*, a slave of the *libitinarius*, next cared for the corpse. Ulp. *Dig.* xiv. iii. 5; Plaut. *Asin.* v. 2, 60. *Ecquis currit, pollinctorem arcessere? Mortuu' st Demænetus*, and *Pœn. Prol.* 63. Their business was chiefly to anoint the dead, and to remove anything that might be calculated to create unpleasant impressions. Fulgentius, *de Serm. ant.* 3: *Dicti autem pollinctores quasi pollutorum unctores.* Servius, on the contrary (Virg. *Æn.* ix. 483), derives the word *a polline, quo mortuis os oblinebant, ne livor appareret exstincti.* This being done, the corpse was clad in the garment suitable to his rank, but a free person always in the *toga*, even out of Rome, in the provincial towns, where it was not generally worn in life. Juv. iii. 171:

> Pars magna Italiæ est, si verum admittimus, in qua
> Nemo togam sumit, nisi mortuus.

But of course its description was regulated by the position and property of the deceased. Magisterial persons, who wore the *toga prætexta*, were always buried in it. Liv. xxxiv. 7. It is very uncertain whether *viri triumphales* were dressed in the *tunica palmata*, or *toga picta.* The passage from Suet. *Ner.* 50: *funeratus est stragulis albis auro intextis, quibus usus fuerat Kalendis Januariis*, refers just as little to the dress, as do the *purpureæ vestes velamina nota*, in Virg. *Æn.* vi. 221. It is the *torus Attalicus* of Prop. ii. 13, 22. Still

the waxen image lying on the coffin of Augustus, and representing his corpse, is thus attired. Dio. Cass. lvi. 34: *εἰκὼν δὲ δή τις αὐτοῦ κηρίνη ἐν ἐπινικίῳ στολῇ ἐξεφαῖνετο.*

The custom, so prevalent in Greece, of putting a chaplet on the corpse, was not followed at Rome, at least not generally. The case was somewhat different, when the deceased had, while alive, gained a crown as the reward of merit. To this refer the words Cic. *de Legg.* ii. 24, *coronam virtute partam . . . . lex impositam jubet.* The same applies to Plin. xxi. 3, and Cic. *p. Flacco*, 31. Nevertheless, the *lectus* and *rogus* were adorned with leaves and flowers, as is seen from Dion. xi. 39; and Pliny mentions that flowers were strewed before the bier of Scipio Serapio, a thing which often happened. The business of the *pollinctor* being finished, the corpse was laid on a kind of bed-of-state, *lectus funebris*, [unquestionably in the *atrium.*] Kirchmann (i. 12) says the *vestibulum*, but he appears to misunderstand that term. Sueton., it is true, writes (c. 100), *equester ordo—intulit atque in vestibulo domus collocavit;* but the phrases *ex ædibus efferri, efferri foras*, show that the corpse did not lie before the *janua;* besides, in that case, what need would there have been of the cypress outside, to show that it was a *domus funesta?* On the situation of the corpse, see Plin. vii. 8: *Ritu naturæ capite hominem gigni mos est pedibus efferri.* The usual opinion is, that a piece of coin was put in his hand, as a *ναῦλον*, on the shore of the Styx. But it may be doubted whether this was a regular Roman custom. The few passages where it is mentioned, as Juv. iii. 267:

> Jam sedet in ripa tetrumque novicius horret
> Porthmea, nec sperat cœnosi gurgitis alnum
> Infelix, nec habet, quem porrigat ore trientem;

and Prop. iv. 11, 7:

> Vota movent superos; ubi portitor æra recepit,
> Obserat herbosos lurida porta rogos;

give no sufficient proof; for both the poets might very easily accommodate themselves to the foreign way of describing the thing, so often used by other poets. Virgil, in his description of the scene at the Stygian lake, mentions the *inops inhumataque turba* (*Æn.* vi. 325), yet not a word about the passage-money, though he had such ample opportunity for so doing. Lastly, the coins discovered in urns at Pompeii are not a cogent proof of it. [Seyffert, *de Numis in ore defunct. repertis.*]

By the side of the *lectus* a censer was placed, *acerra* (*turibulum*), Fest. *Exc.* p. 16; and near the house a pine or cypress was planted; partly as a symbol of the gloomy power who had irrevocably demanded his victim; partly as a warning sign to those who were

forbidden by religious grounds to enter such a house. Plin. xvi. 10, 18, ibid. 33, (*cupressus*): *Diti sacra et ideo funebri signo ad domos posita.* Paul. p. 63. Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* iii. 64: *Romani moris erat, ut potissimum cupressus, quæ excisa renasci non solet, in vestibulo mortui poneretur, ne quis imprudens rem divinam facturus introeat et quasi attaminatus suscepta peragere non possit.* [iv. 507, vi. 216.] This warning was particularly for the priests, as Servius goes on to say: *ne quisquam pontifex per ignorantiam pollueretur ingressus.* Scaliger concludes from Lucan (iii. 442), *et non plebeios lectos testata cupressus*, that the cypress, in earlier times a rare tree, was used only by the rich, or at grand funerals. The *picea* was, doubtless, substituted for it in other cases.

According to Servius (*ad Æn.* v. 64), the corpse remained lying in state for seven days, and was then brought to the place of interment, *efferebatur*. The accuracy of this statement has been already impugned by Kirchmann, at least, as regards the custom being a universal one. Indeed it is evident that, among the lower orders, such ceremoniousness could not have prevailed, and that they buried their dead with more simplicity and less delay, not being able to procure the preservative *unguenta*.

A herald, *præco*, used to invite the people to be present at the celebration of any grand burial, where, for instance, public games formed part of the spectacle. This was a *funus indictivum*. Fest. *Exc.* p. 79; Cic. *de Legg.* ii. 24. The formula used by the *præco* ran in full: *Ollus Quiris leto datus est, exsequias* (*L. Titio, L. filio*) *ire cui commodum est, jam tempus est; ollus ex ædibus effertur.* Varr. *L. L.* v. p. 160; comp. Fest. p. 217; Terent. *Phorm.* v. 9, 37; and Ovid. *Amor.* iii. 6, 1:

> Psittacus Eois imitatrix ales ab Indis
> Occidit: exsequias ite frequenter aves.

The *funus publicum* may be considered of like import with the *funus indictivum*, especially with reference to Tacit. iii. 4; but the distinction drawn by Festus: *Simpludiarea funera sunt, quibus adhibentur ludi corbitoresque; indictiva sunt, quibus adhibentur non ludi modo, sed etiam desultores*, is uncertain.

There are no fully decisive testimonies as to the time of day when the burial took place. We must suppose it to have varied at different periods, and according to circumstances. Servius (*ad Æn.* xi. 143) says, that in more ancient times the funeral was at night, and he derives the word *funus* from *funalia* or *faces*, as *vespillones* from *vespera*. At a later period, however, this was only the case with the poor, who could not afford the expense of a solemn interment. Festus under *Vespæ*, p. 158. But his remark does not

prove so much as the epigram on the fat Gallus, who had fallen down in the street at night, and could not be raised to his feet again by the single slave that accompanied him. Mart. viii. 75:

> Quatuor inscripti portabant vile cadaver,
> Accipit infelix qualia mille rogus.
> Hos comes invalidus submissa voce precatur,
> Ut quocunque velint, corpus inane ferant.
> Permutatur onus, stipataque tollitur alte
> Grandis in angusta sarcina sandapila.

See Dionys. iv. 20.

But in the case of a solemn *pompa*, and of course an *indictivum*, the ceremony took place by day: not before dawn, as some suppose, though therein they are contradicted by express testimonies (Cic. *de Legg.* ii. 26, 66, proves that the Roman and Attic customs were quite opposed to each other. Plutarch's words on the funeral of Sylla prove nothing); but just at that time of the day when there was most stir in the streets, as Horace, in his picture of the bustle and excitement of the city, says,

> Tristia robustis luctantur funera plaustris.

This occurred in the forenoon, as is confirmed by the inscription cited by Kirchmann, p. 83: *Mortuus est* iii. *K. Julias, hora* x. *elatus est hora* iii. *frequentia maxima.*

The *funera indictiva* were not all celebrated with equal magnificence. The most splendid kind was the *funus censorium*, not the interment of a censor, but graced with the distinctions proper to this person. Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 15, of Lucilius Longus, who had never been a censor, and (xiii. 2), *Claudio censorium funus* (decretum est). Jul. Cap. *Pertin.* 15. The author does not remember any account of wherein consisted this distinction. The words of Polyb. vi. 53, only refer to *imagines.* Age too made a difference. In the case of children, and of boys, till they assumed the *toga virilis*, fewer ceremonies took place. Such funerals were called *acerba funera*, i. e. *immatura.* Tib. 2, 6, 29; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8, 59. Nero in Tacit. *Ann.* xiii. 17, respecting the burial of Germanicus. They were buried *ad faces et cereos*, and therefore, probably, in the evening. Senec. *de Tranquil.* 11; *Epist.* 122. No decisive proof has been discovered by the author of torches, which belonged to the ancient practice of night-interment, having been kept up in the case of adult funerals. Passages like Propert. iv. 11, 46: *Viximus insignes inter utramque facem*, refer to the torches with which the funeral pile was kindled. He had said before (v. 10):

> Sic mœstæ cecinere tubæ, cum subdita nostrum
> Detraheret lecto fax inimica caput.

And thus are to be understood all similar passages, where the *fax nuptialis* is opposed to the *feralis*. We may here remark, that very young children were never burnt, but always inhumed. Juven. xv. 139 ff.:

> Naturæ imperio gemimus, cum funus adultæ
> Virginis occurrit, vel terra clauditur infans
> Et minor igne rogi.

Plin. vii. 16, 15. At a grand interment the procession was arranged by a *designator*, who was supported by a *lictor* and an *accensus*, or several lictors, for the purpose of maintaining order. Cic. *de Legg.* ii. 24; Hor. *Epist.* i. 7, 5:

> dum ficus prima calorque
> Designatorem decorat lictoribus atris.

Donat. *ad Ter. Ad.* i. 2, 7.

In front went the *tibicines*, the number of whom was limited by the twelve tables to ten; or also more powerful music, *cornua* and *tubæ*. Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 43, and Heindorf's remark. Something, perhaps, of the construction of these *tubæ* may be gained from Ovid. *Amor.* ii. 6, 6:

> Horrida pro mœstis lanietur pluma capillis,
> Pro longa resonent carmina vestra tubæ;

unless it be only a general epithet.

Then followed the *præficæ*, female mourners, also furnished by the *libitinarius*. Hor. *Art.* 431:

> Uti qui conducti mœrent in funere, dicunt
> Et faciunt prope plura dolentibus ex animo: sic
> Derisor vero plus laudatore movetur.

It seems of no consequence whether we read *quæ conductæ* in this passage or not, as the gender can be taken generally. See Paul. p. 223. [Varro, *L. L.* vii. 70.] They sang the *nænia*, properly a wailing panegyric on the deceased. Plaut. *Truc.* ii. 6, 14:

> Sine virtute argutum civem mihi habeam pro præfica
> Quæ alios collaudat, eapse se vero non potest.

Just so Non. ii. p. 145: *Nœnia ineptum et inconditum carmen, quod adducta pretio mulier, quæ præfica diceretur, mortuis exhiberet.* These *nœniæ* were also named *mortualia*, and were accounted *nugæ*. Plaut. *Asin.* iv. 1, 63: *Hæ sunt non nugæ, non enim mortualia.* The further signification of the word, by which it frequently comes to denote the end, does not belong here.

Still stranger was the custom for *mimi* to join in the procession, perhaps next to the *præficæ*, who not only indulged in sober reflections, and applied passages from the tragedians to the present case

but actually formed, sometimes, an odd contrast to the rest of the pageantry of woe, by acting the part of regular merry-andrews, whilst one of the number, probably always the *archimimus*, imitated the person of the defunct. The chief passages illustrative of this custom are in Dion. Hal. viii. 72; and Suet. *Vesp.* 19: *In funere Favo archimimus personam ejus ferens imitansque, ut est mos, facta et dicta vivi interrogatis palam procuratoribus, quanti funus et pompa constaret, ut audiit H. S. centies, exclamavit: centum sibi sestertia darent, ac se vel in Tiberim projicerent.* The *artifices scenici* at the funeral procession of Julius Cæsar were of a soberer character, everything here being calculated for tragic effect and excitement. Another passage, which is quoted in support of the custom (Suet. *Tib.* 57), has nothing to do with it; for the *scurra* evidently does not belong to the *pompa*, but is among the crowd of bystanders.

These dancers and mimes were most likely followed by the *imagines majorum*. After many extraordinary notions having been started on this subject, Eichstädt's *Dissertt. de Imagg. Rom.* has at length established beyond a doubt, that men resembling in size and figure the persons to be represented, placed these waxen masks before their faces, and marched along in front of the *lectus*, clad in the dress appropriate to each, with all the insignia appertaining; whence also Hor. *Epod.* viii. 2, *Esto beata, funus atque imagines ducant triumphales tuum.* Polybius, too, speaks of it in terms impossible to be mistaken. vi. 53. Thus the whole row of ancestors swept along, represented by living individuals in proper costume, in front of the corpse; and this was not confined to those in direct ascent, but the collateral branches also sent their *imagines* to the cavalcade; as is seen from Polybius. This is what Pliny, xxxv. 2, calls *gentilitia funera*. The spectacle was carried to greater length at the burial of Augustus. Dio. Cass. lvi. 34. Whether the *imagines*, as Polybius relates, were always driven in carriages may be doubted. Propert. says, ii. 13, 19:

Nec mea tunc longa spatietur imagine pompa:

which word *spatiari* the author never met with used of a person riding in a carriage.

If the deceased had earned warlike renown, gained victories, conquered lands and towns, then doubtless, as in the case of a triumph, *tabulæ* were carried before him inscribed with his deeds. So Dion. Hal. (viii. 59) relates of Coriolanus, *πρὸ τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ φέρεσθαι κελεύσαντες λάφυρά τε καὶ σκῦλα, καὶ στεφάνους, καὶ μνήμας ὧν εἷλε πόλεων.* Tacit. *Ann.* i. 8, of Augustus, *ut . . . tituli, victarum ab eo gentium vocabula anteferrentur . . . censuere.* These were most likely

carried in advance of the *imagines*, and the latter did not come after, but preceded the corpse, as indeed was most natural, for they had preceded the deceased in death, and he completed their train. It is, moreover, expressly stated in Tacit. iii. 76, *Viginti clarissimarum familiarum imagines antelatæ sunt.* Propert. (ii. 13, 23) also mentions pans of incense. Immediately after these came the *funus* itself, lying a little raised upon a *lectica* or *lectus funebris*, in the case of persons of distinction made of ivory, or at least with ivory feet. Over it purple or gold-embroidered coverlets were expanded, *Attalicæ vestes*, on which lay the corpse. Dio. Cass. lvi. 34, of Augustus.

According to Servius (*ad Virg. Æn.* vi. 222), the *lectus* was borne by the nearest relations, or by the slaves who had been made free by the will. Pers. iii. 106, *At illum hesterni capite induto subiere Quirites;* and in the case of men of particular merit and renown, even by knights, senators, and magistrates. Now the latter certainly did take place in some individual cases (see Kirchm. ii. 8), but it is doubtful whether the former was an universal custom. Velleius, it is true, relates it of *Metellus* (Macedonicus), i. 11, 7, *Mortui ejus lectum pro rostris sustulerunt quatuor filii*, etc.; and the same account is given by Pliny, Cicero, and Valerius Maximus, but they always adduce it as something particular. Plut. (*Quæst. Rom.* 14) says, τοὺς γονεῖς ἐκκομίζουσιν οἱ μὲν υἱοὶ συγκεκαλυμμέναις, αἱ δὲ θυγατέρες γυμναῖς ταῖς κεφαλαῖς, but ἐκκομίζειν, like *efferre*, is used of the interment generally.

The lower classes, at least, made use of regular bearers, hired by the *libitinarius*, *vesperones* or *vespillones*. Of course, at such a *funus plebeium* or *tacitum*, the pomp we have been describing was entirely omitted. Those who were poorer still, and slaves, were carried by the *vespillones*, to the place of interment, in a covered bier or coffin, *sandapila*. Fulgent. *de Serm. Ant.* 1. It is often mentioned by Martial, who also calls it (x. 5) *orciniana sponda.* This is also meant by Hor. *Sat.* i. 8, 9, *cadavera vili portanda locabat in arca.* [Poor persons often belonged to burial-clubs (*collegia tenuiorum*), which on the death of any *sodalis* advanced a certain sum towards the expenses of his funeral, *funeraticium.* (Orell. 4107.) Such were the *Collegium Æsculapii et Hygiæ.* Orell. 2417, the *Coll. Jovis Cerneni;* and the *Coll. cult. Dianæ et Antinoi;* the statutes of which were discovered on a stone-tablet at Lanuvium, in 1816. Mommsen, *de Colleg. et Sodal. Rom.*]

As the images of his ancestry came before the *lectus*, so, after it, followed the heirs and relations of the deceased, also the freedmen, viz. those who had just been *manumissi* by the will, with their

hats on, to mark their acquired freedom, *pileati*, unless, as some suppose, the latter preceded the *lectus*. See Kirchm. ii. 7. Besides these, friends also and persons from the crowd attached themselves to the procession. Terent. *Andr.* i. 1, 88. But many only accompanied the procession as far as the city-gate, where they left it. The shade of Cynthia charges Propertius with this, iv. 7, 29:

> Si piguit portas ultra procedere; at illud
> Jussisses, lectum lentius ire meum.

Not only the family were dressed in mourning, but also the whole convoy, and even the *lictors*. Death itself being supposed to be muffled in black, μελάμπεπλος (Eurip. *Alcest.* 860), black was the colour of mourning from the earliest times. Iliad. xxiv. 94. So also of the Greeks generally. Eurip. *Phœn.* 295, ἄπεπλος φαρέων λευκῶν, and 339. [Becker's *Charicles*, English translation, p. 295], and the custom was general among the Romans. Hence, Tacit. *Ann.* iii. 2, *atrata plebes*, and Juv. iii. 213, *pullati proceres*. x. 245. It is mentioned most definitely with respect to the women. See Varro, *de Vit. p. R.* [Dionys. viii. 62.] Tibull. i. 3, 6, *mœsti sinus*, and iii. 2, 16:

> Ossa incincta nigra candida veste legant.

It was not till under the Emperors that white garments were substituted for black ones, with the women. Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 26; Stat. *Silv.* iii. 3, 3:

> Huc vittata comam, niveoque insignis amictu,
> Mitibus exsequiis ades (Pietas).

The reason may have been, as Kirchmann remarks, that white robes were, in common life, replaced more and more by coloured ones, so that to dress in white at that time was quite as much an abstinence from the usual garb, as formerly it was to appear in black or sombre habiliments. [Other exterior signs of mourning were, tearing the garments, especially among the women; it is also mentioned of the men. Suet. *Cæs.* 33; *Ner.* 42, *veste discissa;* comp. Stat. *Theb.* iii. 125, ix. 354; also laying aside their ornaments. Liv. xxxiv. 7, *Quid aliud in luctu, quam purpuram atque aurum deponunt? quid, quum eluxerunt, sumunt* (*mulieres*)? Dionys. v. 48, viii. 62. Men let the hair of their head and beard grow; Suet. *Oct.* 23, *barba capilloque summisso;* Cæs. 67; Liv. xxvii. 34 (but particularly in *luctus publicus*), and abstained from dinner-parties, the baths, and the theatre. Tac. *Ann.* iii. 3: *Tiberius atque Augusta publico abstinuere.* Cic. *ad Att.* xii. 13.]

The procession went first to the forum, in front of the rostra, where the *lectus* was set down. Dion. Hal. iv. 40. [xi. 39.] Hence

also in Hor. *Sat.* i. 6, 43, *concurrantque foro tria funera.* Here the bearers of the *imagines* took their seats *cellis curulibus.* Polyb. vi. 53, 9. Usually one of the relations mounted the tribune, and pronounced the *laudatio funebris*, λόγος ἐπιτάφιος, over the dead. The first person of whom this is related is Poplicola, who pronounced the *laudatio* on Brutus. Plut. 9. The custom, a genuine Roman one, was however perhaps of older date. Dion. Hal. v. 17. [ix. 54.] After the panegyric on the deceased was ended, the speaker went, in a similar manner, over all the forefathers, whose imagines were present, and recounted their individual merits. See Polyb. above. The author dwells on the political importance of these public recognitions of the merits, not of one individual only, but of a whole family. Still it is easy to conceive, that these laudationes did not always contain the truth, and that the speaker would pass over the dark side of his friend's character, whilst he described the brighter one in too glowing colours. Hence Cic. *Brut.* 16, *His laudationibus historia rerum nostrarum est facta mendosior;* and Liv. viii. 40, *Vitiatam memoriam funebribus laudibus reor.*

The same honour might be paid to women also, but only as a particular distinction. It took place first after the Gallic war. Liv. v. 50: *Matronis gratiæ actæ, honosque additus, ut earum, sicut virorum, post mortem solemnis laudatio esset.* Plutarch, *Camill.* 8. Latterly it must have ceased entirely, or occurred very rarely. Cic. *de Orat.* ii. 11. The knowledge even of the previous instances had been lost.

After this solemnity, the *lectus* was again raised, the train got in motion in the same order as before, and directed its course to the place of interment.

The custom of burying is said to have been older than that of burning (Cic. *de Legg.* ii. 22), and there were certain families which adhered to it down to a late period; e. g. the patrician *gens Cornelia.* Sylla is said to have been the first of it, who caused himself to be consumed by fire. Plin. vii. 54: *veritus talionem, eruto C. Marii cadavere.* But in reality, inhumation always took place, even in the case of burning the body, for then, instead of the grave, the funeral-vault was substituted, in which was placed the cinerary.

Both methods are distinguished in the Twelve Tables (Cic. 23): *Hominem mortuum in Urbe ne sepelito, neve urito.* The two kinds of burial are placed in juxtaposition, and the *crematio* is expressly opposed to the *sepultura*, if Cicero's explanation be correct. Pliny, on the contrary, in the passage cited above, understands the matter differently, and perhaps more correctly, which is important, as he

probably had Cicero's passage before his eyes. He says: *sepultus vero intelligatur quoquo modo conditus, humatus vero humo contectus.* The meaning of the law would therefore be, that no sort of burial might take place in the city, any more than burning might; for this latter could happen, and still the corpse be consigned to a *sepulchrum* outside the city. At an earlier period, it seems that the deceased was frequently buried in his own house. [Comp. Virg. *Æn.* iv. 494: *Tu secreta pyram tecto interiore sub auras Erige.* 504. Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* vi. 152, xi. 205.] Isid. *Orig.* xv. 11: *prius quisque in domo sua sepeliebatur, postea vetitum est legibus:* a statement which must not be taken very generally; as they were most frequently buried *in agro.* Liv. vi. 36.

Still, there were individual exceptions to this prohibition: e. g. when a *triumphator* died. Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 79. [Dio. Cass. xliv. 7.] So also many families retained the right of burial in the city, on the strength of being descended from illustrious men. Cic. above. The vestal virgins also were an exception, and, afterwards, the Emperors. Indeed, the law seems to have often been transgressed, and hence the interdict required renewal.

A *sepultura*, therefore, always took place, even when the body had been burnt, and hence the word is used, in a general sense, for *crematio* also. See Drakenb. Liv. viii. 24. Thus also the Greeks distinguish between, and connect, καίειν and θάπτειν. Dion. Hal. v. 48, concerning Poplicola; Fest. *Exc.* 26; [Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* xi. 201, iii. 22;] Stallb. *ad Terent. Andr.* i. 1, 101; Böttig. *Vasengem*, i. 42.

At no time were there universal burial-places for all classes. Whoever could afford it, selected or acquired a spot outside the city, in the most frequented situation, as on high-ways, and here a family-sepulchre was erected. The very lowest class only, viz. slaves and condemned criminals, had a common burial-ground on the *Esquilinus*, up to the time of Augustus. Hor. *Sat.* i. 8, 10:

> Hoc miseræ plebi stabat commune sepulcrum,
> Pantolabo scurræ, Nomentanoque nepoti.
> Mille pedes in fronte, trecentos cippus in agrum
> Hic dabat: heredes monumentum ne sequeretur.

See the verses following, and Heindorf's note. [But on the Esquilinus families of note were also buried. Cic. *Phil.* ix. 7. Near it lay the larger piece of ground for the corpses of the poor and of the slaves, and this only was called] *Puticulæ* (*Puticoli, Putiluculi*). The chief passage is in Varro, *L. L.* v. 5; Fest. *Exc.* p. 118. What Festus really wrote can, in consequence of the mutilated state of the fragment, only be guessed at. There the corpses were either

burnt, without any further interment, or inhumed, or thrown down unburied. Of course it was not an universal burial-place for slaves, but only for the *vilia mancipia.* [In the *municipia* there were similar spots *inopum funeribus destinatos.*]

As burning the corpse came very early into use, the further ceremonies at the *humatio* are little known. The corpses were either consigned to the earth in coffins, or placed in tombs built for the purpose. The more general names for the coffin are *arca,* [Orell. 4396; *solium,* Suet. *Ner.* 50; Plin. xxxv. 12, 46;] and in Fulgent. *loculus;* the particular one, *capulus.* That this word does not mean a bier, *feretrum,* has been sufficiently proved by Oudendorp ad Appul. *Met.* viii. p. 544, *capulos carie et vetustate semitectos;* and x. p. 690, *cooperculo capuli remoto.* These coffins were mostly of wood, but also at times of more costly materials; still the *sarcophagi,* as they are called,—so named from the remarkable properties of the *lapis sarcophagus* (Plin. ii. 96, xxxvi. 17), though also constructed of marble and other stone,—must be considered only as the outer receptacle of the coffin. [Orell. 194, 4478: *corpus integrum conditum sarcophago.* The coffins of the Scipios were of stone (*peperino*).]

Latterly, burning the corpse gradually fell into disuse, and hence the frequent mention of the coffins, even as early as in Appuleius. See Macrobius, *Sat.* vii. 7.

The pile on which the corpse was laid varied in height, and in decoration also, according to the pecuniary circumstances and condition of the defunct. The distinction which Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* ix. 188, makes between *pyra* and *rogus,—pyra est lignorum congeries, rogus cum jam ardere cœperit,* is decidedly false, as is learnt from the ordinance of the Twelve Tables. Cic. *de Legg.* ii. 23: *rogum ascia ne polito.* It is pure chance that Virgil first has *constituere pyras,* and then *circum accensos decurrere rogos:* the poet merely interchanges the words.

On the other hand, when burnt down, the pile was called *bustum,* and the place of burning *ustrina.* The body was not always burnt where the monument stood, but sometimes it was. Orell. 4383. [Dionys. viii. 59, ἔθαψαν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χωρίῳ.] Around the pile cypress-trees were planted. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 216:

> Ingentem struxere pyram: cui frondibus atris
> Intexunt latera, et ferales ante cupressos
> Constituunt, decorantque super fulgentibus armis:

and thereon Servius. The corpse being placed on it, *odores,* i. e. *tus, unguenta, liquores,* were scattered, and garlands and locks of

hair thrown upon it. Stat. *Silv.* ii. 1, 162, and more in detail, v. 1, 210, ff.

> Quis carmine digno
> Exsequias et dona malæ feralia pompæ
> Perlegat? omne illic stipatum examine longo
> Ver Arabum Cilicumque fluit floresque Sabæi,
> Indorumque arsura seges, præceptaque templis
> Tura, Palæstini simul Hebræique liquores,
> Coryciæque comæ, Cinyreaque germina.

[Also comestibles, Catull. lix. *Vidistis ipso rapere de rogo cœnam.* Compare Ter. *Eun.* iii. 2, 28.] This was done, however, not only by the family, but also by others, who had joined in the procession. See Kirchm. iii. 5. Previously to this, the dead person received another last kiss, if such passages as the following can be accounted a proof of it. Prop. ii. 13, 29:

> Osculaque in gelidis ponas suprema labellis
> Cum dabitur Syrio munere plenus onyx.

And Ovid. *Amor.* iii. 9, 53.

After this, a loud lament was again set up, led by the *præfica* (see Serv. above); Terent. *Andr.* i. 1, 102, *In ignem imposita est, fletur*, where we can hardly suppose that a Greek custom only is alluded to. While these lamentations were going on, the nearest relations, or one of them, averting his face, lighted the pile. It probably consisted not merely of large logs, but also of combustible materials, as pitch, and perhaps dried rushes. This seems meant by Martial (x. 97):

> Dum levis arsura struitur Libitina papyro,
> Dum myrrham, et casiam flebilis uxor emit:

unless, perhaps, a *tomentum* is to be understood. Pitch, however, is expressly named in an inscription adduced by Kirchmann.

Concerning the gladiatorial exhibitions that sometimes took place during the burning, see Creuz. *Abr.* p. 263, ff., where the following usages are also amply explained, and will not therefore be enlarged upon.

After the pile was burnt to the ground, the glowing ashes were quenched. Virg. *Æn.* vi. 226,

> Postquam collapsi cineres et flamma quievit;
> Reliquias vino, et bibulam lavere favillam,

is cited to show that this was done with wine, and Stat. *Silv.* ii. 6, 90, *quod tibi Setia canos restinxit cineres.* Both passages, however, might be referred to the besprinkling after the *ossilegium.* Tibull. iii. 2, 19. The words of Pliny (xiv. 12) contain a more forcible proof: *Vino rogum ne respergito.* It *had*, therefore, occurred, and

that during Pliny's time. Add to this Prop. iv. 7, 34: *fracto busta piare cado.* Perhaps Tibullus, too, means nothing else; and it was only in cases of great extravagance that not merely the collected bones, but also the whole *rogus*, was besprinkled with wine.

The other succeeding rites are nowhere better recounted than in the very passage of Tibullus cited above.

> Præfatæ ante meos manes animamque precatæ,
> Perfusæque pias ante liquore manus,
> Pars quæ sola mei restabit corporis, ossa
> Incinctæ nigra candida veste legant;
> Et primum annoso spargant collecta Lyæo
> Mox etiam niveo fundere lacte parent.
> Post hæc carbaseis humorem tollere velis
> Atque in marmorea ponere sicca domo.
> Illuc, quas mittit dives Panchaia merces
> Eoique Arabes, pinguis et Assyria,
> Et nostri memores lacrymæ fundantur eodem;
> Sic ego componi versus in ossa velim.

The poet describes how he wished to be buried, after having been changed into ashes, by Neæra and her brother (v. 15, ff.). He also dictates the inscription for his monument.

The exact order of things, as given by him, then, is this: First, the Manes of the defunct were to be invoked: then, they washed their hands, and gathered the bones into the lap of the mourning-robe. These were next sprinkled with wine, and, again, with milk, and then dried on a linen cloth. All sorts of perfumes were then mingled with the ashes. Ovid. *Trist.* iii. 3, 69:

> Atque ea cum foliis et amomi pulvere misce,

where by *foliis*, perhaps *nardum* is meant. Huschke *ad Tibull.* i. 3, 7, has denied that perfumed liquids, *unguenta*, *liquores*, were poured upon them. But there is no mistaking Ovid. *Fast.* iii. 561

> Mista bibunt molles lacrymis unguenta favillæ.

[and Pers. vi. 34, *urnæ ossa inodora dabit.*]

Bottles, filled with perfumes, were placed inside the tomb, which was besprinkled *odoribus*. These are the tear-flasks, or lacrymatories, so often mentioned formerly, [Orell. 4832, *teretes onyches fuci gracilesque alabastri.*] (See Böttig. *Vaseng.* i. p. 66.) The expression for this consigning to the tomb were *condere* and *componere.* Tibull. suprà; Prop. ii. 2, 35, *Tu mea compones ossa. Condere*, however, is said properly of collecting into the *urna*, and *componere* of consigning to the monument. Ovid. *Trist.* iii. 3, 70:

> Inque suburbano condita pone solo.

Hence the buried were called *conditi*, *compositi*, *siti*. Cic. *de*

Legg. ii. 22. [Sometimes one urn or coffin contained the remains of two persons, to indicate their affection, as in the case of husband and wife, or children. *Consol. ad Liv.* 162:

> Quod licet hoc certe tumulo ponemur in uno.
> Miscebor cinerique cinis atque ossibus ossa.

Orell. 2863, 4370, 4624.] The burial being now completed, the last farewell was bid to the deceased, in the well-known formulæ: *ave anima candida; terra tibi levis sit; molliter cubent ossa*, and so forth; and after those assembled had been purified by sprinkling with consecrated water (*lustratio*), and the *Ilicet* had been pronounced, they separated. Who performed these two rites is doubtful. See Servius *ad Virg. Æn.* vi. 216.

For some questions of minor importance, as cutting off the finger of the corpse before burning, and the words of the Twelve Tables, *Homini mortuo ne ossa legito*, see Kirchm. iii. 7.

[On the ninth day after the burial came the *novemdialia* or *feriæ novemdiales*, a sacrifice and funeral repast. Schol. *ad Hor. Epod.* 17, 48; Serv. *ad Virg. Æn.* v. 64; Paul. and Fest. v. *vinum respersum*, p. 262. It consisted of simple dishes (*pultes, panem, merum*), August. *Confess.* vi. 2; *ovum*, Juv. v. 84; salt and so forth, Ov. *Fast.* ii. 628: although he speaks of the *Parentalia;* and was placed upon the grave. Jul. Obs. 112, *cœna Deæ posita a cane adesa antequam delibaretur*. Plut. *Crass.* 36; Dio. Cass. lxvii. 9. It was called *cœna feralis*, Juv. v. 84:

> Ponitur exigua feralis cœna patella.

App. Florid. 4; Plin. x. 10, 28, *ex funerum ferculis*. See Tertull. *de Test. an.* 4; *de Resurr.* 1; August. *de Civ. Dei*, viii. 27; Lips. *ad Tac. Ann.* vi. 5. The proper Roman name for this meal was not *silicernium*, as is usually supposed; for notwithstanding Donat. *ad Ter. Ad.* iv. 2, 48, *cœnaque infertur diis manibus*, yet Varro's authority is decidedly against it. Non. i. 235: *Silicernium est proprium convivium funebre quod senibus exhibetur. Varro Meleagr. funus exsequiati laute ad sepulcrum antiquo more silicernium confecimus*, i. e. περίδειπνον *quo pransi discedentes dicimus alius alii vale.* It appears then from Varro that *silicernium* was the old-fashioned meal, taken near the grave (hence Servius *ad Virg. Æn.* v. 92, derives it from *silicœnium, i. e.* a meal near the grave-stone), for which purpose triclinia and halls were sometimes built in the vicinity of the monument, as in that of Nævoleia Tyche at Pompeii. It differed from the *cœna funeris*, Pers. v. 33, which took place in the house of the deceased. In rich families a great number of guests were invited; sometimes the whole people (Cic. *p. Mur.*

36), or they received a *visceratio*, or distribution of meat. Liv. viii. 22, xxxix. 46; Suet. *Cæs.*; Sen. *Ep.* 73. Later, money was given instead, though the name *visceratio* remained. Orell. 134, 3858. Games and shows of gladiators often attended this feast. Liv. xli. 28; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2, 85; Dionys. v. 17; Dio. Cass. xxxviii. 8, xxxix. 7, xliii. 22.

Long after the funeral they testified pious affection for the deceased in various ways. The *Feralia* held in February was a general festival in memory of the dead; also called *Parentalia*, in reference to the relations of the deceased. Varro, *L. L.* ii. 13: *Feralia ab inferis et ferendo, quod ferunt tum epulas ad sepulcrum quibus jus ibi parentare.* Paul. p. 85; Macrob. *Sat.* i. 9; Ovid. *Amor.* i. 13, 3:

Annua solenni cæde parentat ovis.

Comp. Cic. *de Legg.* ii. 21: *hostia maxima* (i. e. the sheep. Paul. p. 126); *parentare, Phil.* i. 6; Ter. *de Resur.* c. 2; *Testim. an.* 4; Ov. *Fast.* ii. 533; Auson. *Parent. præf.* Victims were likewise sacrificed, and food placed on the grave; which was adorned with garlands, and sprinkled with essences (*profusiones*), also with milk, oil, honey. Orell. 642, 4415. Lamps (see p. 310) and other vessels were put on it. Prop. iv. 5, 72: *curto vetus amphora collo.* Cic. *de Legg.* 26. These are the *solennia dona* or *munera.* Ov. *Fast.* ii. 545; Catull. c.:

Tradita sunt tristes munera ad inferias.

But all this might be done at any other time as well as at the Feralia; hence *parentare* is used generally for *inferias mittere.* Orell. 642. Mention is often made of commemorative banquets, in most extravagant style. Cic. *p. Flacc.* 38; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 3, 86, 243; Orell. 3999, 4417. On the chaplets, see Orell. 707: *rosas ad monumentum deferre.* 3927, 4084, 4420. *Rosæ* and *escæ*, i. e. those set on the grave, are often mentioned together. Beans were a standing dish. Plin. xviii. 12, 30, *parentando utique assumitur* (faba). Funds were often bequeathed by the deceased for providing *escæ* and *rosæ* on the other days, besides at the Parentalia. Orell. 3927, 4084, 4107; for instance, on the anniversary of his birth-day. Some beautiful sepulchre-garlands of gold have been found at Egnatia.]

The *urnæ* [or *ollæ*, Orell. 4507, 4538; *ollæ ossuariæ*, 4544; *ollaria*, 4544; *schola ollarum*, 4542; *hydria*, 4546; *vascellum*, 4555], in which the bones were preserved, were of various shapes and materials, mostly *testæ*. Propert. says (ii. 13, 32): *accipiat manes parvula testa meos:* [but they were also of stone and metal; so of

porphyry, Dio. Cass. lxxvi. 15; rarely of gold and silver. Eutrop. viii. 5; Amm. Marc. xix. 2.] Glass ones have been also found at Pompeii, inclosed in others of lead. The nature of the tombs, both as regards external form and interior arrangements, is known from numerous monuments still extant. See Goro von Agyagf. *Wand. d. Pompeii:* the plan and view of the street of tombs, the ground-plan and section of the tomb of Nævoleia Tyche, and other monuments.[1]

One of the most instructive passages, respecting the environs, and means of protecting the monument, apart from its absurdities, is to be found in Petron. 71, 16: *Ut sint in fronte pedes centum, in agrum pedes ducenti. Omne genus etiam pomorum volo sint circa cineres meos et vinearum largiter. Valde enim falsum est, vivo quidem domos cultas esse, non curari eas, ubi diutius habitandum est, et ideo ante omnia adjici volo: Hoc monumentum heredem non sequatur. Ceterum erit mihi curæ, ut testamento caveam, ne mortuus injuriam accipiam; præponam enim unum ex libertis sepulcro meo custodiæ causæ.* [Orell. 4781.] Among the ornaments which Trimalchio orders from the *lapidarius*, are also *naves plenis velis euntes*, and such allegorical reliefs have actually been found on *cippi*. See Goro, t. 6. The tombs were generally protected by a ring-wall, [*maceria*,] as that of Nævoleia Tyche. [Orell. 4373, 4498, 4509.] In the interior, i. e. the proper *cinerarium* or *ossuarium*, stood the urns in niches, [*loculi*, *loculamenta*, *lecti*, *solia*. Orelli, 4428. But these terms also denote larger niches to contain the whole corpse,] whence also the whole receptacle obtained the name of *columbarium*. [Orell. 4544, 4358, 4513.] Beside them were placed lamps, *lucernæ sepulchrales*, and the above-mentioned lacrymatories. On the *cippus* was always the inscription, *titulus*. Ovid, iii. 3, 77. [Orell. 4409, 4424. An immense number of Roman sepulchral monuments have been preserved. On many of them there are interesting inscriptions, and bas-reliefs, indicating the name, rank, and family of the deceased. So the monument of the baker, M. Verg. Eurys.; or of Cornel. Successus, who was soldier and butcher. The most interesting inscriptions have been collected by Orelli, cap. xx. 4351-4871.]

The proper name for such a funeral-monument is *monumentum*, only that it can also be erected, for form's sake only, as a *cenotaphium*. Cic. *pro Sexto*, 67: *L. Opimius . . . cujus monumentum celeberrimum in foro, sepulcrum desertissimum in litore Dyrrhachino*

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[1] These are given in Gell's Pompeiana.

relictum est. [By the word *monumentum* he does not mean *cenotaphium*, but the *basilica opimia*, or the Temple of Concord. Halm. *ad Ciceron.* ib. 310.] Thus the beautiful monument of Calventius at Pompeii is a *cenotaphium*, without *ossuarium.* [Lamprid. *Sev. Alex.* 63; *Cenotaphium in Gallia, Romæ sepulcrum.* But *cenotaphium* was also the name of the monument erected by a person during his life. Orell. 4519, 4526, *domum æternam sibi vivus curavit.* Ulp. *Dig.* xi. 7, 6.] On other occasions, the names *sepulchrum*, *bustum*, and even *tumulus*, are frequently used as synonymes.

These observations must suffice, respecting this very voluminous subject.

[Hitherto no work has been written, thoroughly examining this topic in a religious and civil point of view; though much on that head is to be found in Kirchmann's work; Gothofred. on *Cod. Theod.* ix. 17; and Dirksen, *Hist. Script. Aug.* 169.]

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